

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

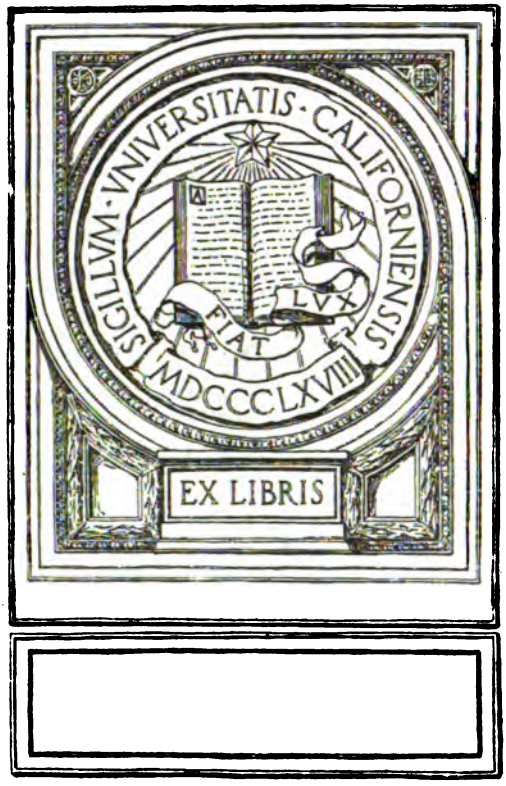
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

THE LIBRARY OF

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

EDITED BY

REV. GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., LL.D.,

AND

BISHOP JOHN F. HURST, D.D., LL.D.

VOL. I.	INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By Rev. Henry M. Harman, D.D.	$4 00
" II.	BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS. By Rev. Milton S. Terry, D.D., LL.D.,	3 00
" III.	THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA AND METHODOLOGY. By Rev. George R. Crooks, D.D., LL.D., and Bishop John F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D.,	Out of Print.
" IV.	CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By Rev. Charles W. Bennett, D.D. With an Introductory Notice by Dr. Ferdinand Piper. Revised by Rev. Amos William Patton, D.D.,	3 50
" V.	SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. Vol. I. By Rev. John Miley, D.D., LL.D.,	3 00
" VI.	SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. Vol. II. By Rev. John Miley, D.D., LL.D.,	3 00
" VII.	HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Vol. I. By Bishop John F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D.,	5 00
" VIII.	HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Vol. II. By Bishop John F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D.,	5 00
" IX.	THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By Rev. Charles W. Rishell, Ph.D.,	3 50

LIBRARY

OF

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

LITERATURE.

EDITED BY

GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D.,

AND

JOHN F. HURST, D.D.

VOL. VII.—HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.
VOL. I.

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
CINCINNATI: JENNINGS & GRAHAM

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT.

The design of the Publishers and Editors of the Biblical and Theological Library was declared, before either volume of the series had appeared, to be the furnishing of ministers and laymen with a series of works which should constitute a compendious apparatus for advanced study on the great fundamental themes of Christian Theology. While the doctrinal spirit of the separate works was pledged to be in harmony with the accepted standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was promised that the aim should be to make the entire Library acceptable to Christians of all evangelical Churches. The following works have already appeared:

Harman—Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.

Terry—Biblical Hermeneutics.

Bennett—Christian Archæology.

Miley—Systematic Theology. 2 vols.

Crooks and Hurst—Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology.

Hurst—History of the Christian Church. 2 vols.

Rishell—Foundations of the Christian Faith.

A few other works will follow these, in order to complete the circle of fundamental theological science as originally contemplated by the Publishers and Editors.

The reception which has been accorded these works has been so prompt, cordial, and sympathetic that the Publishers are led to believe that the Christian public is satisfied that the pledges made at the outset have been faithfully kept.

In every treatise in the future, as in those of the past, the latest literature will be recognized and its results incorporated. May we not hope that the same generous favor with which members of all evangelical denominations have regarded the undertaking from the beginning will be continued throughout the series?

242222

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

JOHN FLETCHER HURST

VOLUME I

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
CINCINNATI: JENNINGS & GRAHAM

BL
H5
v.1

Copyright by
EATON & MAINS,
1897.

[illegible]
AUBURN, N.Y.

EATON & MAINS PRESS,
150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PREFACE.

THE following History of the Christian Church had its origin in a series of lectures delivered to successive classes of theological students during a period of nearly ten years—1871 to 1880. The material has constantly passed through various stages of revision, such as an instructor in ecclesiastical history naturally finds forced upon him by the new light steadily falling upon his path from the rich and growing literature of his beautiful science.

When the question arose as to the publication of the matter in hand it soon became apparent that the work would need a new and more critical treatment, with a full recognition of the most recent priceless and stimulating accessions to former historical treasures. Many are the revisals of judgment, the illuminations of obscure fields, and the revelations of old but buried documents which a single decade brings to pass. It was a surprise, if not an encouragement, to be confronted by the dilemma either to abandon all thought of publication or to so change the material as to produce an entirely new treatment. The latter has been done. The basis of the original work has been so nearly dropped in the present that there are few reminders of its original structure. The lectures, therefore, of nearly a decade—from 1871 to 1880—have proved to be the mere suggestions, and sometimes faint at best, of the present work. My chief difficulty has been to do even tolerable justice to the law of proportion. Some themes, which twenty years ago could have been treated briefly, to-day well deserve a whole volume; while others, which were prominent figures in the foreground, are now only dim figures in the distant horizon.

With thanks and appreciation the author takes pleasure in acknowledging the valuable services of the Rev. John Alfred Faulkner, B.D., in various portions of the work, and especially in the Mediæval period. In the Bibliography the Rev. Charles R. Gillett, B.D., has rendered valuable assistance; while the Rev. Albert Osborn, B.D., has given the benefit of his critical skill in aiding to carry the work through the press. The maps have been prepared by Mr. Alan C. Reiley, whose acquaintance was made some years

ago in Athens, and who of all American cartographers is believed by the author to carry into his science the finest historical sense.

The History will be complete in two volumes. The present one covers the periods of the Early and Mediæval Church, and concludes with the beginning of the Reformation. The second volume, which will treat the Reformation and bring the History down to the present time, is already in an advanced stage of preparation, and may be expected to appear in 1898. It will contain a minute index to the whole work.

During the preparation of the History the needs and tastes of both the student and the general reader have been constantly in mind. Church history is always reaching farther, and now touches the boundaries of all sciences. No period of political history can be described properly without the recognition of the religious and ecclesiastical elements. During great stretches of what may seem to be only the play of passions on questions of dynasty or balance of power, when sifted thoroughly, it will be found, as in England from James II to William of Orange, that the one supreme and vitalizing question was the final supremacy of the Protestant or Roman Catholic principle. He is a wise reader who can discern the proper boundary of the domain over which he travels. Wiser still is he who has the vision and the skill to measure the rapid widening of the field of ecclesiastical history. But happiest of all is he who, young in years and passionate in his love of the light from the past, sees in all history the divine hand, which has been steadily leading the people of all lands and ages toward a happy destiny.

Washington, D. C., March 1, 1897.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY..... PAGE 1

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCIENCE AND LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL CHURCH..... 15

Definition of the Church—The duty of the historian of the Christian Church—The original Church—What is Church history?—Martensen's fine distinction—The darker periods of Church history—Disappointments of Church history—Schlegel's tribute to Christianity—The Church always productive of reformers—Law of development in ecclesiastical history—Tholuck and Rothe—The mission of the Church—Goethe's failure to appreciate the history of the Church—Views of Arnold, Hegel, Rothe.

CHAPTER II.

PLACE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE..... 23

History of the Church the solution of all historical problems—Hume's unconscious testimony to Christianity—Newman's tribute to Gibbon—Macaulay and Froude—Mommsen, Curtius, and Gladstone—All science collateral with ecclesiastical history—Historical theology in relation to systematic and practical theology—Recent development of biblical exegesis—Recent development of the science of Church history.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTMENTS OF CHURCH HISTORY..... 27

CHAPTER IV.

VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY..... 28

Hase's estimate of the value of Church history—The necessity of close study of Church history—Church history resplendent with great characters—Tholuck on the benefit of Church history—Value of Church history to the clergyman.

CHAPTER V.

SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY..... 31

Writers on Christian archæology—The secondary sources of Church history—Languages essential to a knowledge of Church history—The chief eras since the fourth century B. C.—The use of the map in the study of ecclesiastical history—All departments of history essential to the study of the history of the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY..... 36

Oldest historical records of Christianity—Hegesippus and Eusebius—Epiphany and other writers—Successors of Eusebius—Rufinus and Jerome—Latest histories of early Western Church—Historians of the Eastern Church—Byzantine historians—Historians of the Latin Church—Special mediæval Church historians—First Protestant Church historians—The Magdeburg Centuries—Baronius—Transformation of historiography by the Reformation—Confessional historians—Gottfried Arnold—Semler—Henke, Schmidt, Danz, and others—Hume and Gibbon—Mosheim and Schroeckh—Schleiermacher—Neander—Neander's school—Harnack and others—

Baur and the Tübingen school—Strauss and Zeller—Nippold—Tractarian school—Waddington, Milman, and Stanley—The Vaughans and Stoughton—French historians—Swiss historians—Renan—Dutch historians—Modern Roman Catholic historians—Historians of the eighteenth century—German Roman Catholic historians—English Roman Catholic historians—American ecclesiastical historiography—J. A. Alexander's lament over American historical barrenness—Awaking of popular historical taste—Smith, Lamson, Shedd, Lea, and Fisher—Philip Schaff—Sheldon, Baird, and others—Denominational Church history.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

A. D. 1–101.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY..... 61

1. THE GREEKS, THEIR FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY.—The Greek race—Intellectual achievements of the Greeks—Religious belief of the Greeks—Systems of Greek philosophy—Ionic and Eleatic schools—The Pythagoreans—Atomists and Sophists—Socratic school—Platonism and Christianity—The Stoic system—The Skeptics—Protest against the current mythology—Failure of philosophy—Service of Greece to Christianity—The Greek language.

2. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.—The Romans as organizers—The Romans as road builders—Safety of travel in the Roman empire—Union of the provinces.

3. THE MORAL DESTITUTION OF PAGANISM.—Roman depravity—Degradation of woman—Impurity of the domestic relation—Prostitution and other forms of immorality—Low estimate of childhood—Low standard of education—Dissolution of the domestic bonds—The slave the teacher—Initiation of children into the mysteries—Indifference to childhood—Slavery—The universal demand for Christianity.

CHAPTER II.

JUDAISM AND ITS SECTS..... 78

1. JEWS IN PALESTINE.—The patriarchal period—Leadership of Moses—Summary of Jewish and Israelitish history—The attempt to hellenize the Jews—The Maccabean domination—Palestine at the time of Christ.

2. THE SAMARITANS.—Origin of the Samaritans—The present Samaritans.

3. THE PHARISEES.—Conditions of the Jews giving rise to the Pharisees—Doctrines of the Pharisees.

4. THE SADDUCEES.—Doctrines of the Sadducees.

5. THE ESSENES.—Doctrines of the Essenes—Keim on the Essenes.

6. THE DISPERSED JEWS.—Localities of the dispersed Jews—Individuality of the Jews—Alexandria the center of Jewish influence—The Jews in Rome—Usages of the Jews in Rome.

CHAPTER III.

THE FULLNESS OF THE TIME—JESUS THE CHRIST..... 87

Universal moral darkness—Universal expectation of a Redeemer—Complete preparation for Christianity—Christ the response to the world's aspiration—Christ's career unique in history—Christ and his kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

PENTECOST AND ITS RESULTS..... 90

Descent of the Spirit the culmination of Christ's ministry—Pentecost the occasion of universal meeting of the Jews—The scene at Pentecost—Best view of the gift of tongues—Universal ministry of the apostles—Endowment of spiritual power—Prophecy fulfilled—Promulgation of the Gospel—Revival—Christian life—The Church organized.

CHAPTER V.

THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS..... 95

Divisions of the apostolic period—Apostolic preaching—Incidental character of apostolic preaching—No plan of apostolic activity—Miraculous gifts—Decline of miraculous manifestations—The gift of tongues—Other supernatural gifts—Miracle no longer necessary—Vague evidence of postapostolic miracles—The apostolic preachers the best models for all times.

CHAPTER VI.

THE APOSTLES AND THE SCENES OF THEIR LABORS 101

1. PETER AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.—Peter—The first persecution—Paul's conversion and Peter's journey to Joppa—Enlarged field of apostolic labor—Antioch—A crisis in the apostolic Church—The general council in Jerusalem—Peter and Paul in contrast—Peter's later field uncertain—No certainty that Peter founded the Church in Rome.

2. PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.—Paul's training in Tarsus—Paul in Jerusalem—Paul's training fitted him for a cosmopolitan mission—Paul's first two missionary journeys—Third journey—Fourth journey—Paul's extraordinary gifts—Paul's apostolic career.

3. JOHN AND THE RECONCILIATION.—John the apostle of harmony—John's writings—John's care of Mary—John's birthplace—Sea of Galilee—John's youth—John's homes—Silence as to John's abode—John probably in Babylon—John a fugitive—Ephesus John's last home—John in Patmos—Last journey of John.

4. THE REMAINING APOSTLES.—James the Elder—James, the brother of our Lord—Philip—Thomas—Grounds for belief that Thomas labored in India—Presumption in favor of Persia and India.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH..... 123

The Jew as a Christian—The Greek and Roman as Christians—Jewish and pagan tendencies—Constitution of the Church partially revealed—Officers defined by name.

1. TEMPORARY OFFICERS.—The apostles—The prophets—Evangelists.

2. PERMANENT OFFICERS.—Presbyter or bishop—Use of word bishop—Original office of the bishop—Relation of the bishop to the societies—One society—Duties of the bishop—Office of the deacon—Modern restoration of the apostolic deaconess—Invisible sources of evangelism—First successes of the Gospel—Hatch's important service.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOCTRINAL BASIS AND LITERATURE..... 135

Necessity for the written truth—The Old Testament in the New—Necessity for the New Testament—No formulation of doctrine—One universal current of faith—Reuss on the faith of the general Christian body—Advantage with the force of systematic theology—The Apostles' Creed—Other formularies—Development of theology—First efforts to formulate theology—Popular thought on theological themes—Apologetic character of John's gospel.

CHAPTER IX.

WORSHIP AND LIFE..... 142

Simplicity of early Christian worship—Form of worship—Psalms and hymns—The Lord's Supper—Baptism—Mode of baptism—The Sabbath and Sunday—Fraternity of Christians—Contrast with the inhumanity of paganism—Elevation of woman—Hostility of Christianity to slavery—Triumph of Christianity in the whole structure of social life—Alarm produced in the pagan government by revolutionary character of Christianity.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE PATRISTIC AGE.

A. D. 101–313. Period of Persecution and Defense.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY..... 149

Persecution and defense—Universal increase of the Christians—Persecution a firm purpose—Conybeare's exaggeration—The apologists—Speculative tendency—Growth of the Church in spite of opposition.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION—THE JEWISH PERSECUTION..... 153

Persecution under Herod Agrippa I—Jews and Christians in Rome—Christians regarded by the Jews as disloyal—Capture of Jerusalem by Titus, A. D. 70—Bar Cocheba's revolt against Roman supremacy—Suppression of the revolt by Julius Severus—Prostration of the Jews—The new Jewish impulse to study—Jewish schools—Great teachers in the schools—Literary products of the schools—Opposition of the Samaritans to Christianity—Simon Magus—Other false teachers.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN PERSECUTION..... 161

Disloyalty the general charge against Christians—Theory of the expounders of the Roman law—Real antagonism of Christianity to paganism—Christianity in immoral Rome—Injury of certain pagan industries by Christianity—A large Roman population dependent on the State religion—Other charges against the Christians—Number of the persecutions—Three stages of persecution—Nero's persecutions of the Christians—Nero's base conduct during the burning of Rome—The Domitian persecution—Trajan's persecution—Pliny's letter to Trajan—Limits of toleration under this rescript—Christians under Hadrian—Hadrian's rescript—Marcus Aurelius—The churches in Lyons and Vienne—The Thundering Legion—Basis of historical fact—Caracalla and Elagabalus—Eclecticism of Alexander Severus—Decian persecution—Gallus and Valerian—Rescript of Publius Licinius—Diocletian persecution—Diocletian's four edicts—Edict of toleration by Galerius—Toleration by Constantinus Chlorus—Constantine's edict of toleration—Failure of persecution.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITERARY ATTACK..... 180

Literature of the Christians—High quality of the sacred Scriptures—Decline of paganism—The question with paganism one of existence—The nature of the Jewish attack—Roman writers against Christianity—Lucian against both Jews and Christians—Celsus—Porphyry—The system in the pagan attack—Loyalty of the Christians to the State—Celsus on the patriotism of the Christians—Reason of the absence of Christians from political life—Allegation of philosophical absurdity—Charge of false theology—The charge that the Christian theology is no better than the pagan—The charge of immorality—The charge of immorality made because of the pagan readiness to believe any assertion—The pagan attack without effect on the Christians.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS..... 191

Two classes of apologists—Greek apologists—The Latin apologists—Difference between the Greek and the Latin apologists—Essential unity of the Greek and the Latin apologists—Oblivion of the pagan attacks—Aristo and Quadratus—Apology of Aristides—Harris on the Apology of Aristides—Justin Martyr—Melito and Apollinaris—Apollonius—Bardesanes, Athenagoras, and Theophilus—Tatian and Hermias—Clement, Hippolytus, and Origen—Tertullian—Cyprian—Cyprian on the decrepitude of the world—Arnobius and Lactantius—Loyalty to the State proven—The Christians the only dissenters who are punished—Purity of Christian character and life—Excellence of Christian worship—Inspiration of the Scriptures and purity of

doctrine—Divine character of Jesus—Christianity and the pagan mythology in contrast—Depravity of the heathen gods—Impurity of the pagan philosophy—Permanence of the first apologetic Christian literature—Infirmity of the method of the apologists.

CHAPTER VI.

EBIONISM AND KINDRED OVERTURES FOR COMPROMISE—THE CLEMENTINES 207

The two sources of the overtures for compromise—Ebionites and Nazaræans—The rise of the Ebionite Christians—Doctrines of the Ebionites—Want of unity among the Ebionites—The Elkesaites—The Western Jews—The Clementines—Probability of one original of the three Clementines—Uncertain root of the romance—Strange mixture of theology in the Clementines.

CHAPTER VII.

GNOSTICISM..... 215

Perpetual conflict of Asia and Europe—Historical place of Gnosticism—No unity in Gnosticism—Conflicting mythology in Western Asia—Alexander's purpose in building Alexandria—Purpose of Alexander's successors—Philo—Philo's view of the divine Logos—Philo's explanation of the Messianic hopes—Philo's emphasis on compromise—Caprices of Gnosticism.

CHAPTER VIII.

GNOSTICISM WITH JEWISH BACKGROUND..... 220

Cerinthus—Basilides—Valentine—Opinions of Valentine—The school of Valentine—The area of Valentine's school.

CHAPTER IX.

GNOSTICISM WITH ORIENTAL AND PAGAN BACKGROUND..... 224

The Ophites—Two Ophite sects—Carpocrates—Mani—Religion of Zoroaster the basis of Mani's system—Eastern tradition of Mani's history—Western tradition of Mani—Mani's combination of dualism and fatalism—Followers of Mani.

CHAPTER X.

INDEPENDENT GNOSTICISM..... 228

Saturninus—Tatian—Marcion—Marcion's opinions—Marcion's followers—Points in common with all Gnostics—The Gnostic reversing the Christian order—The Gnostic groups were not churches but philosophical schools—Gnosticism the most dangerous foe to Christianity.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MONTANISTIC REFORM..... 233

Extreme views on Montanism—The Phrygian home of Montanus—The Phrygian cult—The old worship arrested by Christianity—Montanus a combination of the practical and the visionary—The Montanistic system—Montanism regarded a serious danger to the Church—Western support of Montanism—Both East and West united in condemnation—North Africa supporting Montanism—Tertullian an advocate—The doom of Montanism—Hostility of the emperors—Wesley in advocacy of Montanism.

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS..... 241

Solidification of Christianity—Problem of the Church in dealing with friends—The manner of dealing with penitents—Five schisms arising from the treatment of penitents—Felicissimus and Cyprian—Invasion of Cyprian's office—Increase of the lapsed—The libellus—Cyprian devoted to the preservation of the Church—Cyprian's commission—Novatus in Rome—Two difficulties as to baptism—Return of the Roman clergy to the Church—The Council of Nice and the Novatians—Dispute between Carthage and Rome on the primacy of Rome—Baptism by schismatics—Cyprian and Stephen—The basis of peace—The Meletian schism—Treatment by the Nicene council—Absorption by the Arians—The Donatist schism—Lucilla, of Car-

thage—First act of veneration of the saints—The warfare of passions—Lucilla's candidate, Majorinus, elected bishop—The schism complete—The appeal to Constantine—The Donatists condemned by the Council of Arles, 314—Fanaticism of the Donatists—Constantine ordering his subjects to cease persecuting the Donatists—Defeat of the Donatists by power of the State—Julian reviving the Donatist schism—Rogatus and Primian—Augustine, Bishop of Hippo—The emperor Honorius first endeavoring to suppress and then to revive the schismatics—Final decision against the Donatists—The service of the schismatic movements—The schismatic view of the Church—Donatist protest against State interference in ecclesiastical affairs—Scanty justice to the schismatics by the great body of believers.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONTROVERSY ON THE TRINITY—MONARCHIANISM 259

The need to examine its doctrines—Truth proved by controversy—Monarchianism the question of the Trinity—The main point of the Monarchians—Subordination—The three Monarchian groups—The Alogi—The Theodotians—The Artemonites—Paul of Samosata—Paul befriended by Zenobia—Decline of the first class of Monarchians—Patripassians—Noetus and Patripassians—The Callistians—Uncertainty of the true view of the divinity of Christ by Callistus—The mediatory school—The Sabellians—Sabellius condemned in Alexandria in 261—Views of Sabellius—The best elements of Monarchianism in the views of Sabellius.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SCRIPTURES AND TRADITION 269

Slow process in determining the scriptural canon—Skillful use of the Old Testament by the apologists—The Jews of Palestine—The Egyptian Jews—The Septuagint—The books of the Alexandrian Jews—Melito's journey to Palestine to aid in determining the Old Testament canon—Steady advance toward conclusion on Old Testament—Origen's service—The greater difficulty of determining the New Testament canon—First division of the New Testament—The Muratori Fragment—Action of the synod of Hippo, A. D. 393—Origin of the distinction of terms for the Old and New Testaments—Chain of early tradition—Exaggeration of tradition—Real value of tradition—No evidence of extreme value placed on tradition by the patristic Church—Relation of Scripture and tradition—Perversion of tradition by the Western Church.

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEY OF THEOLOGY BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA 279

Theology between the apostolic and Nicene period—Purpose to reach general understanding of fundamental truths—Conflict of leading Christian teachers—Unity beyond the apparent diversity—The Scriptures accepted as the basis of all correct theology—Harmony to be found in balancing Eastern and Western tendencies—Cyprian and Irenæus—Doctrine of the divine nature—Trinity and unity of the divine nature—Christology—The Logos of the Alexandrian teachers—Eternal sonship of Christ—Perfect divinity of Christ claimed by all the recognized teachers of the Church—Subordination of Christ to the Father—General agreement on the Logos after the middle of the second century—Consensus on the Christology of this period—Doctrine of the Holy Spirit—Silence on a great doctrine no proof of its minor importance—General teaching on the Holy Spirit—Creation—Anthropology—Three views of the soul's preexistence—Physical mortality and the soul's immortality—Doctrine of the Church—Two stages in the development of the doctrine of the Church—The two sacraments recognized by the patristic Church: baptism and the Lord's Supper—Views of the fathers on baptism—No one fixed form of baptism—The Lord's Supper—No transformation of elements was taught—Eschatology—Alexandrian theologians opposed chiliastic expectations—The soul after death—First trace of purgatorial fire in the Alexandrian teachings—Augustine's teaching crystallized in the purgatory of the Latin Church—Broad scope of the first independent theology of the Church—The advanced knowledge of the patristic Church—Calm faith of the great body of believers—Brief compass of the fundamental truths of the average Christian—Nicene creed expressed the general faith of Christians.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SCHOOLS AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE..... 299

The Church always a patron of the school—Three schools by the middle of the second century.

1. THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.—School of Alexandria—Two views concerning the first Christian school of Alexandria—Balancing of tendencies in the first Christian schools—Faith and knowledge the center of the teaching of the Alexandrian school—Active period of the Alexandrian school—Pantænus—Clement of Alexandria and his works—Origen the greatest teacher of the Alexandrian school—Origen's development and growing fame—Opposition to Origen—Origen in Cæsarea—Origen's great popularity in Syria—Origen's death—Five departments of Origen's writings—Origen's variety as a teacher—Origen's wide and permanent influence—Westcott's tribute to Origen—Decline of the school of Alexandria—Gregory Thaumaturgus and Pamphilus.

2. THE SCHOOL OF ASIA MINOR.—School of Asia Minor—Irenæus—Hippolytus—Personal life of Hippolytus little known—Julius Africanus.

3. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.—School of Antioch.

4. THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.—Tertullian the head of the school of North Africa—Characteristics of the school of North Africa—Tertullian—Tertullian's use of both Greek and Latin—Tertullian's qualities of mind and style—Writings of Tertullian—Minucius Felix—Cyprian's personal history—Cyprian's writings—Commodianus and Arnobius—Service of the three great schools—The Church rearing permanent structures of thought.

CHAPTER XVII.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE..... 319

Increase of spurious writings—Misconception of the importance of the apocryphal writings—The enemies of the Church responsible for the apocryphal writings—Extreme measures of the authors of the apocryphal writings—The Book of Enoch and the apocryphal books of the time—The Sibylline Oracles—Apocryphal accounts of our Lord—Disposition to use borrowed names—The Apostolic Constitutions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIMACY OF ROME..... 325

Influence of the Roman civil system—The minor orders—Deacons as readers in the fifth century—Subdeacons—Catechists and interpreters and other orders—Other orders after the third century—Election of bishops—Consecration and powers of the bishops—Cyprian's principle—Autonomy of the individual society—Strong societies built up in the cities—Prominence of the suburban society—The rural episcopacy—Limitation of power of the rural episcopacy—Metropolitan authority and the diocese—Centers of metropolitan authority—The patriarchate—Growth of episcopal authority—The synod a Greek imitation—The synod generally adopted—The synodical epistles—The council—Growing power of the Roman bishop—Practical Christianity in Rome—Supposed relation of Peter and Paul to Rome—Growth of the Roman primacy after middle of second century—Cyprian against Roman primacy—In spite of opposition Rome's primacy steadily grew—The Eastern Church always a resisting force—The Eastern Church unable to stem the tide—Immorality of Constantinople damaging to spiritual development of Eastern Church—Steady life of the Roman Church.

CHAPTER XIX.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE..... 341

Quick process of introduction into the Church in first period—The later deliberation—Care of the catechumen—Three classes of catechumens—The public baptism—Treatment of penitent apostates—Severe views of proper treatment of apostates—Venia and mortal sins—Classification of penitents—Proof of sincerity must be given during period of penitence—Presbyter appointed for special care of penitents.

CHAPTER XX.

SACRED SEASONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP..... 348

Jewish Christians' tenacity for the old festivals—Weekly and yearly sacred and festal days—Two other days more than secular—The yearly festivals—Pentecost,

Epiphany, and Christmas—Reverence for martyrs—The Lord's Supper on memorial days—In memory of Polycarp—Memorial services a natural result of the heroic life and death of martyrs—Christians had at first no regular place of worship—Simplicity of the place of worship—Hesitation to use pagan terms—The sensitiveness soon disappeared—No images used in early Church—Simplicity of Christian worship contrasted with the pagan—No artificial lights in daytime in early period—Justin on the order of service—Sacred music—Revolution in the simplicity of the early worship.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND USAGES..... 358

The approach of the people to the Church—The great causes of the popular love of the Church—The public triumph of Christianity—Universal sympathy with the weak and persecuted—Special measures to collect money for the poor—The regular collection for the poor—Pains taken to find out the worthy poor—Sympathy with the slave—Education of the young—Early Christians intelligent, and the theologians learned—Prevalence of copies of the Scriptures—Minute attention paid in the home to the knowledge of the Scriptures—Simplicity of domestic life—Pagan images in private Roman homes—The Roman Christian's first impulse to abandon the household gods—The growth of Christian symbols instead—The use of the cross—The early Church a compact organism—Universal relationship of the Christian—Correspondence of the patristic period—Universal movement of Christians—Christians constantly bearing letters to far-off fellow-believers—Travels of the fathers and teachers—The great object of the journeys of visitation—Power over the Church of the Greek and Roman examples of journeying scholars—The pagan scholar often found Christ while on a tour of learning—Journeys of Christian scholars productive of literature—Polycarp's celebrated journey—Justin a great traveler—Irenæus in Gaul—Hegesippus and Julius Africanus as travelers—Clement a traveler in three continents—For purposes of scholarship the traveling was extensive and into far regions—Jerome the ideal traveler of the early Church—Jerome's justification of his long journeys—Decline in the disposition to travel.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS..... 377

Catacombs the conservators of the earliest Christian arts—Reason for the catacomb as a place of Christian burial—Burial of the dead preferred to burning by the Romans—Jewish use of the catacomb in Rome—Difference between the pagan and the Christian catacomb—Cheerful character of Christian catacombs—The burial place always sacred in Rome and throughout pagan lands—Modern discovery of Roman catacombs—Jerome's experience in the catacombs while yet a boy—Discovery of the catacombs by some workmen—Antonio Bosio—John Evelyn and Bishop Burnet—Burnet's estimate of the small value of the catacombs—The catacomb now fully understood—Early Christian estimate of great sanctity of martyrdom—Churches built on places of martyrdom—Visit to the catacombs—Extent of the catacombs not yet fully known—Wealth of the Lateran Museum—The catacombs closed for eleven centuries—Light from the catacombs on the scriptural canon—New Testament themes in the catacombs—The Christian catacomb a Bible society in itself—Proof in the catacombs of the familiarity of early Christians with the Scriptures—Symbolism of the catacombs teaching Christian defense and orthodoxy—Christ the center of all teaching—Christ taught as the universal sovereign—Symbolisms of Christ were of cheerful type—Peace and harmony everywhere taught—Maitland's translation of an inscription—Images of peace and plenty—The epitaphs revealing early Christian history—Mariolatry not sustained by the catacombs—Beauty and force of the inscriptions—No support for prayer for the dead or clerical celibacy—The catacomb teaching the simple faith and life of the Church—Dean Stanley—Touches of sympathy in the catacomb—Firm faith recorded in the later names of the catacomb.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY..... 397

The two fields of extension—Antioch the center of propagation—Armenia first country evangelized—Persia—Persecutions in Persia—Christianity in Osrhöene—Activity of the African Church—The Abyssinian Church—Present Abyssinian

Church old Egyptian, or Coptic—Europe the central field of interest—The Goths on the lower Danube—Ulfilas the Gothic apostle—Important general labors of Ulfilas—Corinth the center in Greece—Rome the great western center of aggressive Christianity—Spain and Gaul—Progress of Christianity in Spain—Strong Church in Treves, the predecessor of Paris—Christianity in Germany—The Gospel in Britain and Ireland—Christianity a leavening process in the new fields—Many of the first preachers unknown—Spontaneous propagation of the Gospel.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE CONTROVERSIAL AGE.

A. D. 313–680. The Church in Union with the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE STATE—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW PERIOD... 410

Christianity in friendship with the empire—Imperial protection a danger to the Church—The empire conquered the Church.

CHAPTER II.

TOLERATION UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS..... 413

Six claimants to the Roman throne—Constantine's vision of the cross—Neander's explanation of the vision—First edict in favor of Christianity—Council of Nicæa—Character of Constantine—Constantinople the capital of the empire—Sons of Constantine.

CHAPTER III.

FINAL EFFORT OF PAGANISM FOR EXISTENCE—JULIAN..... 419

Gallus and Julian—Julian declared emperor—Causes of Julian's prejudice against Christianity—Julian's methods of opposition to Christianity—Character of Julian—Julian's proposed substitute for Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST AND THE WEST..... 423

Jovian favorable to Christianity—Theodosius the Great—The destruction of the Serapeum—Various opinions on Kingsley's Hypatia—Cessation of pagan rites in sixth century.

CHAPTER V.

THE THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD..... 427

Triumph of Christian thought—Universality of theological controversy—Complications of ecclesiastical and political life.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTROVERSY ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST—ARIANISM..... 431

Person of Christ the center of Christian theology—The two periods of the Arian controversy—Issue between Arius and Alexander—Purity of the life of Arius—Constantine summoning the council of Nicæa—Triumph of Athanasius—Mutual relations of the persons in the Trinity not in question—Banishment of Athanasius—Varying fortunes of the Arians—Lapse of Liberius—The Arians favored by Julian—No unity in Arianism—The three Arian parties—Ulfilas, bishop of the Visigoths—Burgundians and other barbarian peoples adopt Arianism.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST—APOLLINARIST, NESTORIAN, AND KINDRED CONTROVERSIES. 439

Rise of Christological controversies—Apollinaris—Opinions of Apollinaris—Condemnation of Apollinarism—Nestorius—Opinions of Nestorius—Cyril opposing the Nestorians—Final defeat of Nestorianism in the Roman empire—Nestorians strong

in Armenia and farther East—Humboldt's tribute to service of the Nestorians to science—Wide territory of modern Nestorianism—Eutyches inaugurating the Monophysite controversy—Council of Chalcedon against the doctrines of Eutyches—Divisions after the council of Chalcedon—Justinian laboring for harmony in the Church—Failure of efforts for harmony—Feeble existence of the later Monophysites—Rise of the Monothelite controversy—Sergius—The hopeless dilemma on papal infallibility—Only resort of Rome is to attack the acts of the council—Public disputation on the one will—The Roman bishop in Constantinople—Suppression of the Monothelites—Final effort to save the Monothelites—Fragments of the Monothelites.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRITUALISM AND REALISM—ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES..... 451

Origenistic controversies—Friends and foes of Origen—Bitter controversy in Alexandria and Constantinople—Cause of the disputes on Origen.

CHAPTER IX.

SIN AND GRACE—THE PELAGIAN, DONATIST, AND OTHER CONTROVERSIES..... 455

Controversy concerning sin and grace—Different teaching in the schools—Augustine and Pelagius—Early life of Augustine—Place of the human will in Augustine's teaching—Expansion from Augustine's theology—Pelagius advocating the freedom of the will—Pelagius favored in the Greek Church—General tendency unfavorable to Pelagius—Milder type of Augustinianism—Desire for modification of Augustine's views—The Donatist schism—Constantine opposing and Julian befriending the Donatists—Augustine against the Donatists.

CHURCH HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

FROM CHARLES THE GREAT TO THE REFORMATION.

A. D. 768–1517.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES..... 465

The Middle Ages in reality a period of progress—The Middle Ages a period of transition—Advancement of history in the Middle Ages—Scientific inquiries in the eleventh century—Preparation for the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

PERIODS OF MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY..... 470

Boundary line of the ancient and mediæval periods not definite—The three periods of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS RELATION TO THE CHURCH..... 473

Charles and Leo III—Charles and the papacy—Pepin's gift of the exarchate—First temporal power of the papacy—Charles's alliance with the Lombards—Charles's war with the Lombards—Pepin's gift confirmed by Charles—Lombards conquered—Charles's fourth visit to Rome—Charles received by Leo III—Coronation of Charles.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL RELATION OF THE CIVIL TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY DURING THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD..... 484

Charles the Great in the footsteps of Constantine—The Church completely governed by civil rulers—Imperial legislation supreme over the Church—Appellate power of Rome—Charles the Great made no real concession to the papacy—Further evidences of ecclesiastical subjection to the empire—Bishops appointed by the emperor—Purchase of the episcopal office—The episcopacy regarded by the rulers as a political affair—Charles the Great's restoration of the old way of electing bishops

a mere make-believe—Natural result of imperial appointment of bishops—Imperial authority controlled legislation on Church affairs—The clergy represented in the general assemblies—Clerical exemption from State burdens—Great end gained by close relations of the slaves and the clergy—Decline of predominance of civil over ecclesiastical authority.

CHAPTER V.

THE FORGED ISIDORIAN DECRETALS..... 495

Attempt to fortify the papacy by appeal to the past—The forgery of the Isidorian Decretals—Decretals already in use—Contents of the work—Object of the Decretals to make the Church independent of the State—Papal supremacy the real climax—Uncertainties concerning the Decretals—Most probable authorship—Weaknesses in the Decretals overlooked at the time—Genuineness not questioned until twelfth century—A cardinal service of the Decretals to the authority of the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF LEARNING..... 502

Charles the Great promotes learning—Clerical ignorance—The change in education and general culture by Charles the Great—Brilliant court of Charles the Great—The Schola Palatina—Grammar and public schools—Many schools under the Carolingians—Charles promoting the popular tongues—Charles endowed the popular schools—After Charles the schools degenerated.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF IMAGE WORSHIP..... 507

Lactantius and Clement against images—Gregory the Great's moderate advocacy of images.

CHAPTER VIII.

ICONOCLASM..... 510

Monophysites and other sects against images—The causes of iconoclasm—Leontius of Cyprus—The letter of Omar II—Leo the Isaurian and his first edict—Defenders of image worship: Germanus and John of Damascus—Pope Gregory II—Rupture between Rome and Constantinople.

CHAPTER IX.

LATER FORTUNES OF THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT..... 517

Constantine Copronymus—Persecution of monks—The Council of Nicæa, 787—Failure of the iconoclastic reform—Results of the movement—The image question in the Western Church.

CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF ISLAM..... 525

Mohammed's early life—The Hegira—Success of Mohammed—Mohammed's character.

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCIPLES AND RESULTS OF MOHAMMEDANISM..... 529

The principles of Islam—The evils of Mohammedanism—Slavery—Islam's tenets of war—The Koran.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM..... 533

Islam's career of conquest.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELATION OF ISLAM TO THE CHURCH..... 535

Effects of Islam on the Church—Sources of doctrines of Islam—Mohammedanism an incubus on civilization.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES—THE ATTEMPT AT REUNION..... 538

Doctrinal divergence—Differences of discipline—The claim of Roman supremacy—The letter of Nicholas I widens the breach—The Photian dispute—The final rupture—Attempts for reunion—Concessions for reunion prove futile—The separation not without gain.

CHAPTER XV.

THEOLOGY, WORSHIP, AND LIFE IN THE EASTERN CHURCH..... 546

The "Type" edict of Constans—Martyrdom of Pope Martin I—Doctrines of Maximus—The pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite—Theology of the Areopagite—The Hesychasts—The Paulicians—The Thondracians and Euchites—The Bogomiles—The stagnation of the Greek Church—Worship and sacraments in the Eastern Church—Austerity of the Eastern Church.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONVERSION OF GERMANY..... 556

Uncertainty as to founders of German Christianity—Severinus—Amandus—Eligius—Irish missionaries to Germany—Columban—Severity of Columban—Columban's success—Columban and Gallus—Columban's letter to the pope—Columban's relations to the papacy—Gallus—Willibrord—Other English missionaries—Wulfram.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LABORS OF BONIFACE..... 566

Winfrid, or Boniface—Success in Hesse—Reforms of Boniface—Last mission and death of Boniface—Character of Boniface.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIA..... 570

Aggressions of the Northmen—Anskar, the Apostle of the North—First mission to Sweden—Character of Anskar—Conversion of Norway—Iceland—Greenland.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND..... 575

Uncertain beginnings—Legend of Joseph of Arimathea—Christianity in Britain in the second century—Pelagius—Few Christian remains of the Roman period—Marks of the old British Church—Monasticism in the Celtic Church—Liturgy of the British Church—The Easter question—Tonsure—Marriage of the clergy—The Teutonic conquest of Britain—Venerable Bede's story of the conversion of England—Gregory sends Augustine—Race antipathies an obstacle to the union of the British and Roman Churches—Northumbria converted—Wessex and Essex brought over—Synod of Whitby.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES..... 593

Union of Church and State—Relation of Anglo-Saxon and Roman Churches—Alfred the Great—Alfred's interest in learning—St. Dunstan—The Norman conquest—William and Lanfranc—William and Hildebrand.

CHAPTER XXI.

ST. ANSELM..... 599

Lanfranc and Anselm—Anselm's bold philosophy—Anselm's works—Anselm as a teacher—Anselm's treatment of youth—William Rufus, the Red—Anselm's reluctant acceptance of the see of Canterbury—Conflict of Anselm with William Rufus—Anselm and Henry I—Anselm's appeal to Rome.

CHAPTER XXII.

THOMAS BECKET..... 607

Despotic kings and secular bishops—Henry II and his chancellor, Thomas Becket—Henry II's scheme to reform Church—Thomas Becket as archbishop—First conflict won by Thomas—The Clarendon Constitutions—Thomas appeals to the pope—Thomas's flight to France—Return of Thomas—Thomas's martyrdom—Views of Froude, Gardiner, and Freeman.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND..... 619

St. Ninian—Early records destroyed—Work of Irish monks—Brendan—Work of Columba—Iona Island—Character of Columba—Death of Columba—Estimates of Columba.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST CHURCH SYSTEM OF SCOTLAND..... 628

Monastic character of Church government—Scottish bishops—The liturgy—Doctrinal teaching—Classes in community of Iona.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCOTCH PERIOD BEFORE THE REFORMATION..... 632

Aidan the missionary—Aidan's work—St. Cuthbert—The ashes of St. Cuthbert—Causes of decay of Celtic Church—Influence of hermit life—St. Margaret and her reforms—The Sunday question—Abuses firmly intrenched—King David—Disappearance of the Culdees—Vigorous reign of David.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LEARNING AND LITERATURE OF THE OLD SCOTCH CHURCH..... 643

Columba's literary work—The Book of Armagh—The Book of Deer—Advantages under the papal system—Abuses under the papal system—Rapacious priests—Clerical cursing—Decay of preaching.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. PATRICK..... 651

Cœlestius—Palladius—Records of St. Patrick—Confession of St. Patrick—Patrick's early life—Patrick's discipline through hardship—Patrick's mission to Ireland—Patrick's success—Patrick's travels and work in Ireland—Legends connected with St. Patrick—Patrick's theology—Patrick's relation to Rome.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MEDIÆVAL IRELAND..... 662

Government of the early Irish Church—Irish clerical orders—Monasticism in Ireland—The round towers—Connection of the round towers with general ecclesiastical architecture—Ireland's relation to Europe—Mixture of barbarism and culture—Law and anarchy—Froude's erroneous judgment.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEARNING AND ART IN MEDIÆVAL IRELAND—EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH..... 672

Ireland a refuge for scholars—Dicuil and Erigena—Sedulius—The Book of Kells and other literary treasures—Art in pen work—Metal work—Sculpture—The Danes in Ireland—Norman influence—The bull of Pope Adrian IV—Reorganization under Henry II.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MONKS OF THE EAST..... 681

Monasticism in general—Gnosticism a source of monasticism in the Church—Reasons for the monastic life given by famous monks—Jerome's description of the

life of the monks—Paul and Anthony—Pachomius—Voices against the cloister—Protest of Vigilantius—The evils of the monastic life—Fanatical results of monasticism—The pillar-saints—Littledale's indictment of monasticism in the East.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS..... 693

Martin of Tours—Paulinus of Nola—John Cassian—Benedict of Nursia—Rule of Benedict—Labor among the Benedictines—Benedict's devotion to learning—Growth of the Benedictines—The legal position of monasticism.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE LATER ORDERS..... 701

Benedict of Aniane—Cardinal Newman on Benedict of Nursia—Benedict of Aniane compared with Wesley—Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine—The later period at Clugny—The Cistercians—Growth and work of the Cistercians—Decay of the order.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LESSER ORDERS..... 707

The Camaldolites—Order of Vallombrosa—The Hirschau monks—The order of Grammont—The order of Fontévraud—The Carthusians—The later Carthusians—The Carmelites—Growth and decay of the Carmelites—The Augustinians.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL AUTOCRACY..... 715

Littledale's analysis of Peter in Rome—Rome the universal center—Chalcedon and Antioch against Roman primacy—Letter of Clement of Rome—Intolerance of Victor of Rome—Extreme claim of Pope Stephen—Council of Nicæa not organized by Rome—Pope Julius—Primacy of Rome not held before middle of fourth century—Synod of Constantinople—Apiarius.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ROMAN AUTOCRACY COMPLETE UNDER INNOCENT AND LEO..... 726

Innocent I and Rome's universal primacy—Falsity and audacity of Innocent's claim—Leo the Great—Fourth general council—Littledale on Leo the Great.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GREGORY THE GREAT..... 733

The papal power a necessity—Gregory's training for the papacy—Censure of universal episcopacy—Gregory's person tending toward autocracy—Gregory's respect for civil authority—Gregory's varied writings.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PAPACY AND THE NIGHT OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.... 739

Gregorovius on Rome—Freeman on Rome—Boniface III—Honorius—The Trullan council—Quinisextan synod—New era under Gregory II—Freeman on the Roman empire—Nicholas I—Adrian II—The pope Joanna—Corruption of the Church—Crimes of the popes—Arnulf on the guilt of the Church.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

HILDEBRAND..... 753

Leo IX as reformer—The powerful Hildebrand—Gregory enforcing celibacy—Simony punished—Investiture—Contest between Gregory and Henry IV—Henry a penitent at Canossa—The pope's declaration on Henry's humiliation—Stephen's picture of Gregory.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA—FREDERICK II—INNOCENT III—LATER CONFLICTS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE..... 763

The stirrup in history—The pope yielding for the moment—Culmination of Hildebrand's policy—King John of England at the pope's feet—The versatile Frederick II.

CHAPTER XL.

BONIFACE VIII—THE LAST GREAT POPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE COLLAPSE OF HIS COLOSSAL SCHEME..... 769

Wane of religious idea of the papacy—Boniface defying England and France—Boniface's ignorance of his age—King Edward and Scotland—The bull *Ausculta fili*—The bull *Unam Sanctam*—Boniface in danger—Jubilee of Boniface—Divided opinions on Boniface.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE PAPACY..... 778

Clement V—Infamous papal court at Avignon—Breaking of the papal spell.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE PAPAL DISRUPTION AND THE HEALING COUNCILS..... 781

Nicholas on the moral depth—The council at Pisa—Council of Constance—Small moral result of the council.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CRUSADES..... 791

Origin of the idea of the crusades—Peter of Amiens—Exemptions of the crusaders—First crusade—Results of the crusades.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE MILITARY ORDERS..... 799

Philip the Fair and Clement V—Suppression of the order—Conclusion on the morals of the orders—Teutonic Knights—Hospitalers.

CHAPTER XLV.

FRANCIS AND HIS ORDER..... 807

Revolution in Francis—Founding his order—The failure of Francis's ideal—Will of Francis—The Stigmata—The order—Rivalry of the two orders.

CHAPTER XLVI.

DOMINIC AND HIS ORDER..... 815

Youth of Dominic—Labors in Languedoc—Papal sanction for the Dôminican order—Dominican learning.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE WALDENSES AND THE MEDIÆVAL DISSENTERS..... 823

Oriental dualism—Albanenses—Conflicting estimate of the Cathari—Destruction of dualism—Long life of the Patarini—The Holy Crusade—Evangelical and Catholic group—Peter of Bruys—Henry of Lausanne—Arnold of Brescia—Peter Waldo—The Waldenses—Klimesch's discovery—Waldenses stimulate other movements—Final separation from the Roman Church.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE USE OF PERSECUTION..... 839

Tertullian on liberty—Lecky's partial view—Plato's opinion—Creighton's conclusions—Augustine—Prevalence of intolerance—Intolerance in Germany—Persecution a popular wish—The Church teaching persecution—Inquisition a growth—Methods of procedure—Feeble protest against persecution.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MYSTICS AND OTHER PROPHETS OF THE BETTER DAY..... 851

Mysticism defined—Erigena—Bernard—Hugo—Brethren of the Free Spirit—Women as mystics—Eckhart—John Tauler—Suso—John of Ruysbroek—Friends of God—Brethren of the Common Life—Thomas à Kempis—A German theology—Seth on Mysticism.

CHAPTER L.

MEDIÆVAL THEOLOGY..... 869

Augustine and Calvin—Divinity of Christ—The atonement—Anselm—Predestination—The Church—Baptism—Lord's Supper—Mariolatry—Hell and purgatory.

CHAPTER LI.

THOMAS AQUINAS..... 881

Abelard's system—Abelard's place of reason—Thomas Aquinas—Leo XIII on St. Thomas—Opinions of Aquinas—Duns Scotus.

CHAPTER LII.

DANTE..... 891

Dante's wide learning—Beatrice—The De Monarchia—The Divine Comedy—Dante's theology.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE JEWS..... 903

Popes favoring persecution—Persecution by rulers—Döllinger's testimony—Persecution in fourteenth century.

CHAPTER LIV.

HYMNOLOGY..... 911

CHAPTER LV.

THE SACRED DRAMA..... 921

Early protests—Mystery play of Dieppe.

CHAPTER LVI.

CHRISTIAN ART..... 929

Venables on art in Rome—The vine and other emblems—Tyrwhitt on representations of Christ.

CHAPTER LVII.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES..... 937

Scope of early education—Christians using pagan schools—Gregory on the pagan schools—Newman's testimony—Monasteries and the classic studies—Celtic and Irish monasteries—University terminology—University—Rashdall on idea of university—Number of students—Scanty religious education in Middle Ages—The university in history.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GAIN AND LOSS OF THE MIDDLE AGES..... 947

LIST OF MAPS.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY..... 14–15

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA..... 160–161

EUROPE: THE WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER CHARLEMAGNE, 800 A. D..... 464–465

THE BRITISH ISLES. TWO MAPS: 400–700 A. D. SEVENTH CENTURY..... 574–575

EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CRUSADES, 1095 A. D..... 732–733

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY..... 768–769

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

I.

BOOKS ON THE LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

1. Dowling, J. G. An Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History. Lond., 1838. A thorough presentation of the sources of Church History and of its literature down to the time of publication.
2. Fisher, J. A. Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History. Bost., 1885. Brief and good.
3. Adams, C. K. Manual of Historical Literature. 3d ed., revised and enlarged. N. Y., 1889. Invaluable.
4. Tibbals, C. F. Thesaurus of the best Theological, Historical, and Biographical Literature. N. Y., 1891.
5. Sonnenschein, W. S. The Best Books, imp. 8vo, pp. cix, 1009, 2d ed. Lond. and N. Y., 1891. A miracle of accuracy and industry. Supplementary volume, 1895.
6. Hurst, J. F. Literature of Theology, N. Y., 1895. Designed to be a systematic and exhaustive bibliography of the best and most desirable books in Theology and General Religious Literature published in Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada.

The general Church Histories give extensive sections to bibliography. Schaff is very full and free in his comments in his History of the Apostolic Church (N. Y., 1853, pp. 51–134), and more condensed in his History of the Church (3d revised ed., N. Y., 1890, pp. 27–53). Kurtz, Moeller, Hase, G. P. Fisher (pp. 671–697), and Gieseler are full in this department. Lists will also be found in works on Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, in the German Yearbooks of Theology, and in the Christian Literature Magazine.

II.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

1. Froude, J. A. The Science of History. In Short Studies on Great Subjects, Series I. Lond. and N. Y., 1867.
2. Froude, J. A. The Scientific Method Applied to History. In Short Studies, Series II. Lond. and N. Y., 1871.
3. Freeman, E. A. The Study of History. Fortnightly Review, May, 1881.

4. Hall, G. S., Editor. Methods of Teaching and Studying History. 2d ed. Bost., 1885. A valuable series of essays.
5. Scudder, H. E. Methods of Historical Work. In Men and Letters. Bost., 1887.
6. Stubbs, W. Lectures on the Methods of Historical Study, and other aspects of the same subject. In Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History. Oxf., 1887.
7. Freeman, E. A. Methods of Historical Study. Lond. and N. Y., 1886.
8. Foster, F. H. The Seminary Method of Original Study in the Historical Sciences. N. Y., 1888.
9. Adams, C. K. On the Study of History. In Manual of Historical Literature. N. Y., 1889, 3d ed., pp. 1–30. Compare: Adams, H. B. Methods of Historical Study. In Johns Hopkins University Studies, Baltimore, 1884.

III.

THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

1. Smyth, E. C. Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education. Andover, Mass., 1874.
2. Smith, H. B. Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History. In Faith and Philosophy. N. Y. and Edinb., 1877, pp. 49–96.
3. De Witt, J. Church History as a Science, as a Theological Discipline, and as a Mode of the Gospel. Cinc., 1888.
4. Rabiger, J. F. Theological Encyclopædia. Edinb., 1885, vol. ii, pp. 117–296.
5. Stanley, A. P. Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. In History of the Eastern Church, new ed. Lond. and N. Y., 1884, pp. 17–76.
6. Cave, A. Introduction to the Study of Theology. Edinb., 1885, pp. 421–476.
7. Schaff, P. Church History. Latest revised ed., 1890, vol. i, pp. 1–53; and in History of Apostolic Church, General Introduction, pp. 1–153.
8. Hagenbach, Dr. K. R. Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. Translated and edited with additions by G. R. Crooks and J. F. Hurst. New and enlarged ed. N. Y., 1894, pp. 274–415.
9. Bright, W. The Study of Church History. In Waymarks of Church History. Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 1–19.
10. McGiffert, A. C. The Historical Study of Christianity. In Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1893, pp. 150–171.

See also the Introductions in the Church Histories of Schroeckh, Gieseler, Hase, Niedner and Kurtz, and Alzog, Döllinger, and Hergenröther.

IV.

SECULAR HISTORIES.

In the study of Church History the secular histories are as important in their way as the ecclesiastical histories. Gibbon is invaluable; for the investigation of Eastern Christianity Finlay is indispensable; and no better guide in the Church affairs of Scotland can be had than Burton's great work. The kingdom of God mingles itself with the currents of this world, and the world has

mightily influenced the Church. From the standpoint of the Christian all secular history is sacred. A few of these histories are mentioned.

1. Gibbon, E. History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith. N. Y., 6 vols., 1880. Although first published in 1776–88, it has lost but little of its original value. It was founded on a critical study of all the sources available. Best ed., with revisions and additions by J. B. Bury. Lond. and N. Y., 1896 ff.
2. Macaulay, T. B. History of England from the Accession of James II to the Death of William III. Revised ed., 1857, and after. A brilliant history composed with an intense love for liberty and constitutional progress; in the main accurate and reliable. The treatment of W. Penn must be corrected by Forster's W. Penn and T. B. Macaulay. Lond., 1849; Paget's Inquiry into the Evidence of the Charges Brought by Lord Macaulay against W. Penn. Edinb., 1858; Paget's New Examen into Passages of Lord Macaulay's History. Lond., 1861; W. H. Dixon's W. Penn, 2d ed. Lond., 1853; and Stoughton's W. Penn. Lond., 1882.
3. Merivale, C. History of the Romans under the Empire. Lond., 1850–62; new ed., 1890, 8 vols. A work of great merit.
4. Lingard, J. History of England from the Earliest Times to 1688. Lond., 1819–30, 6th ed., revised and enlarged, 1855, 10 vols. A work of solid qualities, written by the use of original documents. Lingard was a liberal-minded Roman Catholic, and his work is written with rare impartiality.
5. Tytler, P. F. A History of Scotland from 1149 to 1603. 9 vols. Lond., 1840–43.
6. Burton, J. H. A History of Scotland from 80 to 1748. 8 vols. 2d ed. Edinb., 1873. New ed., 1897.
7. Froude, J. A. A History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth. Lond. and N. Y., 1859–69; new ed., 1881–82, 12 vols. Written with picturesqueness and marvelous literary power. Froude endeavors to rehabilitate Henry VIII, and does reveal Elizabeth's true character, assigning her just place in history. But his work is too partisan, and has been corrected by various scholars.
8. Finlay, G. History of Greece from the Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time. Revised ed., 7 vols. Oxf., 1877. This work is worthy to stand by the side of Gibbon. Finlay spent his life in his library, beneath the Acropolis, and was saturated with the Greek spirit.
9. Becker, K. F. Weltgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Adolph Schmidt, mit der Fortsetz. von E. Arnd. 26 vols. Leipz., 1860–75; with supplementary vol., 1878.
10. Weber, G. Weltgeschichte. 15 vols. Leipz., 1859–81. This great work presents the religious, intellectual, industrial, and political development of nations.
11. Knight, C. Popular History of England from the Earliest Times to 1849. Lond., 8 vols., 1876. Much information on the religious and social life. Should use only the English edition with its valuable illustrations.
12. Gardiner, S. R. History of England from the Accession of James I to the Restoration. 15 vols. Lond., 1863–95. A model history, written after the German method, with indefatigable studies in the original sources, letting the times tell their own story, and with entire impartiality.

13. Oncken, W. Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen. Berl., 1877–87, 27 vols. and several parts, 1888. A magnificent collection, written by eminent specialists.
14. Green, J. R. Short History of the English People. Lond. and N. Y., 1875, revised ed., 1889; special illustrated ed., 4 vols., 1894–95. [Larger] History of the English People, 4 vols., 1877–80. A fresh and vivid portrayal by a pupil of Freeman and Stubbs.
15. Schlosser, F. C. Weltgeschichte. 18 vols. Berl., 1884–87. Admirable in every way.
16. Ranke, L. Weltgeschichte. 9 vols. Leipz., 1883–88. The death of the author in 1886 interrupted this profound and important work after he had brought it down to the Crusades. It contains his latest views.
17. Mommsen, T. The Provinces and People of Rome, from Cæsar to Diocletian. 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1887.
18. Bryce, J. The Holy Roman Empire. Lond. and N. Y., 1864; revised ed., 1889. A clear statement of the relations of Rome and Germany in the Middle Ages. Of this so-called Empire, Voltaire said that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor Empire.
19. Ridpath, J. C. History of the World. 4 vols. Cinc. and N. Y., 1885–90.

The works of Hallam and the general histories of Fisher, Myers, and Andrews may also be consulted. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, 5th ed., 1881, may be mentioned as a work of immense interest and importance.

V.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL SOURCES.

I. Inscriptions.

1. Gruter. Corpus Inscriptionum. Heidelberg, 1602–06.
2. Boeckh, P. A. Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum. Berl., 1824. Continued by Franz, Kirchhoff, vol. iv., 1858, which includes Christian Inscriptions, Curtius and Röhl.
3. Franz, J. Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ. Berl., 1840.
4. Le Blant, E. Inscriptions chrét. de la Gaule. 2 vols. Paris, 1856–65.
5. Hübner, E. Inscriptiones Hispan. Christ. Berl., 1871; Inscrip. Brit. Christ. Berl., 1876; Handbuch der römischen Epigraphik. Berl., 1877.
6. De Rossi, J. B. Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ Septimo Sæculo Antiquiores. Romæ, 1861. There are many inscriptions also in his great work on the Catacombs. · Romæ, 5 vols., 1864–77. The author spent a lifetime in these researches, and his results are invaluable.
7. Fabretti, A. Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum. 2 vols. Turin, 1867–77; with 3 supplements, Flor., 1880.
8. Northcote, J. S. Epitaphs of the Catacombs, or Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the First Four Centuries. Lond., 1878.

II. Christian Archæology.

1. Bingham, J. Origines Ecclesiasticæ, or Antiquities of the Christian Church. Lond., 1708–22, 10 vols., best ed. in Works. Lond., 1840, 9 vols., or

Oxf., 1855, 10 vols. This is a work of herculean industry, is full of all curious and interesting learning, and founded on a first-hand study of all the sources then available; is as valuable to-day as when it was first published.

2. Augusti, J. W. Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christ. Archäologie. 12 vols. Leips., 1816–32.
3. Rheinwald, G. F. H. Die kirchl. Archäologie. Berl., 1830, and later.
4. Binterim, A. J. Denkwürdigkeiten d. christ. kathol. Kirche. 17 vols. Mayence, 1825, and later.
5. Guericke, H. E. F. Manual of the Antiquities of the Church. Lond., 1851.
6. Martigny, J. A. Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes. Paris, 1865; 2d ed., 1877. Many valuable illustrations.
7. Smith, W. and Cheetham, S. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Lond., 2 vols., 1875–80. Scholarly and exhaustive.
8. Kraus, F. X. Realencyklop. d. christl. Alterthümer. Freib., 2 vols., 1880, 1886. Binterim, Martigny, and Kraus are Roman Catholics.
9. Bennett, C. W. Christian Archæology. N. Y., 1888. New ed. by A. W. Patten, 1899. This is the first attempt by an English-speaking scholar to present the whole subject in a compact and scientific form, according to the best recent light. Bennett was a pupil of Piper, the founder and director of the Christian Archæological Museum in Berlin, and the author of Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie. Gotha, 1867. Bennett's death in 1891 was a serious loss to American scholarship.

III. Councils.

1. Binius, S. Concilia Generalia et Provincialia Græca et Latina. Best ed., Cologne, 1606, and later, 4 vols.
2. Labbe, P. Concilia. Paris, 1671, 17 vols., completed by Gabriel Cossart. Best ed., with additions, edited by Coleti, Venice, 1728, 23 vols., with supplement by Mansi, 6 vols. Lucæ, 1748–52. Coleti brought the work down to 1727, making the most complete collection of the Councils extant.
3. Hardouin, J. Conciliorum Collectio. Paris, 1715, and later, 12 vols.
4. Mansi, G. D. Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio. Flor., 1759–98,,31 vols. This celebrated collection brings the history down to 1509, and is now reprinting in Berlin. It is as founded on the work of Labbe, Cossart, and Coleti.

The History of the Councils has been the subject of extensive research into the original documents by C. J. Hefele, Conciliengeschichte. Freib., 1855–74, 7 vols.; 2d revised ed. by Hefele, Knöpfler, and Hergenröther, 1877, who himself wrote the 8th and 9th vols., 1887, 1890 (see H. M. Scott in Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1892, pp. 564–66), bringing the work down to 1520. The English translation, Edinb., vol. i, 1871; ii, 1876; iii, 1883; iv, 1895; v, 1896, to A. D. 787.

IV. Liturgies.

1. Durandus, W. (d. 1296). Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, circ. 1290. The first printed work from the pen of an uninspired writer. This editio princeps appeared from the press of Faust in 1459, being preceded by the Psalters of 1457 and 1459. The beauty of the typography has seldom been excelled. Other editions are: Rome, 1473; Lyons, 1503, 1512, 1584, 1584; Antwerp, 1570; Venice, 1599, 1609. New ed., Naples, 1866. The

first book was translated by J. M. Neale and B. Webb, under the title of The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. Lond., 1842; new ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1898.

2. Renaudot, E. Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio. Paris, 1715; new ed., 1847, 2 vols.
3. Muratori, L. A. Liturgia Romana Vetus. Venice, 1748.
4. Assemani, J. A. Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ. 13 vols. Rome, 1749–66. This magnificent collection of the rituals, services, and all other liturgical apparatus of the whole Eastern and Western Church was published under the auspices of Pope Boniface XIV.
5. Daniel, H. Codex Liturgicus Eccle. Univ. in Epitomem Redactus. Leipz., 1847, 4 vols.
6. Brett, T. Collection of the Principal Liturgies, with an Introduction. Lond., 1838. The Liturgies are translated.
7. Palmer, W. Origines Liturgicæ. Lond., 1832; 4th ed., 2 vols., 1845. Learned investigations by an ardent liturgiologist.
8. Neale, J. M. The Liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil. Lond., 1859, 2 vols.; one the Greek originals; the other, the English translations. Neale was an enthusiast in all matters of the Greek Church, and the study of the liturgies was one of the passions of his life. See his learned work, Essays in Liturgiology and Church History. Lond., 1863. A thesaurus of information on many of the old liturgies and on liturgical questions.
9. Hammond, C. E. Liturgies, Eastern and Western; edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. Lond., 1878. A useful handbook.
10. Swainson, C. A. The Greek Liturgies. With the Coptic Order of the Mass edited and translated by Bezold. Lond. and N. Y., 1884.
11. Weale, W. J. H. Bibliotheca Liturgica. Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini ab anno MCCCCLXXV impressorum. Lond., 1886.
12. Delisle, L. Memoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires. Paris, 1886. See Church Quarterly Review (Lond.), April, 1889, pp. 182–205.

V. Laws and Canons.

1. Richter, L. A. Corpus Juris Canonici. Leipz., 1833, 2 vols.
2. Friedberg, E. Corpus Juris Canonici. Leipz., 1876–82.
3. Fulton, J. Index Canonum. The Greek Text, an English Translation and a complete Digest of the Canon Law of the Undivided Primitive Church. N. Y., 1872; 3d revised and enlarged ed., 1892.

Many of the ancient laws and canons are given by Migne, Patrologia Latina. Of the Civil Laws: the best edition of the Theodosian Code is by Haenel. Bonn, 1842, 6 vols., with commentaries; and of the Justinian Code the best edition is by Krueger. Berl., 1877. Of the early Protestant Church regulations see the collections by L. A. Richter. Weimar, 1846; and J. J. Moser, Corpus Juris Evang. Ecclesiæ. Zürich, 1737, 2 vols.

VI. Creeds.

1. Walch, C. W. F. Bibliotheca Symbolum Vetus. Lemgo, 1770.
2. Niemeyer, H. A. Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum. Leipz., 1840.

3. Kimmel, E. J. Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis. Jen., 1843–50, 2 vols.
4. Heurtley, C. A. Harmonia Symbolica. Oxf., 1858.
5. Denzinger, H. J. D. Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum. 6th ed. by J. Stahl, Würzb., 1888.
6. Winer, G. B. Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of Christendom, trans. with Introd. by W. B. Pope. Edinb., 1873; new ed., 1887.
7. Caspari, C. P. Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols u. d. Glaubensregel. 3 vols. Christiania, 1866–75. Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, 1879. These are epoch-making works. The author pursued his investigations with great ardor, and completely revolutionized this study. It is one of the greatest historical works of this century. He died in 1892.
8. Hahn, A. Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln. Breslau, 1842; 2d ed., 1877. A critical edition of the creeds of the first five centuries.
9. Schaff, P. Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiæ Universalis. The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. N. Y., 1877; 4th ed., 1884. This monumental work is indispensable to the student. The creeds are given in the original and in translation.

VII. Papal Bulls, Acts, Rescripts, Briefs, and Regests.

1. The oldest collection of Papal Bulls is the Bullae diversorum Pontificum a Joane XXII and Julium III ex Bibliotheca Ludovici Gomes. Rome, 1550. The first comprehensive collection was that made by Cherubini, and contains all the bulls and briefs from Leo I to 1585. The Bullarium Magnum of Maynardus, Luxemb., 1739–68, 19 vols. fol., contains the bulls from Leo the Great to Benedict XIV. The similar collection of Coquelines appeared at the same time, Rome, 1733–48, 14 vols. fol., continued by Barbarini, Rome, 1835, 20 vols. fol. The latest issue of the papal bulls from Leo the Great to recent times is that of Tomassetti, Turin, 1857–72, 24 vols.
2. The older papal briefs: Constant, Epp. Rom. Pontif., Paris, 1721; Schoenemann, Götting., 1796; Thiel, Braunsberg, 1867–68 (down to 523).
3. Jaffe, P. Regesta Pontif. Rom. (to 1198), 2d ed. Berl., 1881–88, 2 vols.
4. Potthast, A. Regesta Pont. (1198–1304), 2 vols. Berl., 1873.

The Liber Pontificalis gives the history of the popes down to the second half of the ninth century. It long went under the name of the Library of Anastasius, under the mistaken notion of its authorship by Anastasius, librarian to the Church of Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas I, 858–67. There are editions of this by Bianchini, Rome, 1718, fol., which served as a basis for Muratori's edition, contained in the 3d volume of his Scriptores rerum Italicarum, 1723; by Röstell and Giesebrecht in Pertz, Monumenta Germanica; by Duchesne, Paris, 1886–90, who wrote a study of the Liber Pontificalis, Paris, 1877, and by Watterich, Romanorum Pontificum Vitæ, 2 vols., Leipz., 1862, reaching to 1198. There are various continuations, though not as a part of the Liber Pontificalis. A compendium of the whole is Amalricus Augerii, Actus Pontificum Romanorum, 1365, extending from St. Peter to John XII (1321), printed in Eccard, Corpus Hist. Medii Aevi, II, 1641, and in Muratori, vol. iii, part ii.

Of the modern histories of the popes we mention the following:

1. Bower, A. Impartial History of the Popes of Rome. 7 vols. Lond., 1750–66. This was translated into German by Rambach, 10 vols. Leipz., 1751–67.
2. Rambach, J. J. Geschichte der röm. Päpste seit der Reformation. 2 vols. 1779.
3. Ranke, L. von. Geschichte der röm. Päpste. 7th ed., 3 vols., 1878; 1st ed., 1837; Eng. trans., 1840, 3 vols. This chiefly pertains to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The documents, to many of which in manuscript and otherwise the author had access in Rome, are given in the third volume. A thoroughly scientific performance; a specimen of the best German historical achievements.
4. Wattenbach, W. Geschichte der röm. Päpste. Berl., 1870.
5. Pastor, L. Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Freib., 1886–89. Trans. into English, ed. by F. A. Antrobus, Lond., 1891, 2 vols. On this see Druffel, in Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1887, No. 12; C. Anderson Scott in The Critical Review, 1892, pp. 284–89, and H. M. Scott in the Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, pp. 561–64. Vols. iii and iv appeared in 1895. Vol. iii transl. Lond., 1897.

VIII. Lives and Acts of Saints and Martyrs (General).

1. Surius. Vitæ Sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomanno olim conscriptæ. Cologne, 1570–75, 6 vols. fol.; latest ed., Turin, 1875, and later, 12 vols.
2. Bollandists, The. Acta Sanctorum, 61 vols. fol., Antwerp, 1643, and later; Paris, 63 vols., 1863–83. This gigantic enterprise was conducted with great perseverance by the Jesuit Fathers at Antwerp, beginning with Heribert Rosweyd, who published the first volume in 1615, continued by Johann Bolland (died 1665), and so on until the 53d folio volume appeared in 1794, containing Oct. 12–15 inclusive. In 1837, by the munificence of the Belgian government, the undertaking was renewed by Jesuit scholars at Brussels, and now comprises 63 folio volumes. It is furnished with learned Introductions and Commentaries, and is characterized by a good degree of historic faithfulness.
3. Mabillon, J. Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti. 9 vols., fol. Paris, 1668–70. A work written with searching criticism, which brought the author much trouble.
4. Ruinart, T. Acta Primorum Martyrum. Paris, 1689; 3d ed., with Life, Verona, 1731. This author also assisted Mabillon in the 8th and 9th vols. of his great work.
5. Assemani, S. E. Acta SS. Martyrum Orientalium. 2 vols. Rome, 1748.
6. Butler, A. Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Saints. 4 vols., fol., 1756–59. Best ed., Dublin, 1866, 12 vols. A result of thirty years' labor, based on the Acta Sanctorum.
7. Baring-Gould, S. Lives of the Saints. 15 vols. Lond., 1873–77; with supplementary vol. on Emblems of the Saints in Art, by F. C. Husenbeth, ed. by Dr. A. Jessopp. New ed., rev. and enl., 1897–8.

IX. Chronology.

1 Haydn, J. Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information. Lond., 1841; 20th revised ed., N. Y., 1893. The work is arranged by subjects.
2 Smith, H. B. History of the Church in Chron. Tables. N. Y., 1859; revised ed., 1875.

3. Weidenbach. Calendarium Hist. Chr. Medii et Novi Ævi. Regensb., 1855.
4. Grotefend, G. A. Handbuch des hist. Chr. des Mittelalters. Hen., 1872.
5. Woodward, B. B., and Cates, W. L. R. Encyclopædia of Chronology, historical and biographical. Lond., 1872.
6. Brinckmeier. Prakt. Handbuch d. hist. Chronologie. Berl., 2d ed., 1883.
7. Heilprin, L. The Historical Reference Book. N. Y., 1884. 4th ed., revised to 1893. N. Y., 1893. Very accurate but not sufficiently full. The Chronological Table should be at least doubled in size, and the Biographical Dictionary, too meager to be of value, should be omitted altogether.
8. Harper's Book of Facts. A Classified History of the World. Edited by C. T. Lewis. N. Y., 1895.

VI.

GEOGRAPHY.

1. Sprüner, K. Historischer Hand-Atlas. Gotha, 1838–46; 3d ed. by Menke, 1871–80.
2. Wiltsch, J. E. T. Atlas Sacer s. Ecclesiasticus. Göttingen, 1848. Trans. into English by John Leitch. Lond., 1859, 2 vols. Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik, 2 vols., 1846.
3. Hughes, W. Historical Atlas. Lond., 1876.
4. Johnston, W. and A. K. Historical Atlas. 2 vols. Edinb., 1880.
5. Freeman, E. A. Historical Geography of Europe, 2 vols., text and atlas. Lond. and N. Y., 1881.
6. Droysen, G. Allgemeiner historischer Hand-Atlas (96 maps with explanatory text). Bielef. and Leipz., 1886.
7. Labberton, R. H. New Historical Atlas and General History. New and enlarged ed. N. Y., 1890.

VII.

ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.

The encyclopædias are important as giving summaries of results by the best scholars. In some of these works the subjects are treated at great length.

1. Aschbach, J. Allgemeines Kirchen-Lexicon. Frankfort a-M., 1846–50, 4 vols. Roman Catholic.
2. Blunt, J. H. Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology. Lond. and Phila., 1870; 2d ed., 1872. Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Thought. Lond. and Phila., 1874; new ed., 1891. Written by High Church scholars. An immense amount of information from the best sources, but presented with a strong hierarchical bias.
3. Herzog, J. J., Plitt, G. L., and Hauck, A. Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Leipz., 1877–88, 18 vols. The first edition was published 1854–66, 22 vols. Based on this great work is the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. N. Y., 1882, 3 vols.; revised ed., 1887, 3 vols.; with supplementary vol. on Living Divines; new ed., 1893, 4 vols. Exhaustive treatment of historical subjects. New ed., by Hauck, 1897 ff.

4. McClintock, J. and Strong, J. Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. N. Y., 1867–81, 10 vols., with two supplementary vols., 1884–86. The most extensive work of the kind in English; a vast treasure house of learning. The work now needs a thorough revision and rewriting.
5. Encyclopædia Britannica. Edited by T. S. Baynes and W. R. Smith, 9th ed. Edinb., Lond., Bost., and N. Y., 1875–89, 25 vols., including an index vol. The Church History articles by specialists like Harnack, Cazenove, and others. Issues of A. and C. Black (Little, Brown & Co.), Scribner's, and Stoddart are the best.
6. Lichtenberger, F. Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses. Paris, 1877–82, 13 vols. The French Herzog, though more concise.
7. Wetzer und Welte. Kirchen-Lexikon, revised and rewritten under the editorial care of Cardinal Hergenröther and Franz Kaulen. Freib., 1880–95, 10 vols. The first edition appeared 1847–56, 12 vols. The revision departs seriously from the free spirit of the original, and is in the ultramontane interest, though written by the best scholars of Catholic Germany.
8. Smith, W. and Wace, H. Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines. Lond., 1877–86, 4 vols. Includes the first eight centuries, and is a marvel of comprehensiveness and scholarship. Many of its articles are exhaustive monographs. German scholars acknowledge that it surpasses anything in their language. It is to be hoped that this work will be followed by others, bringing the history down to the present.
9. Chambers's Encyclopædia, new ed., recast and rewritten, edited by David Patrick. Edinb. and Phila., 1888–93, 10 vols. (the earlier volumes again revised to 1892). Every article has been revised or written at first hand by eminent scholars. The historical articles are full and fair, and reflect the latest research.
10. Johnson's Encyclopædia, edited by C. K. Adams. N. Y., 1893–95, 8 vols. The department of general Church History is in most competent hands, being edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, Secretary of the American Society of Church History (8 vols.). This is the best encyclopædia published in the United States.

An English Herzog is much needed, a work giving exhaustive treatment of all subjects in theology, written in view of the recent remarkable progress in theological science.

The reviews and magazines, especially the theological reviews, often give masterly discussions of questions in Church History. The student ought to avail himself of the Indexes of Poole and Fletcher.

VIII.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL AND OTHER WRITERS.

1. Canisius, H. Antiquæ Lectiones, 1601–03, 6 vols.; repub. by Basnage, 1725, 7 vols., with notes and the Greek text added.
2. Combefis, F. Græco-Lat. Patrum Bibliothecæ Auctarium novum. Paris, 1648, 2 vols. Besides a collection of the writings of several Fathers, this

notable work contains a history of the Monothelites, which treats the subject so freely that Rome was much displeased. Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria, 8 vols. Paris, 1662, reissued 1859. Bibliothecæ Græcorum Patrum Auctarium novissimum. Paris, 1672, 2 vols. Combefis published editions of other Fathers.

3. Achery, J. L. d'. Veterum aliquot Scriptorum qui in Galliæ Bibliothecis delituerant, maxime Benedictinorum, Spicilegium. Paris, 1655–77, 13 vols., 4to. New and improved ed. by de la Barre, Baluze, and Martène. Paris, 1723, 3 vols., fol. A vast collection of works then for the first time published.
4. Du Pin, L. E. Bibliothèque universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques. Paris, 1686–1704, 47 vols. Later editions with continuations of Goujet, Petit-Didier, and critique of R. Simon, 61 vols. Written in a free spirit.
5. Martène, E. Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio Nova. Rouen, 1700. A continuation of D'Achery, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio. Paris, 1724–33, 9 vols., fol.
6. Montfaucon, B. de. Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum. Paris, 1706, 2 vols., fol. He also published magnificent editions of Athanasius, Paris, 1698, fol.; the Hexapla of Origen, 1713, fol.; and Chrysostom, Paris, 1718–38, 13 vols., fol.; Venice, 1780, 14 vols., 4to. This marvelous monument of erudition and patience still remains one of the best editions of any Church Father.
7. Assemani, J. S. Bibliotheca Orientalis. 3 vols., fol. Romæ, 1719–28. For some of the Syriac writers.
8. Muratori, L. A. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Milan, 1723–51, 25 vols., fol. An invaluable collection of the sources of mediæval history of Italy, A. D. 500–1500. Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum. Milan, 1739–42, 4 vols., fol.
9. Ceillier, R. Histoire générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques. Paris, 1729–63, 23 vols.; new ed., 1858–69, 16 vols.
10. Bouquet, M. Scriptores Rerum Gallicarum et Francilarum, 1738–76. One of the numerous works of the industrious Benedictines of St. Maur. The first eight vols. by Bouquet; vols. ix–xi by Handigier; xii and xiii by Clément; xiv and xv by Brial; afterward continued by the Academy of Inscriptions; new ed. by Delisle. Paris, 1869–77.
11. Gallandi, A. Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. Venice, 1765–81, 14 vols., fol. Contains the work of 330 authors.
12. Langebeck, J. Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi. Hafn, 1772–1878.
13. Lumper, G. Historia theologico-critica de vita, scriptis, atque doctrina ss. Patrum, aliorumque Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum trium primorum Sæculorum. Augsb., 1783–99, 13 vols.
14. Routh, M. T. Reliquiæ Sacræ. Oxf., 1814–18, 4 vols.; 2d ed., 1846; sup. vol., 1848. "Fragments of the lost Christian authors of the second and third centuries, one of the most important and useful works upon patristic literature, revealing the finest English scholarship." Scriptorum Eccl. Opuscula, 1832, 2 vols.; 3d ed., 1858.
15. Monumenta Germaniæ Historica. Berl., 1819 to the present, 50 vols., 30 in fol., the rest in quarto. This vast collection of sources for the history of Germany is divided into five main parts: 1. Scriptores; 2. Leges; 3. Diplomata; 4. Epistolæ; 5. Antiquitates. It was begun

by Pertz, with whom Jaffé was associated from 1854 to 1863, continued by Waitz from 1875 to 1886, and is now under the direction of Dümmler.

16. Mai, A. Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio. Rome, 1825–38, 10 vols.; Spicilegium Romanum, 1839–44, 8 vols.; Nova Patrum Bibliotheca, Rome, 1844–71, 8 vols.; with an Appendix, Rome, 1879.
17. Niebuhr, B. G. (with Bekker and others). Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ. Bonn, 1828–55, 48 vols.
18. Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, translated by Members of the English Church. Oxf., 1838–80, 47 vols. This collection was edited by Pusey, Keble, and Newman. It contains translations of the works, in whole or in part, of Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril (1880), Cyprian, Gregory the Great, and Tertullian. It is furnished with valuable notes.
19. Migne, J. P. Patrologiæ Cursus Completus. Paris, 1844–66. This immense collection includes all the Latin Fathers to the thirteenth century, 222 vols., and all the Greek Fathers to the fifteenth century, 166 vols. From this indomitable abbé's organ, cross, and book factory there issued also a theological encyclopædia in 171 vols., and a collection of sacred orators in 100 vols.
20. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland from the Roman Invasion to Henry VIII. Lond., 1858–90, 210 vols. This series, commonly called the Rolls Series, is edited by specialists, and each vol. is enriched with introductions and notes of inestimable value. See C. K. Adams, Manual of Historical Literature, 3d ed., p. 530; Walter Rye, article Records in the new (1891) ed. of Chambers's Encyclopædia. Several of the old historians have also been published by the English Historical Society, 1838–56, and many of them have been translated in Bohn's Antiquarian Library. The Camden Society has issued several old works. The Historical Manuscript Commission has published transcripts of important manuscripts, 1870–71, and abstracts of many others. Full descriptions of the English historical material will be found in Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Lond., 1862–71, 3 vols.; Wright, Biographia Britannica Literaria. Lond., 1842, 1846, 2 vols.; and Gardiner and Mullinger, Introduction to the Study of English History. Lond., 1881, part ii. (pp. 200–424).
21. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiæ Latinæ. Vienna, 1867–95, 17 vols. Issued by the Academy of Vienna. Excellent editions by the best scholars.
22. Jaffé, P. Bibliotheca Rerum Germanorum, 1864–69. Regesta Pont. Rom., 1851; 2d ed., 1881–82.
23. The Ante-Nicene Library, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, and translated with notes and introductions by various hands. Edinb., 1867–72, 24 vols. Reprinted with additional notes and introductions by the Christian Literature Co., edited by A. C. Coxe. N. Y., 1885–86, 8 vols., with Bibliography (by E. C. Richardson) and Index (by B. Pick) vol. N. Y., 1887.
24. Horoy. Medii Ævi Bibliotheca Patrist. s. Patrologia. Paris, 1879. A continuation of Migne for the later Middle Ages, 1216–1564. Sathas published at Paris, 1872–95, a collection of the Greek writers of the Middle Ages.

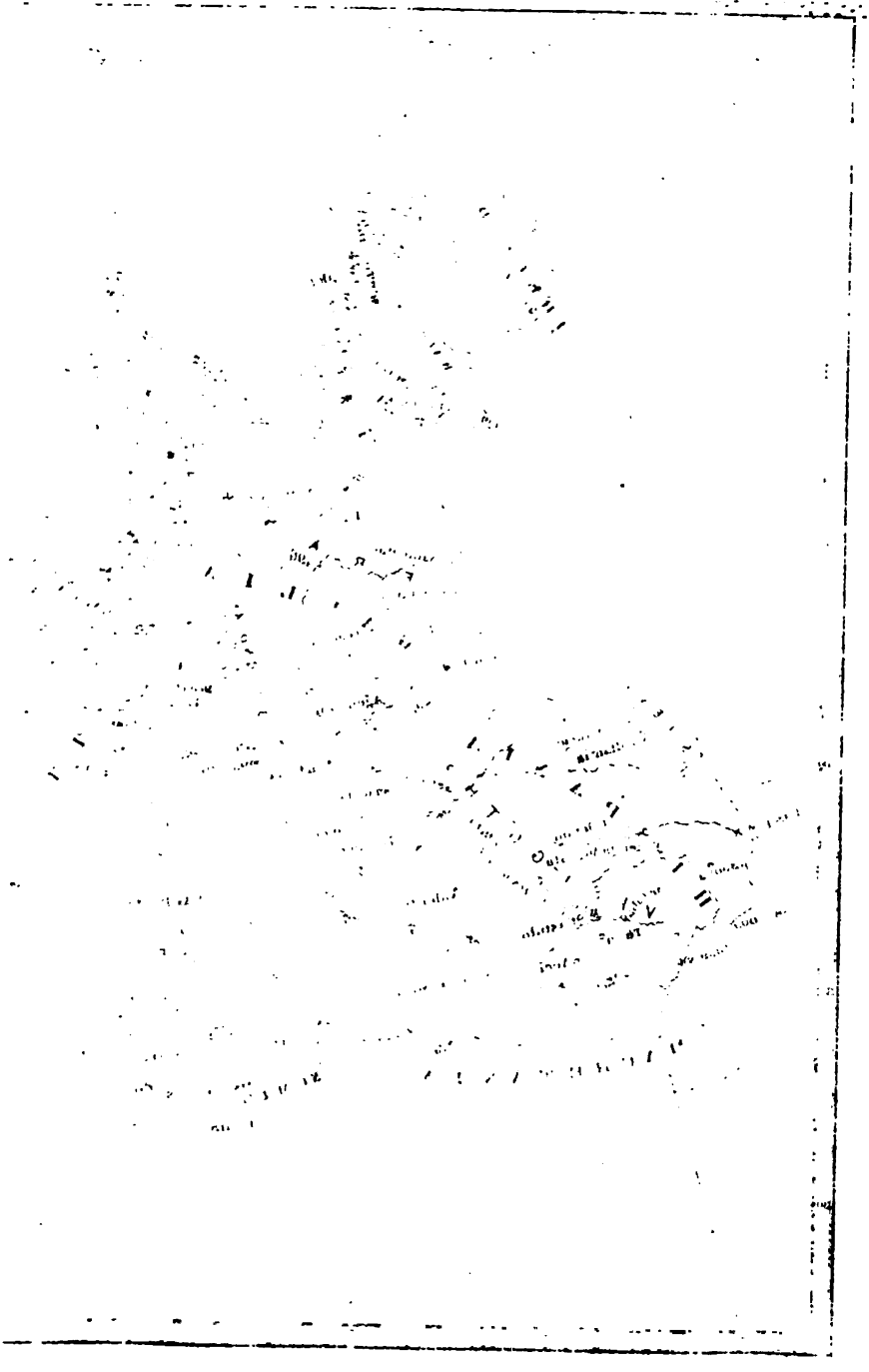
25. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte d. altchristlichen Literatur. Leipz., 1882 to the present. Edited by O. L. Gebhardt and A. Harnack. Handy critical editions of various writings.
26. Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Series I, edited by Philip Schaff, and translated by various scholars, with introductions and notes. N. Y., 1886–90, 14 vols. Includes many of the works of Augustine and Chrysostom.
27. Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Schaff and Wace, and translated, with prolegomena and notes, by various scholars. N. Y., 1890–96 (not yet finished). Includes: 1. Eusebius, Church History, McGiffert (the best edition of a Church Father ever published); Eusebius, Constantine, by Richardson; 2. Socrates, by Zenos; Sozomen, by Hartranft; 3. Theodoret, by Jackson; Jerome and Gennadius, by Richardson; Rufinus and Jerome, by Fremantle; 4. Athanasius, by Robertson; 5. Gregory of Nyssa, by Moore and Wilson; 6. Jerome, by Fremantle (Lewis and Martley); 7. Cyril of Jerusalem, by Gifford; Gregory Nazianzen, by Browne; 8. Basil, by Jackson; 11. Sulpitius Severus, by Roberts; Vincent of Lerins, by Heurtley; John Cassian, by Gibson; Leo, by Feltoe; Gregory the Great, by Barmby; Ambrose, by De Romestin.
28. Patrologia Syriaca. Edited by P. Graffin, assisted by eminent specialists, vols. 1 and 2. Paris, 1895. This is to consist of an issue in critically prepared editions of the entire literature of the ancient Syrian Church. The Syriac text is to be accompanied with Latin translations, introductions, notes of various readings, and is to be done by Roman Catholic scholars. This notable undertaking is to complete the work of Migne, though it is to be executed with the critical care which was absent from his series. See the Independent, N. Y., June 20, 1895, p. 16; Sunday School Times, July 27, 1895, p. 476.

IX.

HISTORIES OF DOCTRINES.

1. Hagenbach, K. R. 1840, 6th ed., by Karl Benrath, 1888; English trans. from 5th ed., Edinb., 1880, 3 vols.
2. Schmid, H. 1859, 4th ed., much enlarged, by Hauck. Nördl., 1887.
3. Baur, F. C. Leipz., 1865–67, 3 vols. His Handbook on the same subject was published in 1847; 2d ed., 1858.
4. Neander, A. 2 vols. Lond., 1858.
5. Frank, G. F. Geschichte der prot. Theologie. 3 vols. 1865.
6. Werner. Geschichte der Theologie in Deutschland. Munich, 1866.
7. Shedd, W. G. T. N. Y. and Edinb., 1865, 2 vols.; 4th ed., 1884.
8. Crippen, T. G. Edinb., 1888. Excellent for a brief survey.
9. Dorner, I. A. Hist. of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany. 2 vols. Edinb., 1871.
10. Sheldon, H. C. 2 vols. N. Y., 1886; new ed., enlarged, 1895.
11. Harnack, A. Freib., 1886–90, 3 vols., transl. by Neil Buchanan, vol. i, Lond. and Bost., 1895. Harnack struck out a new path in the treatment of the History of Doctrine, but his conception is yet on trial. For discussions, see F. H. Foster, Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1888, pp. 163–85; H. M. Scott, in Current Discussions in Theology, vol. iv (1887), pp. 129–34; v, 153–55; vi, 73–183; Paul, in Jahrb. für protestant. Theologie, April,

1889; H. M. Scott, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1891, pp. 513–17; J. S. Candlish, in Critical Review, i (1891), pp. 273–78. Harnack's smaller book on the same subject, Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte, Freib., 1889, not an abridgment but a freshly written work, has been translated by E. K. Mitchell, Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Two other excellent works in German: Thomasius, 2 vols., Erlang., 1874, and Nitzsch, vol. i, Berl., 1870. The work of Thomasius was revised in a second ed. by H. Bonwetsch, Erlang., 1886, and is a work of great merit. On Harnack, see also R. Rainy, Crit. Rev., April, 1895.



20
15
10
5
0
5
10
15
55
50
45
40
35
30
IRELAND
IONA
Edinburgh
WALES
HEPTARCHY
WESSEX
CORNWALL
NORWEGIANS
DANES
SAXONS
Trecht
Colonia Agrippina
Arabianum
Suessiones
Parisii
Samarobriva
Pictavis
Lemovices
Avernum
Burdigala
Elusa
Agennum
Tolosa
Narbona
Massilia
Arelate
Pisae
Florentia
Bononia
Ariminum
Ancona
Parma
Aesculum
Praenestae
Roma
Capua
Puteoli
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Ulisippo
Pallantia
Caesar Augusta
Turraco
Barcino
Northern Limit
Valentia
Emerita Augusta
Tucci
Castulo
Acci
Gades
Malaca
Carthago Nova
Ossonoba
Tabernas
Cordula
Ruins since 4th Century
Arians in 5th Century
Catholics in 589
SUEVI
VISIGOTHS
BURGUNDIANS
LOMBARDS
ALLEMANNI
THURINGIANS
RHAETIA
NORICUM
Salzburg
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Fulda
Worms
Mayence
Treves
Cologne
Aquileia
Tergeste
Mediolanum
Verona
Taurinum
Ravenna
Arimini
Ancona
Parma
Aesculum
Praenestae
Roma
Capua
Puteoli
Mohammedanism
SICILIA
Utica
Carthage
Hippo Regius
Cirta
Mauretania
Numidia
Mascanades
Badias
Zaara
MALTA
Lepta
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA


DEVELOPMENT MAP
OF
CHRISTIANITY
EXTENT OF CHRISTIANITY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY
TERRITORY CHRISTIANIZED IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES
TERRITORY CHRISTIANIZED IN THE NINTH, TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
TERRITORY CHRISTIANIZED IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES
CHURCHES OF THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD (33-100) ARE INDICATED THUS Antioch
THE JOURNEYS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL ARE INDICATED THUS
THE DATES ON THE MAP INDICATE THE APPROXIMATE PERIODS OF CONVERSION
FINNS
ESTHS
LIVES
LITHUANIANS
PRUSSIANS
RUSSIANS
(988-1015)
Kiew
(988)
GOLDEN HORDE
CHAZARS
TARTARS
PATZINAKS
ALANI
MAGYARS
(350-1050)
CUMANIANS
SERVIANS
MOESIA
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
ILLYRICUM
PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
CRETE
Middle of the Eleventh Century
AEGYPTUS
Alexandria
Antioch
Jerusalem
Damascus
Caesarea Philippi
Palmyra
Tarsus
Ephesus
Corinth
Athens
Rome
Carthage
Cyprus
Rhodes

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCIENCE AND LITERATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL CHURCH.

THE Christian Church is that association and organization of persons who have been baptized in the name of Christ, who are united by the visible acceptance of his doctrines and by declaration of faith in him, and who strive by their individual and related life to obey his teachings and follow his example. The actual Church, in distinction from the Christian, includes all believers in whom the divine Spirit dwells, apart from any relationship with ecclesiastical confessions. Hodge thus defines the Church in this larger sense: "All true believers in whom the Spirit of God dwells are members of that Church which is the body of Christ, no matter with what ecclesiastical organization they may be connected, and even although they have no such connection. The thief on the cross was saved, though he was not a member of any external Church."[1] The general Church is of still broader scope. DEFINITION OF THE CHURCH. It consists of all worshipers of Jehovah in the pre-Christian ages, of the persons of pure purpose in all lands who have lived according to such light as the Spirit gave them, of all followers of Christ, and of all who have died in such faith as their opportunities gave them and have ascended to citizenship in the triumphant company of believers. It is the entire body of the

[1] Systematic Theology, i, p. 184.

human servants of God—those who are still in the battle of faith and those who rest from their labors.[1]

Neither the actual nor the general Church is a proper, or even possible, subject of historical investigation, because of the large measure of subtle and intangible material in which both are enveloped. However easily they might be treated by the doctrinal theologian, the historian can deal only with organized ecclesiastical life, its relations to the great world about it, and the adverse and favorable influences which have operated upon it during its progress through the centuries. The historian of the Christian Church, therefore, comes to his task with a well-defined field of vision—the Church of Christ, from its organization shortly after the ascension of our Lord down to the present time. He will need to inquire, however, as a preliminary study, into the conditions of thought and faith, in their centers, at the time of the introduction of Christianity. He must examine the soil into which the great Sower cast that seed which has produced, and will more largely produce, the abundant harvest of thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold.

THE DUTY OF THE HISTORIAN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The process in imparting truth to the patriarchal mind, and thus providing the real beginnings of the Church of the future, is a suggestive and beautiful evidence of divine favor toward mankind. Immediately after the apostasy remedial measures were adopted for final restoration. The method was slow, and required ages for its development. The restoration began with the call of one man, Abraham, in the desert of Haran, and was fulfilled two thousand years afterward in Bethlehem by the incarnation of Christ. A people was chosen to be the depository[2] of divine truth; to preserve, amid the surrounding waste of pantheism and polytheism, a pure theistic faith and the practice of a holy and worthy service; and, by the anticipations awakened through type and prophecy, to look for final completion and the beginning of a universal spiritual empire, when the Messiah should come and establish his throne on earth. This people constituted the original Church, and, notwithstanding its many wanderings in faith and life, it was never without a remnant of devoted servants of the true

THE ORIGINAL CHURCH.

[1] On the distinction between the visible and invisible Church in the first age of Christianity, see Pressensé, Heresy and Christian Doctrine, book ii, ch. iv, § 5. The Roman Catholics falsely charged the Protestants with inventing this distinction. See Bossuet, Variations of the Protestant Churches, Dublin, 1836, vol. ii, pp. 281, 290. Bellarmine excludes it and argues against it (Opera, tom. ii, lib. iii, chs. ii, xi, xii). Compare Moehler, Symbolism, ch. v. For an excellent discussion of this distinction, see Bannerman, The Church of Christ, vol. ii, pp. 29–40.

[2] Rom. xi, 4.

God. At the darkest crisis in its history there were seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal.

But it was after Christ had come and preached his word and appointed men to organize his work that the Church first assumed universal prerogatives. Its provincial character was lost in its cosmopolitan quality. Not until the ends of the earth should be reached was the evangelistic commission to be fulfilled. Never before the incarnation had holy men been commanded to go into all the world and preach to every creature. The burden of empire was upon these first preachers. The whole Roman world was too small for their parish. It is this Church, as distinguished from the actual and the general, that has its firm place in history, and its record can be examined with as much precision and justice as that of Britain since the Norman conquest in 1066, or the kingdom of Prussia since the death of the Great Elector, Frederick William, in 1688.

THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

Church history is a representation of the external progressive career of the Christian Church, of its multiform influences on all surrounding relations, of the disturbing effects of the outward world upon it, of its own consequent aberrations in doctrine and practice, and yet of its inward spiritual life and development, though often intermitted, through all the centuries of its life. In this history we observe the constant presence of the divine and human factors. At no time has the Church been deprived of God's superintending care and instruction. In seasons of spiritual darkness and increasing impiety he has provided instruments for revival and progress; and while the periods of stagnation have extended over entire centuries and darkened the very centers of religious zeal and power, the career of the Church has been one of general growth and development. Martensen[1] finely states the difference between the faultless and the fallible in the Church: "The Church is absolutely faultless as regards her principle and her beginning; absolutely faultless also as to her final aim; but in the interval between these extremes, in her historical and free development, her relative fallibility lies. The historical development of the Church is not, as Catholicism asserts, normal; it is subject, like a ship on the billows, to the undulations of the times."[2] Even during the Middle Ages, which we are accustomed to regard as a season of unrelieved decline, agencies were prepared

WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?

MARTENSEN'S FINE DISTINCTION.

[1] Christian Dogmatics, p. 350.

[2] The Westminster Confession says: "The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error." Chap. xxiii, 5.

for the more rapid diffusion of the Gospel and its firmer hold upon humanity. It was no fancy, but prophecy:

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
And Severn to the sea;
And Wyclif's dust shall spread abroad
Wide as the waters be."

But notwithstanding the general divine superintendence of the Church, no obstruction has been placed on human freedom. To deal with the question of the Church as a moral offender, when it ought to be a teacher and an exemplar for all sound doctrine, is one of the most unwelcome tasks of the historian. He is frequently called to investigate periods of great spiritual decline, as on the Continent in the fifteenth century and in England in the eighteenth; and to grope through regions stricken with the blight of fruitless controversy, as in Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa in the sixth century. He is compelled to admit that the pure fountain of faith has repeatedly been corrupted by grave doctrinal errors, that schism has come at times when unity of sentiment and action was a supreme necessity, that the vanity of the controversialist has too often superseded the simplicity of the willing disciple, that the unholy common life of those who bore the Christian name has too frequently been substituted for that sweet sympathy and accord which characterized the Church in its earliest period, and that such crimes as would have darkened the escutcheon of even a barbarous nation, such as the Spanish *autos de fé* and the French massacre on St. Bartholomew's Eve, have been committed in the name of Christianity.

THE DARKER PERIODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Buckle says that persecution is the crime of crimes, that the number of the Church's known victims has been "enormous and almost incredible," and that the number of the unknown victims must be far more numerous.[1]

But it must be remembered that the Church, when its conscience has been free to speak and work, has not only stood far aloof from persecution, but has been liberal and pure, and, instead of making apologies for its vagaries in darker days, it has been prompt to confess them.[2]

This sadly disappointing character of ecclesiastical history has not failed to attract the attention of some of the most acute observers. Professor Bright describes it very forcibly,[3] while the saintly Charles Marriott, of Oxford Tractarian

DISAPPOINTMENTS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[1] History of Civilization in England, vol. i, p. 189.
[2] Dorner, System of Christian Doctrine, vol. iv, p. 367.
[3] Waymarks in Church History. Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 8-19.

fame, says: "Whoever enters upon the study of Church history must be prepared for many surprises."[1] The late Dean Church, whose vision was keen, makes a similar remark: "The history of the Christian Church has hardly fulfilled the promise, has not realized on a large scale the ideal, of the New Testament. It has been a very mixed history; on the one hand, great efforts, definite improvement, and progress; on the other, perplexing disappointment, inconsistency, degeneracy."[2] It is, as Faber says:

> "In His own world He is content
> To play a losing game."

But these are only parts of God's ways. We need to distinguish between the human fulfillment and the divine ideal. The plan of God is perfect, but the fulfillment is left with the often erring creature. The Church, with all its human quality, has been guided by the divine hand. There has been final progress, however unfavorable may be our judgment of the Church at certain points in its history. "We will discover," says Schlegel, "in the Christian religion the sole principle of the subsequent progress of mankind; and the distinctive character and intellectual importance of the third and last epoch of the world we will find only in that light which, emerging from the primitive revelation and the religion of love established by the Redeemer, has shone ever clearer and brighter with the progress of ages, and has changed and regenerated not only government and science, but the whole system of human life."[3]

SCHLEGEL'S TRIBUTE TO CHRISTIANITY.

But while the Church has seriously wandered at many stages in its journey, it has nevertheless uttered a prophetic denunciation of the wrong. No period has been so corrupt as to be without its Protestant heroes. Rome might be ruled by its shameless Borgian pope, Alexander VI, but independent Florence was dignified at the same time by his counterpart in the pure Savonarola. Whenever the Church has produced improper and unsafe forces, it has never failed to provide the corrective from its own fold. In its seasons of moral perversion and decay it might be destructive of the very good which its own hand had planted. The view of Buckle, imitated by Lecky and Draper, that the Church is responsible for persecution, witchcraft, and the ignorance that would prosecute all science in the person of a Galileo, needs only to be met by the declaration that the Church has cured

THE CHURCH ALWAYS PRODUCTIVE OF REFORMERS.

[1] Masters of English Theology, p. 109.
[2] Discipline of the Christian Character, p. 119.
[3] Philosophy of History, 6th ed., revised, p. 276.

its own evils, and that the Church of Leo X was also that of the valiant Luther and the calm and scholarly Erasmus.

The Church has gained its permanent triumphs by the ordeal of labor and trial and blood. Its acquisitions have not fallen, like ripe fruit, on its open hands. Its history gives constant evidence of the operation of the law of development. The Church is a kingdom which had its origin in the mind and plan of a King without territory, scepter, palace, or pillow, but in due time, without taking its sword from its sheath and by the force of its moral ideas and examples alone, saw the downfall of the Roman empire and on its ruins the Christendom of the later ages. Tholuck says: "The idea of the kingdom of God is the leading thought in the history of the Church."[1] The view of Rothe, that before A. D. 70 there was no real Christian Church, but only disconnected societies, may have its measure of correctness.[2]

LAW OF DEVELOPMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY —THOLUCK AND ROTHE.

But it may be replied, that as the unlaunched ship proves at a glance the element for which its keel was laid and every bolt driven, so those small Christian societies were shaped for union, consolidation, and a firm place in history. Children are not ready for social unity, but every member of the State was once a child. The Church is the spiritual force in the midst of a world of secular forces. Whenever, in its moral aberration, it assumes the part of a secular ruler, as in the thousand years of the papacy as a temporal power and in the Jesuit interference with the Portuguese succession, it has lost its spirituality. Its mission is in the domain of the moral life alone, to pervade all civil government with its pure life by cleansing the popular sources of government and to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. The Church has been precisely this spiritual force in the midst of the secular; or, as Hegel states it: "The Christian community is the kingdom of Christ, its influencing present spirit being Christ. For this kingdom has an actual existence, not a merely future one. This spiritual actuality has, therefore, also a phenomenal existence; and that, not only as contrasted with heathenism, but with secular existence generally. For the Church, as presenting this outward existence, is not merely a religion as opposed to another religion, but is at the same time a particular form of secular existence occupying a place side by side with other secular existence. The religious existence of the Church is governed by Christ."[3]

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

[1] Theolog. Encyclop. and Methodology. In Bib. Sac., vol. i, p. 567.
[2] Anfänge d. christl. Kirche, p. 310.
[3] Philosophy of History, p. 344.

The forgetfulness of this divine Presence in the history of the Church is the cause of the frequent misconception in literature of those sublime virtues which have shone forth in periods of persecution, and of that calm trust in pain and sorrow which has distinguished those upon whom its heavier burdens have fallen. Even Goethe, who paid such a glowing tribute to the sublimity of the service in a little church on the Rhine, and who with his many-sided genius could discover truth in much error and was not slow to declare it, could see in the history of the Church only a wretched mixture of falsehood and brute force:

GOETHE'S FAILURE TO APPRECIATE THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

"Glaubt nicht, dass ich fasele, dass ich dichte,
Sehet hin und findet nur andre Gestalt!
Es ist die ganze Kirchengeschichte—
Mischmasch von Irrthum und von Gewalt."[1]

But the spirit of Goethe was essentially pagan. It was impossible for him to discern the divine and heroic in the onward course of Christianity. Chiapelli, the Neapolitan philosopher, sees more deeply when he says: "The great epochs in the history of the world are marked not by the overturning of empires or the migration of nations. Such things belong to the external history; but the real history, the inner history of man, is the history of religion."[2]

The Church as a divine society growing out of the incarnation must be distinguished from the State as a voluntary association for secular ends. Arnold of Rugby believed that Christianity might so penetrate the State that the State itself would become the Church. The external organization of the Church dies away as its spirit is transfused into the larger organization which becomes the kingdom of God.[3] Hegel had a similar idea: "The State itself is a divine idea, a religious institution. The State is the divine will, as a present spirit, unfolding itself in the actual form and organization of a world." There is only a difference in form between the Church and the State, both having to do with truth and reality.[4] Rothe carried this view out

VIEWS OF ARNOLD, HEGEL, ROTHE.

[1] Think not that I rave, that mad verses I weave,
But examine and find, in a different light,
Church history all—no exception I leave—
Is a jumble complete of error and might.

[2] Le Idee Millenarie dei Christiani, Naples, 1888.

[3] Fragment on the Church, pp. 177, 221–8. Postscript to Principles of Church Reform, pp. 18–28. Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold, chap. iv. See Index.

[4] Werke, Berlin, 1883, Rechtsphilosophie, vol. i, § 257–270.

with great consistency.[1] But this confuses organizations which God has ordained for separate ends, the State for government, and the Church for spiritual culture and worship. The preservation of this distinction is as essential to the rights of the State of freedom from dictation by a domineering theocracy as it is to the rights of the Church of freedom from secularization and the loss of power as the body of Christ. The Lord recognizes that both Church and State have their separate claims.[2]

[1] Anfänge der christl. Kirche, § 5, 6, ff. Theologische Ethik, i, 418, ff.; ii, 145, ff.; iii, 1009–1125. Nitzsch, in his System of Theology, criticises Rothe, § 198.

[2] Matt. xxii, 21.

CHAPTER II.

PLACE OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

THE history of the Church is a portion of the general history of the world and, within narrow limits, of the general history of religion. It is the very center of all history. As Christ is the only universal character and exemplar of the human race, and Christianity is the fundamental remedial system for its restoration, so the history of the Church which he established is the only satisfactory solution of the historical problems of the ages. Without the light from its pages all the records of national and individual deeds are obscure and unmeaning, but with it every event is significant. The history of the world, written with due investigation and in a judicial state of mind, derives its value from the very religious elements which unconsciously underlie it, and frequently, though without any design on the part of the author, performs the service of handmaid to sacred and ecclesiastical history.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH THE SOLUTION OF ALL HISTORICAL PROBLEMS.

The great labors of George Rawlinson in oriental history, as exhibited in his Seven Monarchies and in his annotations to his edition of Herodotus, furnish ample proof of the corroborative service of secular to sacred history. But this author is always ready to trace the hand of God in all history and to point out the confirmation of Scripture testimony by profane records. On the other hand, Hume, the last of English deists deserving our respect, has unintentionally shown that until Christianity came to Britain in the second and third centuries there was no unity among the tribes located there; but that after it arrived, and finally gained the mastery over Druidism and other forms of heathen worship, the population began to grow homogeneous and progressive; and that because of the very presence and power of this element England developed in constitutional liberty, in literature and the arts, and in all those conditions of prosperity which from Runnymede to Waterloo placed her in the front rank of powerful and respected nations.

HUME'S UNCONSCIOUS TESTIMONY TO CHRISTIANITY.

The same unconscious testimony to Christianity, though in another field, has been borne by Hume's contemporary, Gibbon. So

decided is the latter's service to ecclesiastical history that Cardinal Newman declares that up to the publication of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, which, indeed, was in part written to show that all the marvelous progress of Christianity was due to purely natural causes, England had produced no ecclesiastical history worthy of the name.[1] Dean Stanley says of that work that it is "in great part, however reluctantly or unconsciously, the history of the rise and progress of the Christian Church."[2]

NEWMAN'S TRIBUTE TO GIBBON.

Every valuable history of Christian lands that has appeared during the last few decades comprises a history of the Church in the same territory, for the very reason that the history itself has been determined in large measure by the ecclesiastical and religious life of the people. The most attractive parts of Macaulay's brilliant fragment of English history are those which bear on the ecclesiastical and religious life of the kingdom. The same applies to the colder work of Froude, whose History of England derives its chief value from his researches into the fortunes and relations of Romanism and Protestantism from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth.

MACAULAY AND FROUDE.

It is, indeed, true that even the historians of the pagan countries have been led to give no small space to the popular cults, and, without motive, to show how the history is the outgrowth of the faith. Full recognition of the religious factor is found in Mommsen's History of Rome and Curtius's History of Greece, while it is the predominant element in Gladstone's Homeric Studies. There is ample reason for this one absorbing theme in national life. The most serious thought of a people is its religion. The historic page must inevitably reveal the national conscience, which has been the ruling motive in war and peace. Hence, it is not surprising that when the historian begins his investigations the conscientious purpose of great peoples should fill a large part of his horizon.

MOMMSEN, CURTIUS, AND GLADSTONE.

Church history, as a science, is connected by intimate relations with the specific departments of general secular and religious history, being coordinate with political history as such and with the history of philosophy, and the history of literature. To understand the development of the Church properly these need to be studied with the greatest care. The last few decades abound in rich material in all these groups. Moreover, the history of the

[1] Historical and Critical Essays, 8th ed., vol. ii, p. 186.

[2] Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History. Lecture i.

Church is dependent for correct and liberal representation upon such studies as historical geography, chronology, national archives, philology, diplomatics, numismatics, and heraldry.[1] In a word, there is no branch of science which is not collateral with ecclesiastical history. Formerly the latter was viewed in isolation; but in this age, when every subject of investigation is studied in its relations, the history of the Church has come in for its share of broad and fundamental inquiry. The light, therefore, reflected upon the history of the Church by the auxiliaries to, and sources of, secular history is absolutely indispensable.

ALL SCIENCE COLLATERAL WITH ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Historical theology may be classified as follows:

1. Old and New Testament History.
2. History of Nations related to Palestine.
3. History of Christian Doctrines.
4. History of the Church.
 a. Confessions. b. Countries. c. Antiquities. d. Statistics. e. Journalism.
5. Comparative Theology.
6. Missions.
7. Biography and the History of Christian Life.

Historical theology deals with the scientific treatment, in the order of time and development, of the institutions and life emanating from the truth recorded in the Scriptures. Systematic theology looks at the present acknowledged doctrinal tenets as presented by history and claiming a biblical support, and has for its object the scientific statement and defense of all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. It takes no cognizance of the processes, but only of the historical results. Practical theology lays down the canons for the proper application of Christian doctrine to human life, and provides measures for the continuation and extension of the kingdom of Christ on earth until the consummation of the remedial work inaugurated by him.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY IN RELATION TO SYSTEMATIC AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

Theology, which is the human structure on the basis of a divine revelation, is a variable science, and subject to such conditions as arise from thought. The Bible, and that only, is the final umpire. To arrive at the exact Bible, the pure word of God, has been the labor of the sacred philologian in all ages, and no branch of theology in recent times has shared more largely in the general intellectual progress of the times than the

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

[1] Gieseler, Church History, vol. i, pp. 19, 20.

criticism of the sacred text. The new light that has come from the Sinaitic codex is only one stage in the steady progress from Erasmus in the fifteenth century to Tischendorf in the nineteenth.

Every department of theology is susceptible of this wider development, and no seer can foretell the coming growth, which will not be less than in the domain of natural phenomena. But in no branch of theology is this advance more perceptible than in historical theology and in the specific form of Church history. The discovery of new lands, the new paths through the old nations, is throwing additional light upon them, so that the researches of the ecclesiastical historian are constantly widening. Since the opening of Japan to missionary labor we are able to read for the first time the true story of the misdirected labors of Francis Xavier and his coadjutors in the Jesuit propagandism in that empire. Until Gobat began his mission in Abyssinia that country had been almost a sealed book to the Western mind from the Mohammedan invasion down to the present century.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTMENTS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE history of the Church has its important branches, which are determined by the outward and inward experiences of the members composing it. These can be grouped under three heads:

1. The territorial expansion and limitation.
2. The doctrinal development.
3. The internal constitution and religious life.

Thus: It will be necessary, First, to trace the steady growth of the Christian Church, though often persecuted, from its establishment at the beginning of the apostolic period, its gradual enlargement into northern and western Europe, its compression by the Roman empire and its eastern limitation by Mohammedanism, the attempted restrictions of Protestantism by Roman Catholicism through the Thirty Years' War, and the recent marvelous occupation of great missionary fields. Second, it will be necessary to trace the theological development of the Church, to present the formulation of Christian doctrines, and to show the progress of theological literature and culture in general. Third, in the history of the internal constitution and religious life of the Church it will be requisite to describe the legislation, discipline, liturgical usages, art, moral and religious condition, and whatever else is embraced in the archæological and ethical relations of the Christian Church in all periods.

CHAPTER IV.

VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE great value of Church history is due to that general twofold necessity of our being, a knowledge of our experience and a calm and honest introspection. The Church, in the proper reading of its historical record, holds an impartial mirror before its face. It does more; it looks into its own heart and examines with candor its innermost emotions. "The unqualified value of Church history," says Hase, "consists in its being the expression of the self-consciousness of the Church with reference to its complete development. From this is derived its practical necessity. And whoever has any active part to take in any branch of the Church must be a participant in this self-consciousness, without which its present state cannot be comprehended nor its future foreseen or properly provided for."[1]

HASE'S ESTIMATE OF THE VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

There is no admirer of human progress and no Christian believer to whom the history of the Church is not of inestimable worth. It is the record of God's hand in the guidance of humanity to its best endeavors and holiest aspirations. What experience is to human life the history of the Church is to the believer. He is a member of a great community which has a varied past, a vigorous present, and a hopeful future. What has been the past? Wherein lie the cause of its errors and the secret of its successes? It is only by a just examination of these that we can expect to acquire wisdom to meet the demands upon the Church of the future. God is not prodigal of the gifts which can supply the absence of the lessons of experience. It is only the human necessity that marks the beginning of the divine opportunity. Hence, if the teachings of history be disregarded, there can be no expectation that these will be compensated from any source whatever. The Christian, as he looks back upon the early periods of nations and the old pagan cults, meets with a chaos of uncertainties and myths. But as he reviews the beginnings of

THE NECESSITY OF CLOSE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[1] Kirchengeschichte, 9th ed., p. 3. In the American translation of this work (from the 7th German ed.) the translators err in making the author say that Church history is *an*, instead of *the*, expression of the Church's self-consciousness.

the Church, he finds truth, positive faith, and a sinless Founder at the very threshold.

The pages of ecclesiastical history are adorned with persons who derived all their inspiration from Christ himself, and, like the three disciples on the mount of transfiguration, shone with the brightness from the Master. Their names are of as much value to the succeeding generations as their persons were to the times in which they lived. Their dying was the condition of their consecration to the permanent service of the Church. The martyrs and confessors of the ten persecutions teach a heroism which has no superior in secular history. The firm and careful teachers in the periods of great doctrinal errors speak eloquently to the doubting and the unwary of to-day. The Christian minstrels of earlier periods so struck their harps that the clear notes will reverberate through the long aisles of all later ages. The preachers, whom neither threat nor bribe could silence or intimidate, are fit exemplars of supreme fidelity to their calling and of confidence in the Gospel for every generation of the Christian ministry.

CHURCH HISTORY RESPLENDENT WITH GREAT CHARACTERS.

Even the skeptic, the hypocrite, and the apostate "cannot escape history," but are summoned from their unenviable graves to teach posterity its best and saddest lessons of warning. Tholuck, in enforcing the value of Church history to the minister of the Gospel, shows that the benefit is of this twofold character. "The practical benefit which a clergyman may derive from the study of Church history is," he says, "on the one hand, that of encouragement; on the other, that of warning. His mind is elevated to the consideration of Christ's victorious agency, examples of which have been given in all periods of the Church. . . . The preacher is also led to meditate on the continued warning which comes from the history of the Church, for errors in doctrine and wickedness in practice have been nearly the same throughout the whole Christian dispensation. In his pulpit discourses also the preacher may make very frequent use of the admonitions conveyed by narrative of ecclesiastical events."[1]

THOLUCK ON THE BENEFIT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

No branch of a minister's equipment for his important vocation is more needful than a thorough knowledge of the whole field of Church history. To understand and present the advantages of the religious life and to conceive properly the bearing of doctrine on character, are only a portion of the help that comes from the study of the history of the Church

VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY TO THE CLERGYMAN.

[1] Lectures on Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, in Bib. Sac., vol. i, p. 569.

of Christ.[1] The value of history for present conduct in national and social life is constantly receiving greater recognition, and that the Church is appreciating its own dependence for instruction in all emergencies is abundantly proved by the greater activity in secular and ecclesiastical historiography during the last half century, and by the increasing reference to the precedents in history by the practical writers and preachers of our own times.[2]

[1] Compare the excellent brochure of Smyth, Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education, pp. 17, 23, 24. See also Cave, Introduction to Theology, Edinb., 1885, pp. 426–436, for a good discussion of the value of Church history; also the Introduction to Stanley, History of the Eastern Church, pp. 17–79; the able address of De Witt, Church History as a Science, as a Theological Discipline, and as a Mode of the Gospel, Cincinnati, 1888, p. 52.

[2] The first supplement to Winer's Handbuch der theol. Literatur, published in 1842 (Leipzig), covers only the two years 1840–41, and yet records the issue of over five hundred works on ecclesiastical history. For a summary of labors in ecclesiastical history and biography see Schaff, What is Church History? pp. 15–24. In the Theol. Jahresbericht for 1881, 134 of the 344 pages are occupied with the literature of Church history. The list compiled by Samuel Macauley Jackson, LL.D., in the Papers of the American Society of Church History, vol. v, 1893, comprises over seven hundred titles.

CHAPTER V.

SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE direct sources of Church history fall into two groups, original and secondary. To the original belong all official records, such as the confessions of the Church in all periods; the transactions and positive decrees of the ecumenical councils and other ecclesiastical bodies; the official documents of the popes, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers; rules of monastic and other orders; liturgical forms; living communities; civil regulations bearing on the Church; and the writings, in whatever department of theology, of theologians who took part in the events to which their works relate. To the original sources belong also all material monuments, such as commemorative pillars; ecclesiastical edifices, whether for worship or residence; sepulchral memorials; and ecclesiastical sculptures, castings, and paintings, and such inscriptions as may be on any of these monuments.

WRITERS ON CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

De Rossi, of Rome, has been the first to make the catacombs tell their full story of the sufferings and faith of the early Christians.[1] Hemans, son of the poetess and long a resident in Rome, has revealed the creation and progress of Christian art throughout Italy.[2] The labors of Piper, of the Berlin University;[3] of Lord Lindsay, of England;[4] of Kraus, of the Freiburg University;[5] of that excellent gleaner, Augustus J. C. Hare;[6] and of many other writers of important monographs, have been of invaluable utility in throwing light on the faith, general condition, and religious and social customs of the Church in its early periods. Monumental remains are of great importance in

[1] Roma Sotterranea, Rome, 1864–77; Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ, 1857–61.

[2] Story of Monuments in Rome; History of Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy, 3 vols., Florence and Lond., 1866–72.

[3] Monumentale Theologie, Gotha, 1867; Mythologie der christlichen Kunst, 2 vols., Weimar, 1847–51. The late C. W. Bennett, a pupil of Piper, in his Christian Archæology, has produced one of the best books in this department, N. Y., 1868.

[4] Sketches of the History of Christian Art, 3 vols., Lond., 1847; new ed., 2 vols., 1865.

[5] Roma Sotterranea: Die römischen Katakomben, Freiburg, 2d ed., 1879.

[6] Walks in Rome, Lond. and N. Y., 1871.

revealing clearly the times in which they were constructed, as for example, the mosaics in the ancient churches of Ravenna on early doctrine and usage,[1] the Church of St. Sophia on the Byzantine period of ecclesiastical art,[2] and the Irish and English abbeys on monastic life in the mediæval period.

THE SECONDARY SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

To the secondary sources of Church history belong the reports of those who have seen, heard, or taken part in the events concerning which they have written; the narratives of historians who have derived their materials from original sources; popular and ecclesiastical traditions and legends; the accounts given by secular historians, sometimes disinterested and sometimes hostile. Pliny's[3] remarkable description of the condition of the early Christians, in his letter to the Emperor Trajan, may be regarded as an example of this latter kind of testimony. The secondary sources, together with the monumental remains included in the original, are of special value in their reflection of light on the common life of the Church. The striking movements of the historic page must not be allowed to obscure the more modest currents, which have been equally influential in the general result. It is easy to watch the ostentatious and the glaring in narrative, but difficult to observe and appreciate the modest and retiring. The pilgrim along the paths of history sees more readily the sunflower than the violet. The few exalted characters come in for general treatment, while the vast multitude are not regarded, or, if so, with but a passing glance. Herder, whose Spirit of Hebrew Poesy is a proof of the warmth with which he could clothe the most remote past, and see moral beauty under the most deceptive disguises, says: "As the most beautiful acts of the individual Christian will be those of which the world has no knowledge, so the most interesting operations of Christianity will be those which are unnoticed in general history, those which are performed in the quiet circle of family friends."

The collateral sources of Church history are already numerous and constantly increasing. They may be classified as follows:

1. Ecclesiastical Philology. The languages in which the sources of the early history of the Church are found are the Greek and

[1] For exhaustive articles on the importance of the monumental remains of Ravenna to Church history, see Brit. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1872, and Presb. Rev., Jan., 1880.

[2] For the contribution of the Church of St. Sophia to Church history, see Lethaby and Swainson, The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople, Lond., 1895.

[3] Plinii, lib. x, epist. 96 (some eds., 97): C. Plinius Trajano.

Latin. No one can properly examine and fully comprehend the primitive and mediæval periods without a knowledge of these tongues, with the changes which they have undergone by the decadence of classical taste and by the application of those languages to Christian theology and life. The more thorough and broad the knowledge of the modern languages is, the more accurate will be the information concerning the Church history of the individual nations. No one can comprehend the English Reformation without a knowledge of the English language and even the Anglo-Saxon. Neither can the German, French, Italian, or Spanish Church be fully understood without acquaintance with the respective languages. The Roman Catholic Church still finds it convenient to employ the Latin to a great extent. The Russo-Greek Church pursues the same course with regard to the Greek of the mediæval period.

LANGUAGES ESSENTIAL TO A KNOWLEDGE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

2. Ecclesiastical Chronology. This is the science by which the various eras in the history of the Church are determined. It varies materially from the chronology of general history, but in some cases harmonizes with it. The era of the Seleucidæ begins with October 1 of the year 4402 of the Julian period, or B. C. 311,[1] the date of the occupation of Babylon by Seleucus Nicator and twelve years after the death of Alexander the Great. It is still in force among the Nestorian and other Syrian Christians. The Spanish era, beginning B. C. 38, the year of the conquest of Spain by Augustus Cæsar, continued in force in Spain until the fourteenth century and in Portugal until the fifteenth. The Diocletian era, sometimes called the era of the martyrs, began with August 29, A. D. 284, the first year of Diocletian's reign. It was used in the Roman empire under the Christian emperors, and is still in use by the Copts in Egypt. The Constantinopolitan era dates from the creation. According to it the incarnation took place in 5509. The civil year commences with September 1, and the ecclesiastical with March 21. The Russians used this chronology until Peter the Great, and ever since then, as before, it has been employed by the Greek Church. The Roman or pontifical indiction begins on December 25 or January 1, according as the Christian year was believed to begin with one or the other of these days. After Gregory VII it was frequently employed in papal bulls.[2] The calendar of the French Republic, an attempt to abrogate the Christian reckoning of time, begins with September 22, 1792,

THE CHIEF ERAS SINCE THE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

[1] Brehm, Lehrbuch der histor. Propädeutik, p. 20.

[2] Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Chronology." At the end of this article is a copious bibliography of the subject.

and was introduced October 6, 1793. It was abandoned as a hopeless theory on September 9, 1805.[1]

3. Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics. The history of the Church should be studied in connection with the territory occupied by Christian peoples. The progress of Christianity during the early period needs to be traced upon the map, and each new stage of propagation carefully observed. The Reformation cannot be properly understood without constant reference to its geographical landmarks. Its currents are as clearly defined as its doctrinal characteristics. Switzerland was influenced by the Zwinglian type of Protestantism in the east, which was met at Basle and Berne by the Calvinistic type coming from Geneva in the west; and while the latter gave tone to French Protestantism, and extended down the Rhine to Holland, and then crossed the English Channel, and finally reached a culmination in the Scotch Reformation under the leadership of Knox, the Lutheran type became predominant throughout Germany north of Heidelberg and the Main, extended up the Baltic provinces to the Gulf of Finland, and was the only form of Protestantism through the whole Scandinavian peninsula, and even in Iceland. The development of missions in heathen countries is an important branch of Church history. The science of the statistics of the Church is likewise becoming of great value, and requires constant attention on the part of the student of ecclesiastical history.[2]

THE USE OF THE MAP IN THE STUDY OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

4. Ecclesiastical Diplomatics. This science, founded by a Belgian Jesuit, Daniel Papebroch, deals with documents issued in the name of the Church and its chief officers. Under this head are comprised all declarations and official documents of the various confessions, and all papal bulls, imperial edicts, briefs, statutes, and patents. These last form an important factor in the early

[1] Brehm, Lehrbuch der histor. Propädeutik, pp. 32, 33.

[2] The best work on this subject is Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, translated from the German by John Leitch, 2 vols., Lond., 1859–69. The Atlas Sacer sive Ecclesiasticus, with explanatory *excursus* (Gotha, 1843), by the same author, is the best ecclesiastical atlas extant. Wigger, Kirchliche Statistik (Hamburg, 1842–43), is still valuable. Schem's Ecclesiastical Year Book (N. Y., 1860) is the most important work of its character thus far published in the United States. A very valuable table of comparative statistics is given in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc., art. Religious Statistics, taken from Holtzmann u. Zöpffell's Lexikon für Theologie, Leipz., 1882. For Christianity in the United States, the reports of the eleventh census (1890), published by the government and edited by H. K. Carroll, are singularly complete and instructive. An invaluable summary, embodying both history and statistics, is given by the same scholar in his Religious Forces of the United States. N. Y., 1893; rev. and enl. ed., 1896.

colonial history of the United States. Schaff includes in diplomatics the special sciences of palæography, the science of ancient writings and manuscripts of the Bible, and Church fathers; sphragistics, the science of seals; numismatics, of coins; and heraldries, of weapons.[1]

5. General and Special History. No adequate knowledge of the history of the Church can be obtained without the careful study of the various branches of general historical science. The philosophy, literature, politics, and art of a nation impinge upon the religious life at every stage; they are, indeed, interwoven with it. The later writers of general history have seen this so clearly that they have given great prominence to that of the Church. Macaulay, Prescott, Motley, and Froude have given us records as invaluable for a proper understanding of the Church as of the political, literary, and social relations of the countries which they have treated. To attempt to comprehend the Reformation without a careful inquiry into the humanistic, social, and political condition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would be a hopeless undertaking. The same holds true not less of the regular course of ecclesiastical history than of all its important crises. As the history of the Church furnishes the key to all history, so all departments of history are needful for a skillful use of the key.

ALL DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY ESSENTIAL TO THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

[1] Church History, vol. i, pp. 81, 82.

CHAPTER VI.

LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE historiography of the Church has developed from such humble beginnings as the disjointed and questionable accounts of the earliest Greek collectors, into an elaborate and well-organized department of scientific research. Its progress from Hegesippus, in the second century, to Neander, in the nineteenth, is as great as the fabled growth of the world, as described by Ovid, from the golden to the iron age. The oldest historical records of Christianity are contained in the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and such parts of the pastoral and general epistles as throw incidental light on the condition and growth of the Church in that genetic period. The second and third centuries witnessed the struggle of Christianity for existence and expansion. There was neither the motive nor the adaptation to record the story of its brief life. Its literary energies were required for combating error, formulating faith, and making sure a life whose history might well be committed to a more judicial future.

OLDEST HISTORICAL RECORDS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The writers of ecclesiastical history may be grouped into seven general classes:

1. The early Greek historians. Hegesippus, a Christian convert from Judaism, living in Asia Minor, wrote his Memoirs of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the middle of the second century.[1] He was simply a collector of such historical traditions as he could glean from aged people and others most likely to give him information concerning the events of the former half of the second century. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, was the first writer who can be called in any sense a reliable historian of the Church. He bears the same relation to ecclesiastical historiography that Herodotus does to secular, and has been fitly called the "father of Church history." His History of the Church, in ten books, extends from the birth of Christ to the year 324. The Emperor Constantine, who was his personal friend, placed at his disposal all the

HEGESIPPUS AND EUSEBIUS.

[1] Ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων, 5 vols. The fragments of his work—all that is preserved—have been gathered by Routh, i., 189, ff., and Gallandi, ii, 59. For a translation of these fragments, see Ante-Nicene Fathers, Chr. Lit. ed., vol. viii, pp. 762–65.

political and ecclesiastical archives of the empire. In addition, Eusebius, besides making copious use of the gospels, did not hesitate to introduce material from the apocryphal writings, traditions, and all other available sources.[1] He even incorporated without change much of the legendary matter of Hegesippus. He also wrote a Life of Constantine, which has a measure of historical value, but is too laudatory to be accepted without qualification.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, island of Cyprus, wrote a work against the prevailing heresies, which possesses value as a record of the contemporary opposition to Christianity. Philip Sidetes, in Pamphylia, wrote a superficial and ill-arranged history at the close of the fourth century. Then came Philostorgius, the Eunomian, who wrote a history of the period A. D. 300–423, with the purpose of proving that Arianism was none other than original Christianity. The works of both these authors have been lost, and without any appreciable detriment to historical literature.[2]

EPIPHANY AND OTHER WRITERS.

In the fifth century we meet with the first real successors of Eusebius—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius. Socrates wrote a continuation of the history of Eusebius, extending it to the year 439; Sozomen gave a narrative of the same period, but with the introduction of much irrelevant matter; Theodoret, of Mesopotamia, continued the history of Eusebius to the year 518; and Evagrius, of Antioch, continued the works of his immediate predecessors down to 594. The work of the Greek historians, as a body, was conducted amid great difficulties. As soon as Christianity became tolerated and was made the religion of the State, in the fourth century, the facilities for independent inquiry were multiplied. But there was a constant danger of exaggerating the traditional and marvelous elements.

SUCCESSORS OF EUSEBIUS.

On the other hand, the histories of these writers were written near the scene of the events and in the atmosphere of the first centers of Christian thought, and hence there is a strong general presumption in favor of the main body of their narratives. After making all just allowance for the apocryphal material which they

[1] Flügge, Versuch einer Geschichte d. theolog. Wissenschaften, part ii, pp. 321, ff. The best work on Eusebius is the translation by Prof. McGiffert, with copious notes (N. Y., 1890), a magnificent monument to American learning. It is rich in materials for Church history. The most convenient edition of the text for the student is that by Bright (text by Burton), Lond., 2d ed., 1882.

[2] Photius has preserved a part of Philostorgius, and these extracts have been translated in Bohn's Sozomen.

may have subsidized, there must still remain a large measure of positive history.

2. The early Latin historians. These men, far removed from the Eastern theater of religious activity, rendered but little service to the early historiography of the Church. The Roman was always a borrower from the Greek. His best philosophy was only an Italian reproduction of that of the Stoa. His drama was merely the thin disguise of the masterpieces of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In the first Roman historians of the Church there was the same dependence upon the first group of Greek historians. There was no claim to original investigation. Rufinus, of Aquileia, writing about the year 400, translated and modified the history of Eusebius, bringing it down to A. D. 395. Had he confined his labors to a translation, he would have rendered valuable service to the Christians of the West who spoke the Latin tongue, but he made so many alterations and additions, and yet without sufficient ground, that his work possesses but little value. Jerome prepared a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, which possesses value because of its preserving from oblivion the names and writings of many writers of the earliest period.[1]

RUFINUS AND JEROME.

Sulpicius Severus, of Gaul, wrote in 403 his Sacred History, extending from the creation to A. D. 400.[2] It is only a summary of the better parts of the works of the Greek writers. The style is, however, close and attractive, and has gained for him the name of the Christian Sallust. Of more importance is the De Viris Illustribus by Gennadius, of Marseilles (d. circ. 518), a continuation of the catalogue of Jerome. It is impartial, and based on extensive research.[3] Paul Orosius wrote his Seven Books of History against the Heathen in 417, a work of too much apologetical character to be of value as a reliable history.[4] Cassiodorus, once a Roman statesman in Ostrogothic service, wrote a Tripartite History,[5] which was a condensation of the continuations of Eusebius. It was the best work on Church history produced by the early Western Church, and served as its text-book during the whole mediæval period.

LATEST HISTORIES OF EARLY WESTERN CHURCH.

[1] Catalogus virorum illustrium sive scriptorum ecclesiasticorum; best ed., Villarsi, Verona, 1734–42; trans. by E. C. Richardson, N. Y., 1892.

[2] Chronica; best ed., Halm., Vienna, 1866.

[3] In Migne, Pat. Lat. lviii; trans. by Richardson, N. Y., 1892.

[4] Best ed., Zangemeister in Corp. Scrip. Eccl. Lat., Vienna, 1882. For King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation with English version, see Pauli, Life of King Alfred, Lond., 1853. Orosius was much used in the Middle Ages.

[5] Historia Tripartita. In Migne, vols. lxix, lxx. His most important book is his Letters, rich in historical material (trans. by Hodgkin, Oxford, 1886).

3. Historians of the Mediæval period. During the Middle Ages there was a general stagnation in historical studies. The Greek Church had been largely consumed by internal controversy, and its territory was reduced by the conquests of Mohammedanism. The best historical works of the Latin Church were chiefly monographs on the missionary fields. Nicephorus Callistus, a preacher of Constantinople, wrote, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a History of the Church from the Time of Christ to the year 610. A portion of his work, five out of twenty-three books of which it consisted, has been lost.[1] He made full use of his predecessors, and, being probably a monk connected with St. Sophia, enjoyed the full privilege of the great library of the church. The historical work of Eutychius, of Alexandria, written in Arabic about the year 950, and describing the time from the creation to the year 940, possesses value only because of some confused memoranda descriptive of the rise of Mohammedanism.

HISTORIANS OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

The Byzantine historians[2] wrote at intervals during a period of one thousand years, from 500 to 1500. Their works are of chief value in civil history, but, incidentally, they throw important light on the relations of the Eastern Church to the government. The best of their productions is the Paschal Chronicle.[3] It covers the period from the creation to the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, or A. D. 630. It seems to be the work of two authors (some say of three), neither of whom is now known, one writing of the period to the year 354, and the other completing the history.

BYZANTINE HISTORIANS.

The Latin Church, although much farther developed, and with less opposition than the Greek, was nearly as unproductive of ecclesiastical history as the Greek. Society was unsettled. There were constant migrations and consuming wars, while within the pale of the Church there was a great decline of spiritual life and theological development. There were annalists of secular affairs, but they usually wrote in the interest of the ruler or conqueror, and their chronicles are of little value toward understanding the actual history of the mediæval Church. The Pontifical Book[4] contains an account of the popes down to the death of Stephen VI,

[1] The only copy of the remaining eighteen books was found in a single manuscript in the Vienna Library. It was published in a Latin translation in Antwerp, 1560; Paris, 1562 and 1573; in Frankfort, 1588 and 1618. The Greek text, edited by Fronto Ducæus, first appeared in Paris in 1630.

[2] Scriptores Historiæ Byzantinæ. Best ed. Berlin, 1828–55, 48 vols. See Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., art. "Byzantine Historians."

[3] Chronicon Paschale.

[4] Liber Pontificalis, ed. Bucæus. Mayence, 1602.

A. D. 891. HISTORIANS OF THE LATIN CHURCH. The librarian Anastasius was for a long time supposed to be the author, but it has been recently proved that the biographies of the last popes are the only product of his pen.[1] This work possesses value both as a papal and general Church history of the period treated by it. The best general Church history produced during the Middle Ages was the Historical Summary,[2] by the Archbishop Antonine, of Florence, which extends from the creation to the year 1459. Of other works in Church history the following may be mentioned: The Ecclesiastical History of Bishop Haymo,[3] of Halberstadt, about 853; the Ecclesiastical History of the abbot Odericus Vitalis,[4] of Normandy, about 1150; and the Ecclesiastical History of Bartholomew,[5] a Dominican monk of Lucca, about 1300.

SPECIAL MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORIANS. The special or national ecclesiastical historians are of chief value during the mediæval period. The best of these were the Church History of the Franks, by Gregory of Tours, who died in 594,[6] and the Church History of the Anglo-Saxon People, by the Venerable Bede,[7] who died in 735. The History of the Lombards, by Paul Diaconus,[8] was only a civil history, but it possesses value because it stands nearly alone as an authority on the ecclesiastical condition of that people. The author wrote his history to the year 773, but it was continued by Erchempertus to 889. Adam of Bremen,[9] who lived in the eleventh century, wrote a Church history of the bishoprics of Bremen and Hamburg, which, incidentally, embraced a description of ecclesiastical progress in all the Scandinavian countries. Its chief value lies in its preservation of original documents bearing on the evangelization of Northern Europe. Albert Krantz, who died in 1517, wrote a Church history of Northern Germany. It related chiefly to Ham-

[1] Hefele, Tübinger theolog. Quartalsschrift, 1845, pp. 180 ff.

[2] Summa Historialis. Latest ed. in Opera. Florence, 1741, 8 vols.

[3] In Migne. Pat. Lat. cxvi–cxviii. Haymo denied that Peter founded the Roman Church, and in other respects anticipated a freer age.

[4] Best ed., by A. le Prevost. Paris, 1838–55, 5 vols. Eng. trans. by Forester, in Bohn's Library. Lond., 1853–56, 4 vols. This is one of the finest products of the Middle Ages.

[5] In Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, XI, 741–750. The first attempt made in the West to write a distinctively Church history.

[6] Best ed. in Opera, by Arndt and Krusch. Hanover, 1883.

[7] Best ed., by Mayor and Lumby, Camb. Univ. Press, 1892. Best trans. by Giles, with Anglo-Saxon Chron. Lond. and N. Y., 1847; and by Gidley. Lond. 1870.

[8] In Migne. Pat. Lat. xcv, cols. 413–1710. Ger. trans. by von Spruner. Hamb., 1838.

[9] Best ed. in Pertz, Monumenta Ger. (ed. by Lappenberg).

burg, Bremen, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.[1] Among the secular annalists whose labors have aided toward an understanding of the Church of the Middle Ages, the following may be mentioned: Regius, of the ninth century; Hermann and Lambert, of the eleventh; Otto and Siegbert, of the twelfth; and Matthew, of Paris, of the thirteenth.[2]

4. Historians of the period of the Reformation. Until the German reformers appeared Church history had been entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a strange combination of legend and fact, and no one had possessed independence enough to question the accuracy of the received histories and to begin the process of sifting. But when the Reformation became established the attention of German Protestant thinkers was directed toward the regeneration of this department of theology. In the revival of classic learning in Italy, which had extended to France and Germany, historical studies had shared largely. But the history of the Church was too distinctively theological to receive a decided impulse from humanism. In fact, humanism was skeptical and out of sympathy with ecclesiastical thought and life. It was a purely literary movement, but, undesignedly, it had a direct bearing on sacred subjects.

FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH HISTORIANS.

It was seen by the reformers, and particularly by Melanchthon, that the history of the Church would need to be entirely rewritten; and that unless the existing theology were made to give up a large measure of its fanciful annals, the theological reform would be but half achieved. The result was the adoption of a scheme (in large measure fulfilled) for a complete history of the Church. It bore the title of the Magdeburg Centuries. Matthias Flacius, a pastor of Magdeburg, organized the work. He gathered able colaborers about him, the chief of whom were Wigand, Judex, Faber, Corvinus, and Holzhuter. The work was in thirteen folio volumes, each volume being devoted to a century, and each century divided into sixteen subdivisions. The Magdeburg Centuries, although based on the unphilosophical and

THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES.

[1] Krantz's Histories have not as yet been reprinted. They are written in a free spirit, and were put on the Index by Clement VIII.

[2] Most of the chronicles and biographies of this period are to be found in the collected works. A survey of them is contained in Freher, Directorium historicorum medii potissimum ævi, post Freherum, et iteratas Koeleri curas rec. et emend. et auxit Hambergerus. Göttingen, 1772. Compare also Rössler, De annalium medii ævi varia conditione. Tübingen, 1788; von Raumer, Handbuch merkwürd. Stellen aus den lateinischen Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters. Breslau, 1813; and Lochner, Das deutsche Mittelalter in den wesent. Zeugnissen seiner geschichtl. Urkunden. Nuremb., 1848.

unnatural principle of the centurial division of periods, produced a literary revolution in the Church second only to the one wrought by Luther and Melanchthon in the field of doctrinal theology. It proved a powerful agent in exposing the errors into which Roman Catholic historians had fallen, and gained a literary recognition for the new Protestantism in circles hitherto untouched.[1]

The Roman Catholic Church was suddenly thrown on the defensive, and in a direction entirely unanticipated by it. The work produced consternation in every European country that had not become Protestant, and even in Rome itself. The effect was an upheaval of all the historical records of Romanism. It was the successful appeal of Protestantism to history as a justification of its right to existence. As an antidote to the Magdeburg Centuries,

BARONIUS.

Cæsar Baronius, of Rome, published his Ecclesiastical Annals. All the literary treasures of the Roman Catholic Church were placed at his disposition. His work occupied thirty years in composition, consisted of twelve volumes, and was nineteen years in process of publication in Rome (1588–1607).[2] The time treated by Baronius was twelve centuries, or down to 1198. His work is a great achievement. But, while reproducing many of the traditions of the early histories, it passed over some of the more ridiculous in silence, and thus surrendered them. As a literary work, in all the essentials of historical accuracy, research, vigor, and symmetry of construction, it fell far below the Magdeburg Centuries. The work of Baronius was continued, at different times, by Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. Less important are the continuations of Bzovius, Spondanus, and Rinal. So far as a Protestant reply was needed, the task was performed by Casaubon, in 1614, and by Spanheim, in 1687.

5. Protestant Church historians. The example of the Magdeburg Centuries proved the ability of Protestantism for thorough

[1] The whole title of the Magdeburg Centuries was: Ecclesiastica historia, integram ecclesiæ cath. ideam complectens, etc., congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Basil., 1560–74. Wigand wrote a continuation—the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries—which was never printed. Lucius, in 1624, and Semler, in 1757 and following years, also published contributions, each in six volumes. Luc. Osiander published an extract of the Magdeburg Centuries in eight volumes, Tübingen, 1592, and later. Cf. Kurtz, Handb. d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte, pp. 15, 16.

[2] Best ed. by A. Theiner, Bar-le-duc and Paris, 1864–83, 37 vols. This contains the continuations of Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. The corrections of Pagi (Critica hist.-chron. in Annales Baronii, Paris, 1689–1705, 4 vols. fol.) are appended as footnotes in the splendid edition of Baronius by Mansi. Lucca, 1738–59, 38 vols.

historical research. The historical spirit has from that beginning distinguished every Protestant period and all Protestant countries. "Before the Reformation," says Schaff, "the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now he rose by reflection above it, and instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true, and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the Church itself to critical examination, judging it without regard to papal decrees according to the word of God and common reason."[1]

TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORIOGRAPHY BY THE REFORMATION.

In Protestant ecclesiastical historiography we observe the following departments:

(1.) The Confessional and Orthodox. Here, as in the three succeeding departments, Germany has made the most important contributions. First in order after Flaccius, and first in the line of Church historians of the Reformed Church, stands Hottinger, the author of the Ecclesiastical History of the New Testament. It was completed in 1667, and treats the history of the Church down to the sixteenth century. Spanheim, of Holland, wrote a Summary of Ecclesiastical History which extends over about the same period, and was published in 1689. The most of the historiography of this period had a strongly confessional tendency, for it was the time of sharp antagonism between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The works of Chemnitz, Gerhard, and Quenstedt are fair illustrations of a large class of doctrinal theologians who made ample but not always legitimate use of history in defense of their confessional position.

CONFESSIONAL HISTORIANS.

(2.) The Pietistic historians. Pietism marks the German theological boundary between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was one of the most important movements in the modern Church. Spener, its founder, protested against the exhausting controversies, and contended for a return to the letter and spirit of the Scriptures. With his death pietism passed out of its calmest and purest period. The first and only great pietistic historian was Gottfried Arnold, the author of the Impartial History of the Church and Heretics (1699). It treated the period from the beginning of the New Testament to the year 1688. His purpose was altogether new in ecclesiastical historiography. He aimed to show that not only was Roman Catholicism corrupt, but that rigid sectarians in all periods had violated the essential spirit of Christianity, and that pure piety, in whatever form, was the necessary savor which had preserved the Church from utter

GOTTFRIED ARNOLD.

[1] History of the Apostolic Church, p. 68.

ruin. He gave all possible credit to schismatics in all periods, and commended them for having saved the Church from destruction. Not doctrinal correctness, but moral purpose and spiritual enthusiasm, was with him the great criterion of excellence and service. Spener heartily disapproved of it, though the Pietists, as a class, indorsed it. Its thorough independence of confessional restraints, its recognition of the overlooked and despised characters in history, and its charity toward those who had been branded as heretics and died by violence or in exile, constituted it a transitional work from the old and narrow and rigid modes of historical interpretation to the new and more liberal judgment which has ever since prevailed in Germany. "No historical work," says Baur, "has ever borne more decidedly than Arnold's the subjective impress of the author's spirit."[1]

(3.) The Rationalistic historians. Ecclesiastical history follows in the order of theological changes. Pietism was succeeded in Germany by rationalism. The rationalistic mode of treating the history of the Church was a part of the general reaction which began in the middle of the eighteenth century. Semler was the first historian who represented the tendency. He was, indeed, the first to bring rationalism out of the narrow limits of the Wolfian philosophy, and to apply it to the entire domain of theology. His principal historical works were his Select Chapters of Church History, 1767, and his Historical Commentary on the Ancient State of Christianity, 1771. Semler had no adequate conception of the Church as an organic unity, but regarded it as the theater for the play of individual affinities. Christ gave to his disciples the right of private judgment, and the history of the Church shows how this has been freely and properly exercised, and that the true and the good can be perceived here in better form than in public religion. There is nothing permanent and steady in the life of the Church. The Church in its organic form has been of less service than in its disjointed and individual relations. The ocean is good, but its drops are better. The Church is an agglomeration of individuals, each having his complete vitality and independence. We here see the fundamental thought of Semler's entire theology—the right of the individual.

SEMLER.

Henke, in his General History of the Christian Church,[2] may be regarded as the leading historian of the rationalistic school. He wrote in a sarcastic spirit, and charged a large measure of the errors

[1] Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung, p. 106. Leipz., 1852. Baur gives a very accurate analysis of this remarkable work on pp. 85–107. Best ed., Schaffhausen, fol., 1740–42, 3 vols. [2] 6 vols., 1788–1808.

of the Church to the despotism of doctrinal and ecclesiastical restraints. His work was edited and continued by Vater. In the works of Schmidt[1] and Danz[2] we observe rather an indifference to the spiritual element in history than a positive rationalism.

HENKE, SCHMIDT, DANZ, AND OTHERS.

Crossing the channel we find the last of the race of English deists busily engaged in writing history, and, whenever they could, eliminating from general history the positive Christian element. Hume's History of England (1754–62) is tinged with a bitter Toryism throughout, a one-sided record of the rise and growth of the English people and their government. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776–88), perhaps the greatest historical work ever written, though somewhat hostile in spirit to the Church, is invaluable for its marshaling of facts, and for its free, broad, masterly treatment of the whole historical movement from the third century to the middle of the fifteenth. Later researches have corrected Gibbon in but few particulars, and this wonderful monument of patient industry remains to this day as much an authority as ever.[3] Priestley wrote, in the full rationalistic spirit, a History of the Corruptions of Christianity (1782),[4] in which he endeavored to show that the history of the Church was fundamentally a departure from the spirit, practice, and commands of Christ and his apostles. Priestley, however, will be less known to posterity as an historian than as the discoverer of oxygen.

HUME AND GIBBON.

(4.) The Liberal Orthodox. Mosheim was the founder of the modern scientific method of ecclesiastical historiography. He still adhered to the fanciful centurial division of Flaccius, but was painstaking and accurate, and dealt justly with all characters and periods. He was a distinguished preacher, and while he wrote in faultless Latin he was not less thorough in his researches or less judicious in his management of materials. His Dissertation on the History of the Church was issued in 1743, and his Commentary on Christian Affairs anterior to Constantine in 1753. His masterpiece was his Institutes of Ancient and Modern Church History, published in 1755. It was translated from the Latin into German with additions and continuation by Von Einem, and issued in 1769. This work has passed through many editions and into the leading modern languages, and in a more or less disguised form

MOSHEIM AND SCHROECKH.

[1] Handbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte. Giessen, 1801, and later; continued by Rottberg. Schmidt anticipated Gieseler in quotations from the sources, etc.

[2] Lehrbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte. Jena, 1817–26.

[3] Best ed. by Smith, with notes by Guizot, Wenck, and Milman, N. Y., 1880, 6 vols. Latest ed. by Bury, vol. i, Lond. and N. Y., 1896. [4] Best ed., Lond., 1871.

has long been the basis for text-books in Church history in most Protestant countries. It has been completely superseded in Germany by works of more modern character, but still holds a place in Great Britain.[1] Schroeckh's Christian Church History is the largest work in its department in the whole field of German theology. It appeared in forty-five volumes, beginning in 1768 and concluding in 1810. The last ten volumes are by the masterly hand of Tzschirner. We find in it a vast mass of important matter, with but little attempt at scientific classification. Schroeckh was the disciple of Mosheim, and his work is fair, sound in the main, and still indispensable. Planck was a rigid defender of orthodoxy. His History of the Rise, Changes, and Development of Protestant Doctrine appeared in 1791, and was the most important contribution to doctrinal history during the eighteenth century. Stäudlin wrote several important monographs, his Universal History of the Christian Church being especially valuable as a compendium of facts. The Text-book of Church History by Gieseler, one of the best fruits of this school, is a dry recital of facts in a thoroughly critical and impartial spirit. It is invaluable for its study of the sources, many of which are largely quoted, or transferred bodily at the foot of the text. This makes Gieseler's work unique.[2] Hase has written a History of the Christian Church in a moderately rationalistic spirit. It is an artistic presentation, bright, with many original and pregnant characterizations.[3]

[1] I remember that once when listening to a lecture by Tholuck, in Halle, that veteran teacher smiled with evident composure as he mentioned the fact that Mosheim's History was still used as a text-book at Oxford. John Wesley published an abridgment of Mosheim, and an Anglican clergyman performed the same service. This latter work was made the basis of a Church history by Ruter, published in New York, which first appeared as the work of a firm bearing the name of Ruter's Gregory's Mosheim's Church History. That work in time lost its partnership and finally appeared as Ruter's Church History. But Mosheim can be seen on every page of the poor plagiarism. There have been many editions in English of Mosheim's Institutes. The best is by Stubbs, Lond., 1862. That by Murdock, new ed., N. Y., 1874, 3 vols., is enriched by the copious notes of that industrious Andover scholar, one of the founders of the science of Church History in America. The other editions are of little value. The Commentary on pre-Constantine Affairs, also by Murdock, N. Y., 1853, 2 vols., is full of learning and acute disquisitions.

[2] The American edition of Gieseler, by the late Prof. H. B. Smith, D.D. (N. Y., 1855–80, 5 vols.), is very superior to either the original German or Scotch edition, because of the copious Anglo-Saxon literature. It is a model of judicious editing.

[3] The 7th ed. was translated by Blumenthal and Wing, N. Y., 1855. A translation of the last edition is a *desideratum*.

(5.) The German Mediatory School. Out of the conflicts of German theology on the respective claims of faith and science there arose the Mediatory School, which sought to reconcile the two. Schleiermacher, in his own remarkable personality and labors, constitutes the transition from the cold rationalism of the eighteenth century to the scientific evangelical theology of the nineteenth. SCHLEIERMACHER.

Neander was the first German theologian who stood fairly on the positive side. He spent his best efforts in historical studies. He was fascinated by the Church in its genetic stage, and no man of any age has equaled him in ability to penetrate its mysteries, separate the true from the false, discover the pure and worthy in our common Christianity, and clothe the life of the Church in vigorous and sympathetic language. His purpose was: "To exhibit the history of the Church of Christ as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof for all who are disposed to listen." He believed that the force and significance of the Church lay in its individual life rather than in its universal character. His monographs on Julian, the Gnostics, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Bernard indicated his emphasis on the value of the spiritually illuminated individual as a factor in the development of the Church. His great work, for which all his previous works were only a preparation, bears the title of History of the Christian Religion and Church.[1] It was well said at his grave, "The last of the Church fathers has gone." His thirty-seven years as professor in Berlin, his gentle and loving spirit and childlike faith, the enthusiasm with which he lectured and wrote on the history of the Church, and his profound learning had the effect of imparting and enkindling an unparalleled interest in historical studies. NEANDER.

The best writers in historical theology who have appeared in Germany during the last three decades belong to the school of Neander. Hagenbach delivered his History of the Church in the form of lectures to his students in NEANDER'S SCHOOL.

[1] Preface to first edition of General History of Christian Religion and Church, vol. i, p. 6.

[2] Trans. by Torrey, Bost., 12th ed., 1881, 5 vols. and Index vol. The history extends to 1430. Neander's Hist. of Dogmas, ed. by Jacobi, and his Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Church—both invaluable works—are published in Bohn's Standard Library. See Schaff, Augustine, Melanchthon, and Neander, N. Y., 1886.

Basle, and excels in freedom, clearness, and beauty of diction.[1] Kurtz has written an excellent History of the Church, but it is too encyclopedic to be attractive and inspiring.[2] The Manual of Church History by Guericke is an attempt to combine the history of the Church with a history of doctrine.[3] Niedner, the successor of Neander at Berlin, and Semisch, the successor of Niedner, have each written in the spirit of their master, Neander.[4]

The whole field of historical theology has been worked over in recent years in Germany with the utmost enthusiasm. A new spirit came in with Harnack, the disciple of Ritschl, a successor of Neander in Berlin University. With a clear view of Christianity as a supernatural force, and yet with a minimizing of miraculous details, Harnack has subjected the early literature to a penetrating criticism, and has given a fresh view of the growth of doctrine in his Dogma-History.[5]

HARNACK AND OTHERS.

There has been a remarkable advance in the ecclesiastical historiography of the German theologians in the most recent years. It is impossible, in brief space, to individualize them. Zahn has made some fresh studies of great importance. The Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie, the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift, and the numerous other scientific journals of theology and history have done much for the advancement of this study in Germany. The historical articles in the new edition of Herzog's Encyclopædia, edited by Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, are exhaustive discussions giving the recent views.

(6.) The Tübingen historians. This group of historians of the Church is of combined rationalistic and pantheistic spirit. Ferdinand Christian Baur, Professor in the University of Tübingen, was its chief representative. He carried into the domain of ecclesiastical history one of the fundamental principles of the Hegelian

[1] Best ed., by Nippold, Leipz., 1885–87. Trans. in part in Hist. of the Reformation, Edinb., 1878, 2 vols.; and Hist. of the Church in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, trans. by Hurst, N. Y., 1869, 2 vols. Best ed. of Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrine, by Benrath, 1888, trans., Edinb., 1880, 3 vols.

[2] All previous translations are superseded by Macpherson's from the 9th and 10th ed., Lond. and N.Y., 1890, 3 vols. See Ch. Q. R. (Lond.), xxix, 233; xxx, 499.

[3] The American edition, by W. G. T. Shedd, 2 vols., Andover, 1857–70, comes only to A. D. 1073.

[4] Lehrbuch der christl. Kirchengeschichte, last ed., Berl., 1866. Niedner wrote a number of works for the exclusive use of his students. Semisch has written only monographs.

[5] 1886–88, 2 vols. A translation of Harnack's smaller work on the same subject has been made by Prof. Mitchell, of Hartford Theological Seminary (N. Y. and Lond., 1894), and the first volume of a translation of the large history has been published, 1896.

philosophy: the subordination of the individual to the general; the control of all minds and the ordering of all events by what he calls a rational world-spirit, whose laws are necessary and infallible. Christianity is considered rather a fruit of this spirit than itself creative; the servant rather than the master. Baur, in his Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ,[1] makes the apostolic period his chief field of attack upon the evangelical school. The contention of Baur is that early Christianity was composed of two elements, Paulinism and Petrinism, and that the Catholic Church of the second and third centuries was the result of the conciliation of this primitive Judaism and Universalism. Later studies have shown that Baur greatly exaggerated the antagonism between the Jewish and Christian elements, and his various conclusions concerning the New Testament writings have been revised. The spiritual sense in him was overshadowed by an intense intellectualism, and this unfitted him for weighing spiritual phenomena. But his influence on historical research has been most profound, and he first marked the way along which much fruitful work has been done. He was the founder of the Tübingen school, which has long since had its day.

BAUR AND THE TUBINGEN SCHOOL.

Strauss, whose Life of Jesus appeared in 1835, applied destructive criticism to the Gospel history. It was the natural culmination of the pantheistic theology taught in Tübingen. Zeller has written in the spirit of Baur. Much of the Tübingen virus has passed into the present German Protestant Association, whose center is the Heidelberg University. This organization proposes to do away with all confessional restraints, and to introduce the so-called liberalism into every theological department. Schenkel, in his Character of Jesus Portrayed,[2] was the first to define a doctrinal policy for the new movement.

STRAUSS AND ZELLER.

Nippold, of Heidelberg, later of Bern, now of Jena, has written a History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century, from the point of view of the German Protestant Association. All the history produced by this school betrays a total absence of appreciation of the deep religious life of the Church, and of the supernatural force whence it derives its origin and spirit. Rothe, when he wrote his Beginnings of the Christian Church and Constitution (1837), had not exhibited any sympathy with this free-thinking group. In his last years, however, with the

NIPPOLD.

[1] Second ed., Leipz., 1866. Eng. trans., Lond., 1873–75, 2 vols. See also his Church History of the First Three Centuries, 3d ed., 1863. Eng. trans., Lond., 1878–79, 3 vols. [2] American ed., by Furness, 2 vols. Bost., 1866.

skeptical tendency in the other lecture rooms of Heidelberg, and depressed by serious domestic affliction, he used language at variance with his earnest and evangelical sermons delivered at Rome when chaplain in the Prussian Embassy, and with his masterly Ethics and Beginnings. But the evidence is too strong against his having given any hearty support to men of the Schenkel school, although they used all possible effort to get the support of his strong name.

(7.) The Evangelical historians of other European countries. In England very decided interest in historical theology has been awakened during the last few decades. One of the first effects of the Tractarian movement at Oxford in 1833, under the leadership of Pusey, Keble, and John Henry Newman, was a new interest in the purer and better days of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most original of these historical studies was Newman's Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, which appeared in 1845, shortly before his formal entrance into the Roman Catholic Church.

TRACTARIAN SCHOOL.

The historical writings of the English theologians were, however, not at all confined to the Tractarian leaders. Waddington, Dean of Durham, wrote a clear and concise History of the Church (1833), covering the ancient and mediæval periods, and, later, a History of the Reformation on the Continent (1841). Milman has written a History of Christianity, a History of Latin Christianity, and a History of the Jews.[1] His style is attractive, and his Latin Christianity especially is a noble monument to his great scholarship, liberal views, and fine historical sense. Dean Stanley has excelled all the Church historians of England in the glow and purity of his style and in the arrangement of his material. His chief historical works are: History of the Eastern Church, and History of the Jewish Church. His History of the Church of Scotland is of less value.[2] James Craigie Robertson, Professor of Church History in King's College, London (d. 1882), wrote a History of the Christian Church to the Reformation.[3] It is a dry piece of historical patchwork, but it is fair, written from the sources, and is a convenient chronological work.

WADDINGTON, MILMAN, AND STANLEY.

Robert Vaughan (d. 1868) was one of the most thorough students and discriminating writers on the origins of the Nonconforming Churches. His Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, Religious Parties in England, and English Nonconformity are excellent monographs.

[1] New and revised ed. of his historical works was published in 15 vols., 1866–67. Beware of earlier editions.

[2] New ed. of his works. Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

[3] New ed. Lond. and N. Y., 1873–75, 8 vols.

His son, the saintly Robert Alfred Vaughan, lived only long enough to produce, in his Hours with the Mystics,[1] the best work on the history and opinions of the Mystics in any language. Stoughton has written a History of Religion in England, extending from the opening of the Long Parliament to the end of the eighteenth century (new and rev. ed., 1881, 6 vols.). Perry, in his History of the Church of England, has described the Established Church from the death of Elizabeth to the present time. THE VAUGHANS AND STOUGHTON.

Much valuable information on the ecclesiastical development of England is to be found in the works of Hunt and Tulloch, who treat theology rather than history, and of Green, who shows how far the progress of England is owing to the presence of the religious element in all stages of her growth.[2]

In France, Matter, a professor in Strasburg when Alsace belonged to France, wrote a General History of the Christian Church;[3] while his History of Moral and Political Doctrines of the First Three Centuries,[4] and his Critical History of Gnosticism,[5] throw special light on these departments of ecclesiastical history. The historical labors of Pressensé, with the exception of his Religion and the Reign of Terror, have been confined to the early period. He has written largely with an apologetic purpose in view, and with glowing style and profound sympathy with his themes.[6] FRENCH HISTORIANS.

The late Ernest Renan followed his Life of Christ with a History of the Origins of Christianity, written in fascinating style, and, especially on Marcus Aurelius and the second century, he has presented much new and striking matter.[7] Paul Sabatier has published a Life of St. Francis of Assisi (1894) which has attracted considerable attention for its human interest and impartial method. It is one of the best studies of the Middle Ages. Its author, a Protestant, received the pope's blessing for his work, but the book, nevertheless, received the honor of being placed in the Index. RENAN.

In Switzerland, Merle d'Aubigné held a high place as an ecclesi-

[1] 1856; 6th ed., 1898.

[2] Hunt, Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of the Last Century, 3 vols., Lond., 1870–73. Tulloch, Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols., Edinb., 1872. Green, History of the English People, 4 vols., Best ed., N. Y., 1895.

[3] 2d ed., 4 vols., Paris, 1838.

[4] Prize essay of the French Academy. Paris, 1886–87.

[5] 2d ed., 2 vols., Strasburg, 1843.

[6] Hist. of the First Three Centuries of the Chr. Church, Eng. trans., Lond. and N. Y., 1869–78.

[7] Lond. trans., 7 vols., 1890. His picture of Jesus is a romance.

astical historian. While yet a young man he chose the Reformation as his field, and adhered to his purpose, with the exception of some minor monographs, throughout his life. His History of the Reformation[1], has been translated into all the principal languages, and, while it has been superseded by later works and is no longer an authority, it is a brilliant and, in the main, correct account by an enthusiast. Professor Chastel, of Geneva, in his History of Christianity,[2] produced a work of great learning and ability, abounding in valuable historical monographs.

SWISS HISTORIANS.

In Holland we meet with the names of Hofstede de Groot, Spanheim, and Venema, whose Church histories reach to the sixteenth century and are written with abundant learning. The works of Basnages, father and son, are also of great service, and in Jean le Clerc's Study of the First Two Centuries we come upon good specimens of historical criticism (1716). Van Oosterzee has treated ecclesiastical history only incidentally, his labors being largely occupied with doctrinal theology, particularly on its apologetic side. His Life of Christ is a masterpiece of combined historical and apologetic treatment. Chantepie de la Saussaye has written a work on the Religious Crisis in Holland,[3] a choice monograph on the later attempts to infuse rationalism into the fiber of the Dutch Church.

DUTCH HISTORIANS.

6. Modern Roman Catholic historians. After the Reformation had become an accomplished fact, the historical labors of the Roman Catholic Church were largely confined to a defense of the earlier history. Even Baronius had nothing new to present. As to the French writers, they were more independent than either the German or Italian. Here and there an Italian broke loose from the prevailing submissiveness, as with the monk Sarpi. His History of the Council of Trent[4] was in a measure an attack on the historical delinquencies of Romanism. Among French historians were the following: Godeau, the author of a History of the Church of Christ to the Ninth Century;[5] Natalis Alexander (Noël), who wrote an Ecclesiastical History to the Council of Trent;[6] Bossuet, a Universal His-

MODERN ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORIANS.

[1] Best ed. Hist. of Reformation, N. Y., 1868–79, 5 vols. for Lutheran Reformation, and 8 vols. for Reformation in Time of Calvin.

[2] Histoire du Christianisme, Paris (new ed., 8 vols.), 1881–84.

[3] La Crise Religieuse en Hollande. Leyde, 1860.

[4] Best ed., Naples, 1790. Eng. trans., 1676. [5] 3 vols. Paris, 1668.

[6] 30 vols. Paris, 1676, and later. Best ed., Bingii ad. Rhen., 1785–90. His treatment of the mediæval Church created scandal in Rome, and the great work of Alexander was allowed to go uncondemned only after Roncagli had prepared an edition giving extensive corrections. Lucca, 1734.

tory from the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne;[1] Fleury, an Ecclesiastical History,[2] extending down to 1414; and the Jansenist Tillemont, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History of the First Six Centuries.[3] Both Fleury and Tillemont were distinguished for elegance of style and a critical spirit. Du Pin (d. 1719) published a Biographical and Literary History of the Church down to the Seventeenth Century,[4] which was followed by a similar work by Ceillier[5]—both works of immense learning and research and written in an independent spirit. The French Benedictines of St. Maur did great service by critical editions of the fathers and by their works in Christian antiquities. Mabillon, Montfaucon, Ruinart, Martène, Durand, are a few of these eminent names. The more important historians of the eighteenth century were Choisy, Ducreux, and Berault-Bercastel. To the present century belong Lacroix, Robiano, Henrion, and, most important of any French ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, Rohrbacher, who wrote a Universal History of the Church.[6]

HISTORIANS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Among the German Catholic historians are the romanticist and poet, Stolberg, who wrote a History of the Religion of Jesus Christ, extending to A. D. 430;[7] Katerkamp, a History of Religion to the Founding of the General Church,[8] and a Church History to A. D. 1153;[9] Döllinger, a Text-book of Church History;[10] and the Church Histories of Alzog,[11] Kraus, and Hergenröther—all scholarly works, written by original investigators, though in the Roman interest. The Wetzer and Welte Church Lexicon is rich in historical matter, but in the second edition by Kaulen the revisions are reactionary, and prompted by the Vatican spirit.[12] Hefele's History of the Councils is our best authority for the general councils of the Church.[13] It was continued by Knopfler and

GERMAN ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORIANS.

[1] Paris, 1681. Complete works, new ed., 59 vols., Paris, 1825.

[2] 20 vols. Paris, 1691, and later. Best ed., with continuation to 1584 by Claude Fabre, with 4 vols. of Indexes, 40 vols. Paris, 1722–36. An Eng. trans. to 870. Lond., 1727–32. Cardinal Newman trans. with notes, 381–456. Oxf., 1842–44, 3 vols. Fleury is frank and fair, and though dry and wearisome still remains one of the best historians.

[3] 16 vols. Paris, 1693–98.

[4] 19 vols. Paris and Amst., 1688–1715, fol. New ed., with continuations by Goujet and Petit-Didier to the 18th cent. Paris, 1698, and later, 61 vols., including the critique of R. Simon.

[5] 28 vols., 4to. Paris, 1729–63; new ed., 1858–64; 17 vols.

[6] 29 vols. Paris, 1842–48; 4th ed. by Chantral, 1864, and later.

[7] 15 vols. Hamb., 1806–18. [8] Münster, 1819. [9] 5 vols. Münster, 1823–24.

[10] Eng. ed., 4 vols. Lond., 1840–42.

[11] Amer. ed., 3 vols. Cinc., 1874–78. [12] Freib., 1860, and later.

[13] Trans. of first portion down to 787, 5 vols. Edinb., 1871–96.

Hergenröther[1] down to, and including, the Council of Trent. Locherer and Jungmann have written solid histories. Johannes Janssen attempted the reconstruction of German Church History in his History of the German People,[2] which created a sensation in Germany and elicited numerous Protestant replies. The Belgian Benedictine, Bellesheim, has written a History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, which, for the most part, may be highly commended.[3]

ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORIANS.

In England the Roman Catholic historians have done but little as yet. The best is Lingard, whose Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church is now somewhat antiquated, but whose History of England to 1688 is of great permanent value.[4] Lingard was a scholar of judicial spirit, and though he needs correction in the light of later writers, he is indispensable as giving the conclusions of an independent Catholic investigator. Cardinal Newman wrote while still a churchman a History of the Arians in the Fourth Century,[5] to which he added various interesting essays. Allies carried forward an ambitious work on the Formation of Christendom which is still incomplete. Gasquet and Bridgett have written on various aspects of the Reformation and post-Reformation period in English history, and their researches are indispensable to the student of English Church history. Morris, Drane, Gillow, Pollen, H. T. Coleridge, and Formby, in collections of original documents and in other works have rendered great service to historical literature. Two English churchmen should not be forgotten—Frederic G. Lee, because of his Studies of the English Reformation; and Samuel R. Maitland, because of his Dark Ages.[6] The latter brings much new light, and in a fresh and charming manner dissipates many venerable prejudices.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY.

7. American Ecclesiastical historians. It has been a just ground of lament that until recently but little taste has been manifested in the United States for Church history. The late Henry B. Smith thus accounted for our dearth of the historical spirit: "As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those 'fearless and reverent questionings of the sages of other times which,' as Jeffrey well says, 'are the permitted necromancy of the wise.'

[1] 1873–91. [2] 12th ed., 6 vols., 1888. [3] Eng. trans., Edinb., 1887–90, 4 vols.
[4] 6th ed., Lond., revised and enlarged, 1854, 13 vols.
[5] Lond., 1833; new ed., 1888. [6] Lond., 1845; new ed., 1898.

"Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the Church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote, and kept up by mnemonic helps."[1] This is confirmed by a statement of J. A. Alexander, who says: "Our national tendency, so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various inferior yet important interests, to science, literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious history is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible sources which can only be supplied by history."[2]

J. A. ALEXANDER'S LAMENT OVER AMERICAN HISTORICAL BARRENNESS.

But it is now forty-five years since these regrets at the neglect of historical studies in American theology were expressed, and during this interval great progress has been made. Church history was, earlier, a neglected department in our theological schools, but no theological seminary of fair character in the United States is now without its professorship of historical theology. The labors of Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Kirk, and Parkman, and the genial works of Irving, have had an important effect in awakening a popular historical taste, while the contributions in the theological department are fully equal in ability and interest.

AWAKING OF POPULAR HISTORICAL TASTE.

Our chief support has come from abroad. The best historical works of Great Britain and Germany have been promptly introduced among us. Professor Henry B. Smith published an excellent original Tabular History of the Church; Lamson, a History of the Early Church; Shedd, a treatise on the Philosophy of History, and a History of Christian Doctrine; Henry Charles Lea, a layman, important monographs on the Church in special relation to Roman Catholicism, showing immense research and opening up new fields, and a monumental His-

SMITH, LAMSON, SHEDD, LEA, AND FISHER.

[1] Bib. Sacra, 1851, pp. 414, 415.

[2] Bib. Repertory and Princeton Review, 1847.

tory of the Inquisition; Fisher, a History of the Reformation, Beginnings of Christianity, an admirable History of the Church in one volume, and some masterly historical essays.

The labors of Philip Schaff belong rather to the United States than to Germany. Although a native of Switzerland and a student in the German universities, his remarkable literary productiveness is a part of the theological wealth of this country. No ecclesiastical historian has equaled him in the general arrangement, grouping, and proportionate use of historical material, nor in the literary and religious genius which pervades the whole. His History of the Christian Church bears all the traces of his German culture and profound sympathy with the spirit and instructions of Neander. At the same time all his theological labors reveal his thorough identification with American institutions, and a clear conception of the needs and opportunities of the ecclesiastical life of the Church in the United States. What Carlyle did for the introduction of German literature into England, Schaff did for the introduction and safe utilization of the evangelical theology of Germany into the United States, the third and largest home of the Teutonic race.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

Schaff went over more ground than any other historian, treating the whole history of the Church to the Reformation in an elaborate manner, including two volumes on the German and Swiss Reformation. The second part of the Mediæval Period was left incomplete at his death, but it will appear. Of equal importance is his Creeds of Christendom, the most extensive work of the kind in any language. Schaff founded the American Society of Church History in 1888, which has been the means of eliciting invaluable monographs from him and other American scholars, and has published annually a full report of its proceedings, etc., 1889–96, 8 vols., N. Y.

Henry C. Sheldon has written an excellent History of Doctrine, and a History of the Church. Henry M. Baird has made extensive studies in French Huguenot history, and R. W. Thompson has investigated the Relation of the Papacy to Civil Affairs. Mombert has given the best History of Charles the Great in any language, and in briefer form has done work equally well on the History of the Crusades, and the History of the English Bible. Gillett traced the Course of English Religious Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and wrote a History of John Huss in two large volumes, both works monuments of American scholarship. The following special works are conscientious studies by careful writers: Bernard of Clairvaux, by Storrs; Knox, by Taylor; Savonarola, by Professor Clark, of

SHELDON, BAIRD, AND OTHERS.

Toronto; Mediæval History, by Professors McLaughlin and Emerton; Molinos, by Bigelow; Alcuin, by West; The Early Religious History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Cathcart, Moffat, and DeVinne respectively; the Reformation in Sweden, by Butler; the Canons of the First Councils, by Fulton; contributions to Dante literature, by Davidson, Longfellow, Norton; History of Humane Progress, by Brace; Mediæval Civilization, by Adams; the Lutherans and the English Reformation, by Jacobs; Baptism in History, by Burrage; a History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland, by the same author; and various works by that enthusiastic investigator, Henry M. Dexter.

DENOMINATIONAL CHURCH HISTORY.

The American Church has produced more denominational histories than works of a general historical character. This is largely due to our active confessional life and the absence of the State Church system. Bacon, Dexter, Punchard, and Williston Walker have written on the Congregational Church; White, Burgess, Perry, McConnell, and Tiffany, on the Protestant Episcopal Church; Hodge, Gillett, Webster, Briggs, and R. E. Thompson, on the Presbyterian Church; Bangs, Stevens, and Atkinson, on the Methodist Episcopal Church; McTyeire, on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Mayer, Harbaugh, and Dubbs, on the German Reformed Church; Demarest and Corwin, on the Reformed Dutch Church; Wolf, Jacobs, Gräbner, Schæffer, and Schmucker, on the Lutheran Church; Ellis, Ware, and Allen, on the Unitarian Church; and Noethen, Shea, and Clarke, on the Roman Catholic Church. The American Society of Church History has inaugurated a series of denominational histories written with reference to the best authorities and in a liberal and catholic spirit. The books in this series already published are the earnest of a grand future for American historiography.

There need be no ground for alarm as to the future progress and independence of historical theology in the United States. The conditions which have limited our development in this respect in the past are rapidly disappearing. The American Church has been compelled to address itself to grave social and evangelistic questions, and has confronted them with courage and vigor. At its distance from the great fields of persecution and protracted controversy it will in time acquire that needful equipoise of mind for inquiring carefully and pronouncing judiciously concerning the great matters of the general life of the Church. Concerning that past we can well expect that the American Church will be a wise inquirer and an apt disciple at its feet.

LITERATURE OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

I. GENERAL.

For the recent literature of the general history of the ancient Church we refer to the following:

1. Stanley, A. P. Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age. Lond., 1847; new ed., 1891. Christian Institutions. Lond. and N. Y., 1881; new ed., 1884. Scholarly and original.
2. Neander, A. Planting and Training of the Christian Church. Translated by J. E. Ryland, with the Antignostikus, or Spirit of Tertullian. Lond., 1850. 2 vols. Trans. rev. according to the 4th German ed., by E. G. Robinson, N. Y., 1864. A sympathetic, profound, and clear view of the Apostolic Church.
3. Burton, E. Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First Three Centuries. Oxf., 1831; new ed., 1855.
4. Maurice, F. D. Lecture on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries. Camb., 1854.
5. Broglie, J. V. A. Duc de. L'Église et l'Empire Romain au IV. Siècle. 2d ed., Paris, 1857–69, 6 vols. A thorough study.
6. De Pressensé, E. Histoire des trois premiers Siècles de l'Église Chrétienne. Paris, 1858–77, 4 vols.; new ed., 1887–89; Eng. trans., Lond. and N. Y., 1869–78, 4 vols.; new ed., Lond., 1889.
7. Killen, W. D. The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution. Lond., 1859; new ed., 1889. N. Y., 1883, 3d ed., revised and enlarged. Excellent.
8. Bright, W. History of the Church from 313 to 451. Lond., 1860; 5th ed., 1888.
9. Döllinger, J. J. I. von. Gentile and Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ. Lond., 1862, 2 vols. First Age of Christianity and the Church. Lond., 1866, 2 vols.; new ed., 1877. Best of all works on the borderland between paganism and Christianity.
10. Hausrath, A. History of New Testament Times. Lond., 1878–80, 2 vols.
11. Schürer, E. History of Jewish People in the Time of Christ. Edinb., 1885–91, 5 vols.
12. Baur, F. C. Church History of the First Three Centuries. Lond., 1878–79, 2 vols. The works of Döllinger, Hausrath, Schürer, and Baur, all translated from the German, exhibit true German thoroughness, and sometimes the German love of speculation. Döllinger wrote chiefly while a Roman Catholic; but he was always of a liberal and historic temper. Hausrath has somewhat of a rationalistic bent, and Baur spins out his peculiar views in his profound and penetrating way.
13. Smith, P. History of the Church during the First Ten Centuries. Lond. and N. Y., 1878.

14. Keim, C. T. Rom und das Christenthum. Berl., 1881. This posthumous volume is a masterly survey of the early struggles of Christianity. Important also is his Aus dem Urchristenthum. Zürich, 1878.
15. Wordsworth, Chr. Church History to the Council of Nicæa. Lond. and N. Y., 1881. Written from the High Church point of view.
16. Farrar, F. W. Early Days of Christianity. Lond. and N. Y., 1882.
17. Ewald, H. History of Israel, vol. vii, Apostolic Age; vol. viii, Postapostolic Age. Lond., 1883.
18. Fitzgerald, W. Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. Lond., 1885, 2 vols. Able discussions by the Episcopal Bishop of Cork.
19. Armitage, W. Sketch of Church and State during the First Eight Centuries. Lond., 1887.
20. Carr, A. The Church and the Roman Empire. Lond. and N. Y., 1887. Plummer, A. The Church of the Early Fathers. Lond. and N. Y., 1887. These belong to the excellent series, Epochs of Church History, edited by Creighton.
21. Duff, D. The Early Church: A History of Christianity in the First Six Centuries. Edinb., 1891. Posthumous lectures by the able professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh.
22. Lightfoot, J. B. Dissertations on the Apostolic Age. Lond. and N. Y., 1892. Reprinted from his Commentaries. Model discussions in research and candor.
23. Moeller, W. Church History, A. D. 1–600. Translated by A. Rutherford. Lond., 1892. Scholarly and scientific.
24. Slater, W. F. Faith and Life of the Early Church. Lond., 1892. One of the most valuable of the recent books.
25. Cheetham, S. History of the Church in the First Six Centuries. Lond. and N. Y., 1894.
26. Weizsäcker, C. von. The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church. Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Written with rationalistic presuppositions. Treatment of resurrection of Christ weak and halting. As a whole, however, a work of great ability. We might add here the brilliant essays of Renan in his remarkable series on the Origins of Christianity, beginning with the Apostles, Paris, 1866, and continuing to St. Paul, 1869; the Anti-Christ, 1872; the Gospels and the Second Christian Generation, 1877; the Christian Church, comprising the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, 1879, and concluding with the masterly and eloquent volume on Marcus Aurelius, 1881. These works have all been translated into English, Lond., n. d. In them Renan appears at his best, in his free treatment and characterizations, and fine historical knowledge, but with no sympathy with the supernatural element in history, or with the piety, reverence, and heroism which made the Church conquer the world.

On the early Church, see also the appropriate departments in the General Church Histories, and the special works mentioned in the course of this History.

II. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. Schiller, H. Geschichte d. röm. Kaiserzeit unter d. Regierung d. Nero, Berl., 1872.
2. Friedländer, L. Sittengeschichte Roms, 4th ed., 1874.

3. Mommsen, T. Römisches Staatsrecht. Berl., 1875. The Roman Provinces. Lond. and N. Y., 1886.
4. Harnack, A. Christianity and Christians at the Court of the Roman Emperors before the Time of Constantine. In Princeton Review, July, 1878; pp. 239–80.
5. Renan, E. The Influence of Rome on Christianity. Lond., 1880.
6. Fisher, G. P. The Influence of the Old Roman Spirit and Religion on Latin Christianity. In Discussions in History and Theology. N. Y., 1880; pp. 34–67.
7. Arnold, W. T. The Roman System of Provincial Administration. Lond., 1879. An able essay.
8. Volz. Die Anfänge des Christenthums. Leips., 1888.
9. Bury, J. B. History of the Later Roman Empire. Lond. and N. Y., 1889, 2 vols. A notable work.
10. Kingsley, C. The Roman and the Teuton; new ed., with preface by Max Müller. Lond. and N. Y., 1889.
11. Addis, W. E. Christianity and the Roman Empire. Lond., 1893.
12. Ramsay, W. M. The Church in the Roman Empire: Before A. D. 170. Lond. and N. Y., 1893. St. Paul as a Traveler and as a Roman Citizen. Lond. and N. Y., 1897. These works are the interesting result of fresh studies by an indefatigable investigator.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

A. D. 1-101.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY.

I. THE GREEKS, THEIR FAITH AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE intellectual preparation of the world for Christianity was wrought out by the Greek culture and Roman organization. With a land singularly beautiful, and so situated as to appropriate and crystallize the best thought from Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, and to reproduce and distribute it to the Roman power in the West, the Greeks performed a work not less important in its relations to Christianity than to the best period of the classic age. They were of various origin. In the diversity of their ancestry, the versatility of their genius, their steady mastery of difficulty, their power to absorb the strong and the good from every quarter, and their singular capacity to originate and propagate new ideas, the Greeks were the Anglo-Saxons of the ancient world. As the present English race is the offspring of Briton, Saxon, Angle, Dane, Gael, and Norman, so in the veins of the Greek there flowed the blood of many tribes, from the north, the east, and the south. The Hellene combined in his person the strong elements of all great national and tribal forces of the world, excepting only the Hebrew. He was born of the throes of the ancient Pelasgi, themselves composite, like the Frank and the Saxon; the Minyæ; the Pierian and Bœotian Thracians, whose bards had been long dead before Homer was born; the Leleges and Carians; the Dardanians and Teucrians; the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, from the northern Ægean Islands, and Attica and Argos; the Phœnician Cadmeans, the Bœotian Arneans, and the Achæans, the Ionians, and

THE GREEK RACE.

the Dorians.[1] Coming of such intense blood, he was ready to make his broad place in history.

While the faith of the Greeks reveals traces of Eastern origin, it underwent such transformation that it became a complete organism, and, in the splendor of its strength and the luxuriance of its fancy, passed over, as a vast and far-reaching mythology, to the Romans. This latter people, the perpetual borrowers from the East, went through all the stages of their history with a utilitarian faith overlaid by that of the Greeks. For purely intellectual achievements the Greeks were potent in every field. In the higher walks of literature they pursued such a course, and attained such excellence, that their productions in dramatic and lyric poetry, in wise legislation, forensic eloquence, and speculative philosophy, and the arts of painting and sculpture, have been regarded as masterpieces, and, at this distance, still serve as models. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; Solon and Lycurgus; Demosthenes, Æschines, and Isocrates; Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato; Herodotus, Xenophon, and Thucydides; and Apelles and Phidias, are teachers for the race. Their mission has not been superseded by the later introduction and propagation of Christianity. The extent to which the religion of Christ has subsidized for its own vast purposes the language and thought of the Greeks cannot be measured. The intellect of Greece, therefore, besides having all the fervor of youth and the vigor of maturity, was endowed with the rare and subtle power of working for every later historic period, and of becoming an unconscious agent for the advancement of Christianity in all its fields.

INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GREEKS.

The religious belief of the Greek was a reflection of his quick and serious intellect and rich æsthetic nature. Like his varied origin in race, his religion was the product of multiform forces. He derived his faith from the floating traditions of his forefathers, which so crystallized in the poems of Homer and Hesiod that these two poets were the theological teachers of the Greeks down to the rise of their philosophy. The Greek mythology, as with all forms of polytheism, was primarily a deification of natural forces, of the elements patent to the senses. To the Hellene, Nature was nowhere deaf, or dumb, or blind, and, in the popular mind, became the protectress of man. From this

RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE GREEKS.

[1] Döllinger, Jew and Gentile, i, 75. Duncker, Hist. of Greece, i, 9, *sqq.*, does not accept the composite origin of the Greek race. He takes no stock in Herodotus's distinction between the Pelasgic and Hellenic nations. v. Herod., i, 56. Herodotus says also that "many barbarian races have allied themselves" with the Hellenic nation.

general foundation it is easy to see that the pagan pantheon could enlarge illimitably. The mythology had an undisputed reign of about five centuries, until Thales, about B. C. 600, arose and spoke the first word in protest against its worth and place in the thought and worship of man.

A survey of these systems is necessary for a candid view of the historical soil which received the new Christianity. The history of Greek philosophy is divided by a political event, the downfall of Alexander's empire, into two parts: First, from B. C. 600 to B. C. 324. Here belong the better schools—the Ionic, the early Pythagorean, the Eleatic, the Atomistic, and the Sophist schools, and the three systems of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The second period extends from B. C. 324 down to A. D. 530. Here arose the schools of the decadence—the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Skeptics. To them succeeded, after a long interval, Neoplatonism, introduced by Plotinus, A. D. 204–269. This system exhausted itself in the labors of the Athenian commentators, about A. D. 530.[1] As the Neoplatonists originated nothing, and their system was only the last effort of pagan philosophy to rehabilitate itself by borrowing some Christian drapery, a discussion of it will be reserved for treatment in connection with the contemporaneous history of the Church.

SYSTEMS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

The Ionic and Eleatic schools founded by Thales, of Miletus, and Xenophanes, an exile in Elea, confined their attention to dealing with physical facts, and accounting for the original essence from which all matter has been evolved. Their opinions were divided between air and water as the original essence. The Eleatics were thoroughly pantheistic. At no period of Greek philosophy were the protests stronger against the prevailing mythology. Heraclitus, a leader of the school, said of his own people: "They address prayers to images; they might as well enter into conversation with their houses." At another time he said: "We ought to expel Homer—the minstrel who sang the Iliad at the games—by the public constable from the festal solemnities, because his works stuff the people with unseemly notions."

IONIC AND ELEATIC SCHOOLS.

The Pythagorean school, founded by Pythagoras, B. C. 586, was employed in the investigation of moral and religious themes. Pythagoras said: "I have no art; I am a philosopher;" and to speculative philosophy in its higher forms he remained true. With him and his followers number is the eternal, self-originated bond of the eternal continuance of the universe. Harmony underlies all the relations of the world. Virtue

THE PYTHAGOREANS.

[1] Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, i, 255.

itself is only another name for cosmos, or harmony. Creation was a progress from the crude to the perfect. There is a universal soul embracing all things. The soul is immortal, but migrates through all ages. Reflection is one of man's chief necessities. His whole life must be symmetrical. He said: "We must wait for the last day of a man." Because of the large place which Pythagoras gave to numbers Aristotle said keenly of him: "Mathematics is his philosophy." The distinguishing doctrine of the Atomists, at whose head stood Democritus (B. C. 460), was the eternity of matter. The soul is only a finer form of body, and both it and the grosser material organism are made up of atoms. These atoms have combined and assumed form because of an internal necessity. The Sophists never attained the dignity of a school. They consisted of such men as Gorgias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who derided all that was lofty and serious in the existing systems. They were the skeptics of their age, restless inquirers, and occupied a position somewhat analogous to that of the French encyclopedists of the eighteenth century.

ATOMISTS AND SOPHISTS.

The Socratic school was founded by Socrates, B. C. 469–399. It was an honest attempt to restore philosophy to its proper domain, to heal it of the infirmities that had gathered about it, and to make it the instrument for the solution of the great problems of being. The leader attached absolute value to ethics, and only relative importance to physics. The human mind has the power of deciding truth, when once it knows how to use its endowments. The soul is allied, by similarity of nature, to deity. Deity is one, however varied his manifestations, and matter is his work, and proves a designing mind. Man has a future life, and the worship of God is the highest duty and the best preparation for the future. He at length aroused the Athenian democracy, and, on a series of trumped-up charges which really veiled political animosity, he was convicted and put to death.

SOCRATIC SCHOOL.

Plato (B. C. 430–350) was the philosopher of the spirit. A disciple of Socrates, and present when his teacher drank the hemlock, Plato followed only partially in his footsteps. He proceeded far beyond the Socratic world of outward and visible phenomena, and recognized the spirituality of man's nature. The subjective spiritual nature is akin to the divine, not in any sense identical with it, but always dependent upon it. The spirit has certain needs which can only be satisfied in the Supreme Being. Here lies the intimate connection of the Platonic philosophy and Christianity, and it is not surprising that great teachers in the early Church should not only have regarded it as

PLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

prophetic of Christianity, but that it should have been to them the medium of transition to Christianity.[1] Eusebius expressed the true relation of Plato when he said: "He alone of all the Greeks reached the vestibule of truth and stood upon its threshold." Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen and his school, Augustine, Schleiermacher, and Neander are only a few to whom Plato has proved a schoolmaster, leading them to Christ. Aristotle (B. C. 384–322) likewise attached great importance to the human spirit, but his mind was critical, while Plato was more poetic, spiritual, and ideal. The former asserted an eternal, immovable substance, the source of all movement. The primary notion of this substance is that it is energy. Matter is not self-caused, nor does it cause anything else. There is a first cause beyond and above it. It is immaterial, the Supreme Reason, God.[2]

With the Aristotelian system the best philosophical thought of the Greek mind was exhausted. The decline in speculative science was simultaneous with that of the Greek nationality itself, as a result of the disruption of Alexander's empire. Philosophy became less serious, reverent, and spiritual. Zeno (B. C. 340–260), the founder of the Stoic system, ignored the spiritual element and advocated unmixed materialism. There are only two principles—matter, and an innate and eternal force dwelling in matter. There is nothing real but the material; even space and time are only chimeras of the mind. Everything that has a real existence can be recognized only through the senses. Zeno, therefore, repudiated both the ideas of Plato and the incorporeal and immaterial substance of Aristotle, and regarded both as mere abstractions of human thought.[3] The Stoic school passed through many changes, and was finally represented at Rome by L. A. Seneca.[4] A pantheistic element pervaded its whole history. The

THE STOIC SYSTEM.

[1] F. C. Baur, in his Das Christliche des Platonismus (Tübingen, 1837), treats the Christian element in Plato in full; and Ackermann, in his Das Christliche im Plato und in der plat. Philosophie (Hamb., 1835), gives parallel passages between this philosopher and the New Testament writers. This work has been translated, The Christian Element in Plato (Edinb., 1861). On the whole subject of the Greek influence on Christianity see Hatch, Hibbert Lectures for 1888.

[2] The best treatment of Greek thought in its unconscious prophecies of Christ in both the richness and poverty of its best literature is given by Bishop Westcott, Religious Thought in the West. Lond. and N. Y., 1891, especially pp. 1–252.

[3] Döllinger, Heidenthum und Judenthum, pp. 319, 320.

[4] For the best that can be said of Seneca and the best Stoics as anticipating Christianity, see Addis, Christianity and the Roman Empire. Lond., 1893, pp. 22–25; Farrar, Seekers After God. Lond., new ed., 1892.

Epicurean system established by Epicurus (B. C. 342–270) was strongly antagonistic to the Stoic. It regarded the world as the product of chance, and essentially denied the existence of the gods, but advised some care in expressing the denial.

THE SKEPTICS.

The Skeptics—the New Academy—with Acesilaus (B. C. 318–244) and Carneades (B. C. 213–130) as leaders, assumed a hostile attitude toward the previous systems because of their alleged incongruities, and sank into gross skepticism and indifference. The latest philosophical tendency of the Greeks was the least satisfactory.

The general attitude of philosophy toward the popular religious faith was that of hostility and contempt. Here lies one of the causes why the morals of the Greeks never became as corrupt as those of the Romans. With the latter there were so few independent writers on great moral and philosophical themes that the popular mythology was permitted to exert its natural influence. Only in the later period, as in the first century of the Christian era, could there be found men who were willing and brave to enter a protest against the gross mythology. Even the men whose voices were loudest against the polytheism of their times never wholly escaped from it. In their last moments they paid tribute to the error against which their whole lives were an eloquent protest. The last words of Socrates were, when his extremities were already cold in death: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Pay the debt, and do not neglect it." Seneca, the most notable representative of the divine unity among the Romans, in the hour of his suicide poured out a libation to "Jove the Liberator."

PROTEST AGAINST THE CURRENT MYTHOLOGY.

With the decline of the Greek nationality the power of Greece as a vital and productive force, whether in philosophy, literature, or politics, passed away. Long before the dissolution of the Achæan League in B. C. 146, the splendid promise of paganism in this its fairest field had met with a complete collapse. Its mission now lay in the future through the life-giving touch of Christ. Hegel touches the keynote of its significance when he calls her history the "play of youth." Her philosophers had failed either to bring the people to unity of belief or morality in life. Cicero spoke of this failure when he said: "In such difference of opinion amongst the wise we are in no position to know our lords and masters, as in fact we are uncertain whether we are the subjects of the sun or ether."[1]

FAILURE OF PHILOSOPHY.

But the failure of Greece was the lever of Christianity. Her

[1] Academ., ii, p. 41.

philosophy which had failed as a guide was to become a servant. Greece had given the world a training in the contemplation of serious subjects, and had directed thought toward the problems of the soul and of destiny. The early Christian writers recognized this service. Clement of Alexandria said nobly that philosophy was a gift which divine Providence had itself intrusted to the best of the Greeks as an educator for Christianity.[1] Tertullian said of the Greek philosophers that they had knocked at the doors of the truth,[2] a beautiful figure which Bossuet borrows and thus enlarges upon: "Though the philosophers be the protectors of error, they have nevertheless often knocked at the door of truth; if they have not entered its sanctuary, if they have not had the joy of seeing it and worshiping it in its temple, they have often presented themselves at its portico, and rendered it worship from afar."[3] The early Christian writers, too, were not slow in turning upon their opponents the denunciations of the popular mythology by their own philosophers and poets.

SERVICE OF GREECE TO CHRISTIANITY.

But the great service which Greece rendered to Christianity was in furnishing it a world-wide language, the most beautiful, the most flexible, the most expressive the world has ever known. The Greeks built more wisely than they knew. They contributed less to the glory of Greece than to the diffusion of Christianity, the development of its doctrine, and the beauty of its culture in every age.[4]

THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

II. THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The Romans were not less potent, but in a different field, than the Greeks in preparing the way for the diffusion of Christianity. While their literature and religion were shaped after Greek models, their national character was of a different type. While the Greeks were imaginative and passionately fond of the beautiful in both form and thought, the Romans were practical, fond of law, and capable of rule. As organizers and lawmakers they have never been surpassed. No sooner was a province conquered than, by wise administration, they knew how to assimilate

THE ROMANS AS ORGANIZERS.

[1] Strom., vi, 693, 694.

[2] Veritatis fores pulsant.

[3] Panégyrique de Sainte Catherine.

[4] Frederick W. Robertson has treated the Greek preparation for Christianity with characteristic discrimination and lucidity. He does equal justice to both the negative and positive aspects of the subject. Sermons, 1st series, sermon xi.

its people to their own body politic, and where they were unable to overcome by arms, as in the case of the Batavi, they had the adroitness to annex in such a way as to satisfy barbarian pride and yet utilize their new citizens for the hazards of war and the enrichment of the national treasury.

When Christ appeared the political power of the world was in Roman hands. Palestine was under the administration of Roman deputies, and the countries first visited by the apostles were a part of the marvelous network of Roman territory. Paul, the Greek preacher, enjoyed and asserted the rights of Roman citizenship. The Roman armies passed freely along both shores of the Mediterranean, and followed their eagles from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Euphrates. The great highways over which they passed were constructed so strongly that many of them are still in existence, and the ruins of their stone viaducts vie with those of their temples as among their best remains, in the Campagna, of ancient Roman masonry. As builders of roads and aqueducts the Romans wrought for the great future. Their Appian Way is still a complete highroad toward Naples and over the Pontine Marshes, while their Cloaca Maxima drains the Rome of new Italy, and is in far better preservation than the Coliseum, whose walls are covered with not less than two hundred and fifty varieties of weeds and wild flowers—the parasites of ruins. The Romans always looked far out into the future. They made their laws and reared their edifices for all time. The idea of perpetuity was native to them. They called their capital *urbs aterna*—the eternal city.

THE ROMANS AS ROAD BUILDERS.

The facilities for the passage of the Roman armies and material of war from Parthia in the east to Britain in the west, were a powerful unifying agency. The interchange of thought and the ease of commercial transactions were the rule, and not the exception. When the first preachers of the Gospel would evangelize Asia Minor and the Greek States and go even to Rome, they passed, on land, over uninterrupted highways, and, on sea, made use of the vessels engaged in regular carrying trade.[1]

The majesty of Rome made travel safer then than it is now. "Cæsar has procured us a profound peace," says Epictetus; "there

[1] On the water communications of the Roman empire, see Lewin, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 2 vols. Lond., 1878. On the roads, compare Bergier, Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, 2d ed. Brussels, 1728. For this whole section the best book is Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms, 3 vols., 5th ed. Leipz., 1881. Compare the excellent chapter in Fisher, Beginnings of Christianity, pp. 40–73.

are neither wars, nor battles, nor great robberies, nor piracies; but we may travel at all hours and sail from east to west."[1] And it was an age of travel. Intercommunication became so safe and easy that even somewhat remote colonies presented a cosmopolitan aspect. "Greek scholars," says Friedländer, "kept school in Spain; the women of a Roman colony in Switzerland employed a goldsmith from Asia Minor; in the cities of Gaul were Greek painters and sculptors; Gauls and Germans served as bodyguards of a Jewish king at Jerusalem; Jews were settled in all the provinces." Five main roads went out from Rome to all parts of the empire, built with great solidity, and going as a rule in a straight line over mountains and rivers. It was the great Via Egnatia by which Paul penetrated Macedonia, a corn ship in which as prisoner he took passage for Rome, and the Appian Way by which he ascended from Puteoli to the gates of Rome; while the messengers by whom he sent his immortal letters, the individuals who formed the beginnings of his societies, and the persons with whom he formed his lasting friendships were those who were intimately or remotely engaged in the commerce around the shores of the Mediterranean, with Rome as the great center. The most distant provinces were united with the central government by the wise administration of unifying laws. All extremes were made to meet and harmonize in letters, law, arms, and commerce. Though the Roman people had lost their early simplicity and purity before the coming of Christ, their country and its provinces had never been so thoroughly united and so accessible as at the beginning of the apostolic period. The material condition of the Romans, therefore, like the cosmopolitan literature of the Greeks, was eminently favorable for the dissemination of the Christian faith.[2]

SAFETY OF TRAVEL IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

UNION OF THE PROVINCES.

III. THE MORAL DESTITUTION OF PAGANISM.

The most deplorable picture of depraved morals in the entire range of history is presented by the pagan world at the time of the introduction of Christianity. The description of it by Paul is singularly confirmed by the classic writers, and by later archæological revelations.[3] The austere periods of the Greek independence and the

[1] Epic., Dis. III, xiii.

[2] The best summary of the Roman preparation for Christianity is Addis, Christianity and the Roman Empire. Lond., 1898, chap. i. Indispensable also is Uhlhorn, Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. N. Y., 1880, chap. i and ii.

[3] Rom. i, 18–32.

Roman republic had passed away, and immorality was practiced to such a degree and with such publicity that even the immoral satirists themselves made the popular vices the object of their invective. At no time did the Greeks descend to such depravity as their closest imitators, the Romans. As the republic of the latter passed into the empire the territory widened, the communication with other nations became easier, wealth poured into the capital through every commercial and military vein, and the proverbial simplicity and purity of the people disappeared. The old faith gradually became admixed with Asiatic elements. The walls of Pompeii reveal the fact that in the first century of the Christian era there was such dissatisfaction of the Romans with their religion that they had imported from the East and South the worship of the beasts of the field, the fishes of the Nile, and the productions of the soil. Cicero testifies to the hollowness and duplicity of the native worship by saying that one haruspex could not look another in the face without laughing.

ROMAN DEPRAVITY.

The degradation of woman was hopeless and complete. In Athens the wife was never regarded as possessed of legal privileges, and her son became her protector after reaching his majority. A measure of barley was the limit of property which she could leave by will to her own offspring. She was in all essentials a slave. Her present subjection in oriental lands, and the estimate placed upon her by Turkey, the typical polygamist of the ages, is only the modern propagation of the elder Greek and Roman view of her real relation to man. She was regarded as his inferior, the minister to his lust, and his slave for menial service. She was never trusted, and her place in the residence—for paganism had no homes—was an upper room in the rear of the house, and often guarded by lock and key.[1] Her mental endowments were estimated as of a lower grade than those of men. She was supposed to excel in duplicity, artifice, and treachery. Marriage was only a political institution. There was no sacred bond. Early Rome had been distinguished for its household purity, and Valerius Maximus gives a list of noble illustrations of it. Centuries passed by without a single divorce for adultery—according to Plutarch, two hundred and thirty years; according to Valerius Maximus, five hundred and twenty years; and according to Aulus Gellius, five hundred and twenty-one years. It was only old Ennius who could sing: "Flagitiis principium est, nudare inter cives corpora."

DEGRADATION OF WOMAN.

[1] Tholuck, Der sittliche Character des Heidenthums, pp. 75, 76.

But in the later days of the republic, and all through the empire, divorce was common, and could be purchased by a pittance. Seneca, who was singularly favored, as Nero's tutor and a member of his court, with facilities for observation, thus testifies: "Crimes and iniquity abound in all things. More wickedness is committed than law can reach. . . . The passion for sin increases daily; daily there is more shamelessness. Respect for the pure and holy diminishes constantly. Sin stalks openly. It stares into all eyes. Innocence is not merely infrequent—it is no more."[1] Tacitus deplores the corruption of the people whose life he traced in his Annals, and the satires of Juvenal and Persius reveal the grossest moral depravity in every stratum of society. Plato, in his Ideal Republic, proposed the communism of women—a proposition whose absurdity, it must be confessed, was exposed by Aristotle.[2] In Sparta, where we would expect a more rigid view of conjugal fidelity, the wife was not considered even the sole property of one man. Plutarch gave the advice that a citizen should share his wife with a friend, and Polybius states it as a current view of propriety that a husband might lend his wife out to his friends.[3] In Athens the husband was not regarded the natural protector of the wife, but the son, after reaching his majority.

IMPURITY OF THE DOMESTIC RELATION.

Prostitution was universal. Not content to practice in the homes and houses for the special purpose, it was introduced even into the temples. It was a fearful charge which Tertullian laid at the door of paganism when he said: "It is a matter of general notoriety that the temples are the very places where adulteries are arranged, and procuresses pursue their victims between the altars."[4] One of the grossest forms of immorality was the abuse of boys and youth, or paiderastia. This was in common use by even the most learned and cultivated among both the Greeks and Romans. Plutarch hesitates to pronounce on its propriety, but when he speaks of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines, and Cebes as having practiced it, he agrees with Plato[5] that men of great eminence must be allowed to show affection to what beautiful objects they please, and concludes that the wild amours of Thebes and Elis are not to be countenanced, but the paiderastia of Athens and Sparta is to be imitated.[6] At no time was Greece free from this crime. Beautiful boys were converted into eunuchs,

PROSTITUTION AND OTHER FORMS OF IMMORALITY.

[1] De Ira., i, ii, c. 8.

[2] Politica, i, ii, c. 2–18, edition Schneider. Compare Tholuck, Sittl. Character des Heidenthums, pp. 82–84.

[3] Hist., xii, 6. [4] Apol., c. 15. [5] Repub., v, p. 468 c. [6] Morals, i, pp. 26, 27.

and their youth preserved as long as possible to make them serve the bestial lust of men. There were, among the Romans, harems of young men as well as of women, which were called paidagogia. Trajan practiced this crime, while Tiberius, in his palace on Capræa, the Capri of our day, carried it to such an extent as to shock even his own subjects. The abhorrence of issue was universal in both Greek and Roman society. Embryonic murder was the rule rather than the exception.[1] A large family was regarded as a social disgrace. The six children of Germanicus were the most notable exception in the highest order of society. Not one Roman emperor left a large family, while many died without legitimate issue. The authors show a singular dread of offspring, and Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Silius Italicus, Seneca, the two Plinys, Suetonius, and Tacitus died childless.[2]

This repulsive picture is sufficient to reveal the low estimate placed on childhood by paganism. Not one great classic writer in even the age of Pericles in Greece, or of the Roman republic, understood the moral value of childhood or its real bearing on the world's future. It was only of man after he became mature, had fought the battles of childhood and youth, and stood forth before the world as a victor on many a field, that the pagan mind formed a high opinion and regarded him as worthy a place of honor in citizenship and in the pantheon of literature. The subject and passive man received little notice from the most charitable philosopher; the child was never once thought of as worthy of an equal place with the adult in the sympathy and respect of the world. The highest value attached to children was their possible service to the State. The Spartan regarded boys only of value; and this he did for the reason that they might be of strong body, and therefore able to perform military duty. Maimed and invalid boys, and the most of the girls, were not supposed to be of any special worth, and better in hades, in charge of grim and relentless Pluto, than on earth.[3]

LOW ESTIMATE OF CHILDHOOD.

Plato, in his Laws and Republic, takes special pains to lay down a theory of education, but he always reaches the same result: children must be taught to respect the laws, and their training must be according to them. "For the third and fourth time," he

[1] Hippolytus and Callistus, pp. 148, 172, 73; Hip., Ref. Haer., ix, 7; Juv., vi, 597; Plin., H. N., xx, 21; xxvii, 5, 9.

[2] Compare Döllinger, Jew and Gentile, ii, pp. 233–247.

[3] See Prof. R. J. Cooke, Christianity and Childhood, N. Y., 1891; Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, Bost., 1894. In fact, it was left to nineteenth century Christianity to discover childhood.

says, "our reflections have come to the result that education should be the allurement and guidance of youths to that which the laws approve, and which the most judicious and aged have found by experience to be the best." LOW STANDARD OF EDUCATION. Aristotle, not less than Plato, stops far short of the scriptural ideal, for religion forms no part of his educational theory. He says: "No one can doubt that the legislator must bestow very peculiar attention on the education of youth. If this is not done in a State its constitution is destroyed." Socrates was an advance on both these great teachers in that he urged the young men who gathered about him for counsel to improve their hearts and deny themselves in their daily life. But so foreign to the Athenian mind was this emphasis on the value of the inner life that the townsmen of Socrates held him up to contempt for this very instruction.

One of the peculiarities of the pagan conception of education was its admiration of successful juvenile crime. The Spartan boy was admired if he could steal without being caught, and his skill in thieving was regarded as a hopeful sign of later victorious soldiering. Besides, these same Spartans had an annual custom of scourging their children at the altars of Diana Orthia so cruelly that many died from the blows, and this without any cause by disobedience on the part of the children. One of the fundamental elements of the whole pagan mythology was cruelty to aged and decrepit parents. The Greeks taught that Jupiter hurled his own father, Saturn, from the throne, and shut him up in Tartarus, and then parceled out the universe with his brothers Neptune and Pluto. Saturn, however, deserved his punishment, for he was accustomed to devour his own children, and Jupiter and two of his brothers only escaped by an unexpectedly rapid development. DISSOLUTION OF THE DOMESTIC BONDS. All the domestic bonds are dissolved in the Greek and Roman faith. There is no such thing as a strong and pure love of children. From beginning to end parents are murdering them, and the latter are plotting against the former. It is a pandemonium of unmitigated inhumanity. Vulcan chained his own mother Juno—a type of what children thought of their mothers through all that long period of revolting crime. It must, however, be remembered that there were many noble exceptions. The Greeks taught reverence to parents, as did the Romans, and there are several instances on record of beautiful and faithful devotion in the family circle.

While there was such a thing now and then as parental tenderness, it was only a moderate and cautious approach to that intense

Christian love which makes sacrifices for childhood. It was a love which was limited merely to admiration for some heroic deed. For example, when Xenophon was informed that his son had perished in battle after making great slaughter of his enemies, he replied: "I did not make it my request to the gods that my son might be immortal or long-lived, for it is not manifest whether this was convenient for him or not, but that he might have integrity in his principles and be a lover of his country, and now I have my desire."[1]

THE SLAVE THE TEACHER.

We see this calculating love exemplified in the kind of teachers employed. That old telltale word "pedagogue" simply means the attending slave who took the children to school, and then taught them when they reached there. His function was little higher than the shepherd who led out the flock to browse on the mountain side. The difference between pedagogue and teacher is the measure of the wide gulf between paganism and Christianity in their relative grasp of the majesty and worth of childhood. Only the parents of purer and higher quality thought it worth while to attend in the least to the education of their children in person, until the time should come when the latter should leave home for the university. The rule was that a slave should teach and train. When a family had the rare fortune to be blessed with such a wise slave as the lame Epictetus the children fared well enough. But the rule was to put them under the eyeservant's care. Plutarch, in his Life of Cato, commends Socrates as exceptionally farsighted "in teaching his children the rudiments of a school education, although he had a slave who well understood the business, and taught many other children." This same writer, to whom we owe by far our best glimpses into the moral life of both the Greeks and the Romans, bestows on Cato very much the same praise, as being far in advance of his times: "Cato was accustomed to say he was not willing that his son should be rebuked or beaten by a slave, nor that he should have to thank a slave for this kind of knowledge."

INITIATION OF CHILDREN INTO THE MYSTERIES.

There is one department of the pagan obliviousness to the moral value of childhood which I dare not enter, namely, the early introduction of children into the corrupt mysteries of various heathen cults. These were licentious orgies of nameless depth, and children were early made acquainted with them. There are instances where parents preferred their children should die than pass into such shadows, but they are

[1] See Plutarch, Morals (Goodwin's ed.), iii, p. 333. See Quintilian's passionate love for his son whom he had lost too soon. De Inst. Orat., lib. vi, Introd.

very rare. For the most part the parents were not disinclined that their children should early enter upon the life of which the mysteries were the miserable beginning.

Children were not regarded as jewels, to be treasured and cultivated for a pure life, but machines for fighting future battles. Christ, of all the revolutions which he brought to pass, achieved none greater than this—the elevation of childhood into equality with manhood. When he said, "For of such is the kingdom of heaven," he struck a fatal blow at the long blindness of the world to the great possibilities of the young. The fact is, there was no place for children in either the social or the political framework of any pagan nation, while Christianity took note of them at the beginning and never once forsook them. That Jesus was once a child has sanctified childhood forever. Coriolanus might pray for his son:

INDIFFERENCE TO CHILDHOOD.

> "The god of soldiers,
> With the consent of supreme Jove, inform
> Thy thoughts with nobleness; that thou mayst prove
> To shame invulnerable, and stick i' the wars
> Like a great seamark, standing every flaw,
> And saving those that eye thee!"[1]

But of far greater value, and in a new sphere, was Paul's advice to the Ephesians to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Slavery was another great pagan vice. It underlay the entire political and social structure. In the chief Greek States the number of slaves was much greater than that of citizens. In Attica, according to the census of Demetrius Phalereus (B. C. 309), there were four hundred thousand slaves and but twenty thousand citizens. In Corinth there were four hundred and sixty thousand slaves; in Ægina, four hundred and seventy thousand, and in Sparta, from six hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand.[2] Among the Romans the slaves were regarded, not as persons (*personæ*), but as things (*res*). This was the universal view of property in man.[3] At the doors of the wealthy there were ostiarii, men who lay, like dogs, in chains. Even during the republic it was a law that when a gentleman was murdered, if the perpetrator could not be discovered, all his slaves, with their wives and children, were put to death. Tacitus relates that when

SLAVERY.

[1] Shakespeare, Coriolanus, Act v, Sc. iii.

[2] Reitmeier, Der Zustand der Sklaverei in Griechenland, p. 116.

[3] Aristotle, Eth. Nicomach., lib. ix, c. 13. ὁ δοῦλος ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον ἄψυχος δοῦλος.

Pedanius Secundus was murdered as many as four hundred innocent slaves were put to death.[1] During the empire this state of slavery continued, and its evils became more numerous and extreme. There were public marts for slaves, which were filled by captives brought from the wars, or procured from Mediterranean pirates, each slave being labeled with a description of age and qualities. Even the strong protest of Seneca against slavery as one of the many evils which he witnessed during Nero's reign had rather the tone of a hopeless lament than of any hope of improvement.[2]

There was no department of the social life that was not thoroughly corrupt. The mythology was a mere conglomeration of the licentious life of the people. The gods and minor divinities, themselves the offspring of illicit amours, were regarded by the people as proper examples for popular imitation. The mysteries practiced at Eleusis in their later degenerate days, and in other places, were only wild revels in which passion expressed itself. While the religion fostered this immorality there was no relief found in the laws. The example of gods and men fostered the carnival of lust.

The depth of this moral abyss proclaimed the necessity for a new faith. When Christianity came, therefore, it was found to be not only the revelation of new doctrines, but the regeneration of the moral life of man. Greek culture and Roman organization had failed at every point in the catalogue of human virtues. It was the mission of the religion of Christ at once to teach the mind a pure faith and transform the heart into a fountain of virtuous living. Kurtz thus traces the proof which paganism gives of its own incompetency to meet the demands of humanity: "The principle of paganism is, on the one hand, the denial of the living, personal God, and the contempt of the salvation provided by him. On the other hand, it is the delusion that man can help himself by his own power and wisdom and provide a salvation by his own means. Such an effort, made in sinfulness and weakness, could only end in bankruptcy. Paganism ever sank deeper, notwithstanding the increase of worldly culture and political power, from its height of moral and religious power and dignity into religious emptiness and moral sleep and weakness. The experience always became more decided and positive that neither nature nor art, neither human culture nor wisdom, neither oracles nor mysteries, neither philosophy nor theosophy, neither politics nor industry, and neither the enjoyment of

THE UNIVERSAL DEMAND FOR CHRISTIANITY.

[1] Ann., xiv, 42, 43; Tholuck, Der sittliche Character des Heidenthums, pp. 80, ff.

[2] See Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, 168, *seq.*

the senses and great luxury could satiate the hunger and thirst of the human spirit for God or calm and restore the lost peace of the soul. This experience was well calculated to break the pride of paganism, and in all better spirits to awaken the necessity, the longing, and the receptivity of the soul for divine salvation in Christ. Thus it was the mission of Judaism to prepare salvation for man; it was the mission of paganism to prepare man for salvation."[1] Christ is the only solution of the dark enigmas furnished by the Greeks and Romans. Or, as Johann von Müller says: "He is the key of universal history, for he locks the old and throws open the new."

[1] Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte, p. 49.

CHAPTER II.

JUDAISM AND ITS SECTS.

I. JEWS IN PALESTINE.

THE history and religious belief of the Jewish people present a marked contrast to the faiths and philosophical systems of all pagan nations. With the divine call of Abraham to leave his ancestral home in Mesopotamia there began an historical current which was destined to affect the highest religious interests of humanity. It was his mission to found and locate in Palestine a nation which should become the depository of the divine oracles, the only representative of monotheism, and, finally, the instrument of bringing salvation to the world in the person of the Messiah.

THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD. The patriarchal period was uncertain and temporary. Yet it was in a high degree preparatory, and terminated in the descent of the family of Jacob into Egypt. Here, from seventy souls, it assumed the dimensions of a great nation, and, though a subject race, so rapid was its development that it aroused the jealousy of the reigning dynasty.

Persecution, always the final resort of weak and narrow minds, was resorted to by the Egyptians. But to the Israelites it was the occasion of the revealing to them the divine favor and their own strength. Under the leadership of Moses, one of their own race who had been singularly prepared for his mission by his knowledge

LEADERSHIP OF MOSES. of the wisdom of his age, his absence of forty years in the wilderness through which it was to be his mission to lead the people, and that general discipline of character which should fit him for leadership and legislation, the Jews left Egypt, and after a pilgrimage of forty years reached the land of Palestine. But their stay in Egypt had not been without its beneficent effect upon them. They had come in contact with the most cultivated nation of the age, had seen the practical effects of polytheism on a whole people, and had learned the lesson of the weakness of human wisdom in comparison with those divine revelations and miraculous deliverances which underlay their history.

Under Joshua and his successors the tribes became homogeneous, and entered into possession of the whole country promised to Abraham and his posterity. To this succeeded the kingdom, with Saul

as the first king. He was succeeded by David, and he in turn by his son Solomon. Under these rulers the kingdom enjoyed a great degree of prosperity and prestige. After Solomon the kingdom was divided into the Jewish and Israelitish kingdoms. Rivalry, violence, frequent defections toward idolatry, and growing moral and material decline, made both kingdoms an easy prey to surrounding nations. Israel was first conquered by the Assyrians, and subsequently Judah was overcome by the Babylonian rulers, and both nations were led off as exiles into the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the hope that they might be absorbed by the dominant people, or at least be held in easy subjection. Many of the Jews who anticipated exile went to Egypt and settled there, and in Alexandria became the nucleus of the Hellenistic element which had subsequently a very great bearing on the literature and evangelistic movements of the early Christian Church. Only a small portion of Israel, or the ten tribes, returned from exile and settled in Samaria, the most of them being amalgamated with the polytheistic people who had conquered them. But the captives of conquered Judah preserved their identity, and could not even "sing the Lord's song in a strange land." When the Chaldean rulers of Babylonia were conquered by the Medo-Persians under Cyrus the Jews became a part of the subject population. He was lenient to them, and under him and his successors many returned to Palestine and rebuilt their temple at Jerusalem. But there was no political independence granted them, and the Jews remained Persian subjects until the downfall of the Persian empire.

SUMMARY OF JEWISH AND ISRAELITISH HISTORY.

After the dissolution of the empire of Alexander the Great, who had conquered Palestine B. C. 323, the Seleucidæ ruled in Syria and the Ptolemies in Egypt, and between these two the Jews led a timid and subject life, but were finally compelled to submit to the Seleucidæ. The king, Antiochus Epiphanes, tried to Hellenize the Jews by taking possession of Jerusalem, ordering their sacred books to be burned, profaning their sanctuary, and prohibiting the Jewish worship. He foisted the Greek mythology on the Jews, and hoped to destroy the last traces of the worship of Jehovah.

THE ATTEMPT TO HELLENIZE THE JEWS.

This effort to obliterate the ancient faith awoke the long dormant patriotic and religious spirit of the people, and once more they strove to regain the old Davidic splendor. Mattathias, a Jewish priest, with his three sons, Judas Maccabæus, Jonathan, and Simon, led a popular revolt and succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Seleucidæ. The first stage in the Maccabæan rule was patriotic,

unselfish, and wise; but family divisions arose, and the Seleucidæ cultivated them by careful management. At this time Pompey was at the head of the victorious Roman army in Asia, and he was invited to settle the dispute. He hastened to the office of umpire, stormed and captured Jerusalem, B. C. 63, and, as usual with the Romans, took possession of Palestine and added it to the empire. The Jews now lost the last vestige of their independence, and their country was ruled by Roman proconsuls and procurators.

THE MACCABÆAN DOMINATION.

After the battle of Philippi, B. C. 42, when the whole East surrendered to Roman arms, Antipater, a powerful Idumean at Jerusalem, hostile alike to the faith, the morals, and the institutions of the Jews, obtained the right of administering the affairs of Palestine. His son, Herod the Great, by shrewd manipulation and by personal friendship with the Roman emperors Caligula and Claudius, gradually became ruler over the whole of Palestine. After his death, A. D. 3 or 4, or in the year of Rome 750 or 751, his kingdom was divided between his three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas. The Jews were restive under this uncertain and oppressive rule over their divided and lacerated country, and, taking advantage of the dissatisfaction in the Roman empire after Nero's death, rose in rebellion under Gessius Florius, A. D. 65, against the Roman authority. They were conquered by Vespasian, who, after he went to Rome to assume imperial command, left his son Titus to complete the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, and the conquest of the country. The last attempt made by the Jews to resist Roman supremacy was A. D. 132–135, when Bar Cochba, claiming to be the true Messiah, led a revolt. It was finally suppressed. Jerusalem was razed to the ground; the Jews were slaughtered or led off into captivity, and a Roman colony, the Ælia Capitolina, was established on the site of Jerusalem. One of the chief elements in this last revolt was the bitter persecution of the Christians by the Jews, who, because the Christians would not join in the revolt, regarded them as traitors to the national cause.

PALESTINE AT THE TIME OF CHRIST.

II. THE SAMARITANS.

The Samaritans were not a Jewish sect, but a mongrel religious body, in part Jewish and in part Assyrian. When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown and the best people were led off by their Assyrian conquerors into captivity an Assyrian colony was established in Samaria, in order to take the place of the Israelitish population and secure the full later subjection

ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS.

of the land to its new rulers. This oriental and polytheistic element became in time discouraged in its work. Because of the prevalence of wild beasts and other unexpected obstacles they inferred that the god of the country was angry with them, and implored their distant rulers to send them some Israelitish priests to instruct them in the faith of the country. This proposition was accepted, but from the Israelitish and Assyrian elements there sprang a mixed population, the prevailing type being Jewish, though with a strong oriental admixture.[1] Later, when the Jews returned to the south country and proposed to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritans, regarding the cause common, proposed to assist them. The proposition was rejected, because the Jews regarded the Samaritans no longer of their own faith, but as participants in the polytheism of the East. The insult was indignantly repelled.

The Samaritans then built a temple of their own on Mount Gerizim, and established a regular service. Henceforth there were "no dealings" between the Jews and "Samaritans." The latter, securing through Manasseh an ancient copy of the Pentateuch, adhered through their long history to early Hebraism, and like the Jews have continued their existence as an independent religious body down to the present time. Their capital is the ancient Shechem, or Nablus (corruption of the Greek name *Neapolis*), where the marble ruins of their great temple still crown the mountain overlooking the city. They have a high priest, and are still in possession of their copy of the Pentateuch, the oldest in the world, which they regard with superstitious reverence. The Samaritan community numbers but about one hundred and fifty members, but they expect to grow again, and in the language of their late high priest, Amram, to overspread the world![2]

THE PRESENT SAMARITANS.

III. THE PHARISEES.

These were less a sect than a body of the more educated of the Jews of every class, who adhered to the ritual and were the representatives of the hopes, the narrowness, the literalness, and the aspirations of the people. During the dark interval which elapsed between the downfall of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel and the

[1] Hengstenberg takes the view that the Samaritans were of purely heathen origin. But for this view there is little support, either in the known history or the religious faith of the people.

[2] The best authorities on the Samaritans are Langen, Das Judenthum in Palästina, Freib., 1866; Appel, Qæstiones de rebus Samaritanorum, Götting., 1874; Nutt, Sam. Hist., Dogma, and Literature, Lond., 1874; and Schürer, Jewish People in Time of Christ.

supremacy of Rome in Palestine, there had never ceased some hope of national and religious revival. The second temple was built in full hope that it would prove the central point for a new life in faith as well as national integrity and power. But it was only a delusion. The mission of the Jews had failed, and though their ideas of a future state, of the spiritual world, and especially of the divine unity, were greatly disturbed during the captivity, they never fully relapsed into their former grossness. Between the cessation of prophecy and the incarnation of Christ the leading shades of despondent Jewish life and thought took form in certain groups, which represented the leading tendencies of the most educated part of the population.

CONDITIONS OF THE JEWS GIVING RISE TO THE PHARISEES.

The Pharisees (the Separated) originated as a distinct class about B. C. 144. They were the ritualists of their age. Seeing the departure of the Jews from the early Mosaic spirit, they aimed at a restoration of the ceremonial law, introduced their own strict interpretation of it, and added to it the rabbinical instruction that had gathered about it during the post-Mosaic time. They elevated tradition to equal dignity with the Scriptures and were especially inclined to allegorical interpretation. There were two tendencies of Pharisaic thought—one, the more austere, critical, and strictly Jewish, directed by Shammai; the other, milder and more in sympathy with Hellenism and other influences from abroad, represented by Hillel. The Pharisees, in spite of their narrow intolerance and strong legalistic bent, were the moral, patriotic, and religious part of the population, and represented all the noblest and best elements of the Jewish religion.[1] There were about six thousand Pharisees at the time of Josephus.

DOCTRINES OF THE PHARISEES.

IV. THE SADDUCEES.

The Sadducees (the "Righteous") were a class of Jewish teachers taking their origin from Zadoc (about B. C. 250), who aimed at the restoration of Mosaism to its original state, but rejected tradition and all later additions. They were the rationalists of their day. They were influenced somewhat by Greek philosophy, and especially by the system of Epicurus. They regarded God as the author of the universe, but held that he took no active part in its government, that man is the arbiter of his own destiny, that the soul is not immortal, that there is no resurrection, and that angels and spirits have no existence except in

DOCTRINES OF THE SADDUCEES.

[1] The best work on the Pharisees is Schürer, Hist. of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Edinb., 5 vols., 1886–90.

the human imagination and false constructions placed upon the early Scriptures. The Sadducees were essentially not a theological but a political party. They believed that the Jews should make the best of the situation with a view of obtaining every worldly advantage. They were secularists.[1]

V. THE ESSENES.

This was an ascetic sect which arose about B. C. 150. Their origin is involved in obscurity, some supposing them to have been Jewish Pythagoreans; others, that they were Therapeutæ who had come into Palestine from Egypt; and still others, Neander among the number, that they were real Jews, who represented originally a profound religious meaning of the Old Testament, but afterward obscured it by old floating Parsi and Chaldean elements. Some recent writers claim that they were simply thoroughgoing Pharisees, "carrying out the Pharisaic views with a consistency which made them ridiculous even in the eyes of their own mother party." They lived on the shore of the Dead Sea in a community apart from the general population. Their faith certainly bore more traces of Persian than of Jewish origin. They regarded the sun as a living and intelligent being. Hence, out of respect to him they would not rise in the morning before he had risen. They observed the Sabbath with great strictness and sent gifts to the temple, but repudiated all bloody sacrifices; they had a thoroughly fatalistic creed, in this resembling the Pharisees; practiced community of goods; permitted only voluntary membership; did not allow matrimony, and excluded all forms of slavery from their community. They practiced the raising of herds and the cultivation of medical science. They numbered about four thousand. They may have stimulated the later monasticism of the Eastern Church, but their influence either on Judaism or Christianity was very slight. As Keim well says: "Essenism was in fact only an admission of helplessness against the actual state of things, renouncing the attempt to restore all Israel, to which it was opposed as heterodox and impure. . . . In fact, the salvation of individuals in the general shipwreck is frankly the watchword of the party. We hear nothing from them of a cry for the kingdom of God, nor for the Messiah, since these were inclosed within their own limits. . . . We may learn from its weakness that the healing power which arose upon the

DOCTRINES OF THE ESSENES.

KEIM ON THE ESSENES.

[1] Stapfer has an interesting and scholarly treatment of both the Pharisees and Sadducees in Palestine in the Time of Christ. N. Y., 1888, 3d ed., book ii, pp. 265–336.

nation, and, indeed, upon the world, with fresh creative fruitfulness, cannot be counted among the impulses and forces of Essenism."[1]

VI. THE DISPERSED JEWS.

The Jews are the heroes of the sacred Odyssey. They have been the wanderers of history for thirty centuries. Ever since the reign of Solomon their life has alternated between an uncertain residence in their own country and banishment to other lands. On four different occasions Nebuchadnezzar brought captive colonies to Babylonia from the conquered tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Only a portion of the captives in Babylonia availed themselves of the permission of Cyrus to return to Jerusalem—forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty freemen, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven servants and maids, and two hundred singers. Those who remained in Babylonia became absorbed in the native population, while still others went into the provinces beyond the Euphrates. About B. C. 350 a large number of Jews were established at Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea, by Artaxerxes Ochus. Syria, under the reign of Seleucus Nicator, B. C. 312–280, received a vast Jewish population, so that two centuries before Christ they constituted the chief part of the people of Antioch and of the country of which that city was the magnificent capital.[2] In the interval between Alexander the Great and A. D. 70 the Jews had extended over Assyria, Babylonia,

LOCALITIES OF THE DISPERSED JEWS.

[1] Hist. of Jesus of Nazara, i, 358, ff., Hilgenfeld (Ketzergesch., pp. 87–149), derives the Essenes from the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv), who, he claims, eventually abandoned their tent life and settled at Gerasa, called by Josephus Essa, west of the Dead Sea. Lucius has given a thorough investigation to this subject (Der Essenismus, Strasburg, 1881). He makes the Essenes a part of the Chasidim, "the pious," or the Nazirim, "the abstinents," a sort of voluntary priesthood of Jewish ascetics mentioned in the Talmud. Compare 1 Macc. ii, 42; vii, 13; 2 Macc. xiv, 6. "They were the first society in the world to condemn slavery both in theory and practice." Ohle tries to show that the Essenes were Christian monks, and that the sections in Philo's Quod Omnis Probus Liber (12, 13) which speak of the Essenes were interpolated, and that the De Vita Contemplativa usually attributed to Philo is spurious (Jahrb. f. prot. Theol., 1887; Hh. 2, 3; 1888, H. 2). But this is an extreme view. It is combated by Hilgenfeld in Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol., 1888, H. 1, and Massabieau in Revue de l'histoire des religions, T. xvi, No. 2 and 3. For an elaborate discussion by Hilgenfeld, see also Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol., xxiii, 4; s. 423, ff., and (trans.) Baptist Review, Jan., 1882, pp. 36–56. For the Essenes, see also Lightfoot in Ep. to the Col., 5th ed., 1880, pp. 349–419, and Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 323–407, and Ginsburg, in Smith and Wace, Dict. of Chr. Biog., etc., art. "Essenes."

[2] Wiltsch, Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, pp. 10, ff.

Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and the Ægean islands, while individual Jews had penetrated through Chorasan and Samarcand to China.[1] In Lydia and Phrygia we find a colony of two thousand families, transferred thither by Antiochus the Great, who increased in numbers and industrial strength to such an extent that they became the migratory current which rapidly spread through the interior and along the coast of Asia Minor, through the Greek peninsula from Macedonia on the north to the southern boundary, and then to the Ionian islands and along the Adriatic coast.

In many instances these Jewish colonies coalesced with the surrounding populations, but in some cases they so fully preserved their individuality that they succeeded in influencing the reigning houses to adopt their faith. For example, B. C. 128, Abu-Carb Asad, king of the Homerites, or Immereni, in Arabia, adopted the Jewish religion, and so fully made it the belief of the people that it continued to be such over six centuries, until the Ethiopian king, Elesbaan, conquered Dhu-Norvas, the Homerite king, and destroyed his kingdom. In Adiabene, an Assyrian province, King Izates and his mother Helena became Jews, but without changing the faith of the people.

INDIVIDUALITY OF THE JEWS.

Africa, however, was the chief continent to which the Jews went; and Egypt, Cyrene, and Lybia received a large Jewish population. Even Ethiopia was not without them. Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great as a great commercial *entrepôt* for his Eastern empire, was occupied chiefly by Jews, while he assigned eight thousand Samaritans to the Thebaid.[2] Owing to the residence of the Jews in Alexandria and the privileges granted them, they developed to a degree equaled nowhere else in their history as a dispersed people. Here they cultivated letters, and produced, under Philo and his successors, that strange phenomenon—an attempt to harmonize Greek philosophy with Jewish theology, and out of the combination to produce a justification of the Christian system. The Neoplatonic philosophy, with all its inconsistencies, proves, at least, the remarkable recuperative power of the Jewish mind.

ALEXANDRIA THE CENTER OF JEWISH INFLUENCE.

The first Jewish colony in Rome consisted of captives brought thither by Pompey from Palestine (B. C. 61), though the city had probably already wealthy Jewish residents. For ages they have occupied a particular part of the city, the Ghetto, a portion of

[1] Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten, Theil ii, pp. 255, ff. On the Chinese Jews, see Milman, Hist. of the Jews, book xiv, vol. ii, pp. 493–497. They occupied a prominent and honored place in the empire.

[2] Wiltsch, *Ibid.*, pp. 12, ff.

which was removed in 1885 and following years to make room for the new Tiber embankment.[1] Under Julius Cæsar they received special privileges. They were declared freedmen (*libertini*), their synagogues were dignified with the name of allowed conventicles (*collegia licita*), and they regarded Jerusalem as their religious capital, whither they sent their contributions of money, their offerings to the temple service,[2] and to which they repaired in large numbers annually to the great festivals.

THE JEWS IN ROME.

The Jews in Rome constantly increased, many proselytes from paganism being added to them. They had their own synagogue, and conducted their service. They observed the Sabbath, abstained from certain meats, and regarded religiously all the festivals of their fathers. Their presence in Rome was especially obnoxious to the cultivated classes. The Roman satirists frequently made them the object of their invective. Juvenal said that they prayed to nothing but the clouds and the empty heavens.[3] Celsus also declared that they prayed to the heavens.[4] Even Seneca, tolerant as he generally was of new forms of faith, complained that they were overspreading all lands; that, though everywhere conquered, they gave laws to their conquerors, and that their resting on the Sabbath was an absolute loss of one seventh of the time.[5] Other Italian cities became homes for the Jews.[6] In A. D. 19 Tiberius settled four thousand emancipated Jews in Sardinia. Professor Bilmark has endeavored to prove that the Finlanders are of Jewish origin, and that the Jews reached Scandinavia at the same time with the Scythians. Olaus Rudbeck has set up a plausible theory that they penetrated as far as the snows of Lapland, and that the Laplander is only a modern Jew; while Asahel Grant with still greater force has undertaken to show by analogy of language, religion, and social customs that the Nestorians are of the same origin.[7]

USAGES OF THE JEWS IN ROME.

[1] On Jews in the Ghetto, see Story, Roba di Roma. Lond., 1862; new ed., 1875.

[2] Cicero in his Oration for Flaccus deprecates the draining of the provinces of money to satisfy these Jewish tributes to Jerusalem.

[3] Sat. xiv, 96, ff.

[4] Origen contr. Celsum, i, p. 18; v, p. 234.

[5] Ap. Aug. C. D., vi, 11. Compare Döllinger, Jew and Gentile, ii, pp. 181, 182.

[6] Cicero pro Flacco, cap. xxviii.

[7] Büsching, Erdbeschreibung, Th. i, s. 630; Fabricius, Salutaris lux evang., p. 761; Grant, History of the Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes, N. Y., 1841. Badger has controverted Grant in his learned work, The Nestorians and their Rituals, Lond., 1852. So also has Dr. Thomas Laurie, of Providence, R. I., in his valuable history of the Mission, Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians, Bost., 1853. Graetz, Gesch. d. Juden, Berl., 12 vols., 1854–75, the great Jewish authority, is now accessible in abridged form in a translation by the Jewish Publication Society, Phila., 1892–96, 6 vols.

CHAPTER III.

THE FULLNESS OF THE TIME—JESUS THE CHRIST.

BEFORE the incarnation of Christ there was no part of the earth which presented any relief to the darkness of the prevailing moral and intellectual condition of humanity. In Greece, where there was most ground for hope, the great systems of philosophy had fulfilled their mission and had degenerated into a cold and negative skepticism. "All the schools," says Döllinger, "died a natural death while paganism was still in full swing, and, to all appearance, in unbounded reputation."[1]

UNIVERSAL MORAL DARKNESS.

In Rome the simple and pure morals of the republican period had declined and, with the increasing luxury in life and disrespect toward the national divinities, a popular dissatisfaction with all the traditional beliefs increased. The Asiatic and Egyptian faiths, which had been brought to a knowledge of the West by the Macedonian and Roman conquerors, promised no support, for they had in them no element worthy to take the place of the now half-effete mythology. Judaism was not respected by either the Greek or Roman mind, and its adaptation to the universal wants of man was not thought of for a moment. But in the midst of this condition of despondency and failure there was an anticipation of relief. The hope of a Redeemer lay in the very atmosphere of the age. Jewish prophecy, now silent for four centuries, had awakened in the Jew an expectation of a Messiah whose coming was expected at any time. Even the pagan mind, as we learn from Tacitus and Suetonius, was yearning for a deliverer who should remove the great burden in faith and life.[2] The wise men from the East, who followed the star to Bethlehem, represented the universal Eastern expectation of a Redeemer. The Persians were at this time looking for the appearance of their Sosiosh, who should conquer Ahriman and his kingdom of dark-

UNIVERSAL EXPECTATION OF A REDEEMER.

[1] Jew and Gentile, ii, p. 159.

[2] Suetonius says: "Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur." Vesp., c. 4. Tacitus says: "Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur." Annales, v, 13.

ness, while Confucius, in China, had led his followers to expect a Holy One who should appear in the West.[1]

The preparation for Christianity was now complete. For centuries no notable event took place which does not seem to have removed the barriers for the new coming faith. War and peace, skepticism and superstition, learning and ignorance, united toward a common end to prepare the world for a new faith and to provide facilities for its rapid and permanent diffusion. Even the polytheism of the heathen combined with the rigid monotheism of the Jews for the same great purpose, while each people concerned in or affected by the culture of Greece and Rome indulged a calm expectation that relief from the ebb and flow of universal misery was at hand.

COMPLETE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY.

When Jesus, the Christ, was born at Bethlehem in Judea, he was the response to the universal aspiration of man. He was, as Haggai had declared, "The Desire of all nations." Having passed his youth chiefly at Nazareth and arriving at the age of thirty, he entered upon his public ministry. His first act was to apply publicly the Messianic expectations and prophecies to himself, when he read in the synagogue at Nazareth these words from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."[2]

CHRIST THE RESPONSE TO THE WORLD'S ASPIRATION.

Between this formal entering on his career and the ascension lay Christ's ministry of over three years. In moral significance no such life had ever been lived by any man. His brief career is still the supreme miracle of history. While new lives of him are still appearing in all the leading languages of Christendom, we are as far as ever from finding a human solution of his example, doctrine, and mediatorial work. As a teacher, his words were simple, direct, and saving. He spoke no word which his most ardent follower at this late century would wish unsaid. As a worker of miracles, he was not prodigal of his omnipotence, but wrought only works of healing and love. As a sufferer, his patience and silence were sublime and unfailing. As a friend, he had his intense attachments, and wept with those who

CHRIST'S CAREER UNIQUE IN HISTORY.

[1] Compare Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church, p. 183. Also, Trench, Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathenism. Lond., 5th ed., 1880.

[2] Luke iv, 18, 19.

loved him. He forbade the sword in his defense when the shadow of his passion fell across his path. In death he had only words of love and prayer for his murderers, and when he arose, the first fruits of them that slept, he solved the long mystery of every thinking age, the resurrection of the human body. Lingering a short time in the society of his friends and followers, he ascended from Olivet, leaving behind the legacy of a spotless character and a triumphant doctrine. Himself the object of prophecy as old as sin itself, he passed to his throne with the twofold promise for his stricken followers—the descending Spirit of power and his own perpetual presence.

A tone of sadness had pervaded Christ's life, and yet of unparalleled hopefulness. He spoke frequently of his kingdom, and represented it as the grain of mustard seed, small at first, but producing a tree under whose branches the fowls of the air should take refuge. His sorrows, not the result of personal suffering, but of the misery of others, were relieved by the dwelling of his mind on the future and the leading of his followers to a new life of meekness, poorness of spirit, peacemaking, tribulation, and of rejoicing in hope of the heavenly reward. He found the world in bondage, but left it with its chains broken. He found diverse elements of faith and tradition, but he had set in motion the great unifying agency; or, as Baur exquisitely says, his religion was "the natural unity of all these elements."[1] He rebuked sin, but always had compassion on the sinner. To the despondent he gave hope, and to the aged and dying world, in the language of Augustine, "a new and youthful life."

CHRIST AND HIS KINGDOM.

[1] Kirchengeschichte d. drei ersten Jahrhunderte, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV.

PENTECOST AND ITS RESULTS.

THE descent of the Holy Spirit at the first Jewish Pentecost succeeding the death of our Lord had a great twofold significance: It was the fulfillment of Christ's promise to his followers of the endowment of power from on high, and the divine removal of all former limitations to the declaration of the truth and its supernatural effect on human character and destiny. The Spirit had, indeed, been always present and operative with true believers, but the descent at Pentecost was the pledge that our entire humanity should participate in the benefits of salvation recently wrought by Christ. It removed the work of Christ from the narrow limits of an episode in Jewish history into the sphere of application to the entire need and duration of humanity. Hence the descent of the Spirit was at once the only proper culmination of our Lord's ministry, the only finally needful miraculous proof of its divine authority and character, and the introduction of the agency which should give it perpetual efficacy to the world. Jesus had prepared the soil and sown the precious seed; the Spirit which he had promised, and which was to be the divine substitute for his visible presence and audible word, was to be the gentle rain and genial sunlight to cause its germination for a rich growth and the final harvest.

DESCENT OF THE SPIRIT THE CULMINATION OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY.

The day on which the Spirit descended, the fiftieth after our Lord's resurrection and the tenth after his ascension, was calculated to awaken unusual emotions in the mind of the devout Jew. It was the most sacred day in his calendar. Pentecost, "the feast of weeks," or "the feast of harvest," was the great national festival of thanksgiving for the annual harvest, and, according to an old tradition, also of the gift of the law on Mount Sinai, when the theocracy of the nation was founded. Jews from remote regions were accustomed to meet in their sacred city, endeared alike by its glory and its desolation, and revive their religious and national memorials by the joyous celebration of Pentecost. No occasion, therefore, of the whole year was so well adapted for impressing powerfully the Jewish mind by the proclamation of any new truth, and it was chosen by

PENTECOST THE OCCASION OF UNIVERSAL MEETING OF THE JEWS.

God as the fit time for the outpouring of the Spirit of comfort and power. As with other great divine manifestations, such as the gift of the law and the dedication of Solomon's temple, so here, there were remarkable physical manifestations of the divine presence and power.

The unity and calmness of the meeting were broken by a sudden sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind, which filled the place with its power. On the heads of the worshipers there flamed cloven tongues, as of fire, and the gift of miraculous utterance was imparted to them. The multitude was attracted to the place, the worshipers spoke in new tongues to the astounded auditors, and, for the time, the curse of many languages at Babel was removed by the gift of one at Pentecost.[1]

THE SCENE AT PENTECOST.

The best view of the *glossolalia*, as the gift of tongues is called, is that which makes it an act of worship or devotion, a purely religious phenomenon, the result of an unusual spiritual quickening, interpreted by the Spirit in the vernacular of each listening believer. The unbelievers attributed the whole scene to a drunken frenzy. It was not a permanent or even temporary endowment of the miraculous knowledge of foreign tongues. Greek and Hebrew, which the apostles already knew, were all-sufficient for their purposes. Something similar has appeared in communities under powerful religious stimulus, as among the Camisards, early Quakers, Läsare in Sweden in 1841–43, in the Irish Revival of 1859, and in the Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) Church.[2]

BEST VIEW OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

The people were divided in opinion, some asking in uncertainty, "What meaneth this?" and others attributing the phenomenon to intoxication from new wine. Then Peter arose and addressed the people, first declaring the scene a fulfillment of prophecy; then describing the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and applying the work of Christ to the salvation of men. The effect was instantaneous and overwhelming. Three thousand were converted, and the whole body of believers were molded into such unity and love that from that day to this the spiritual power and holy zeal of the believers at Pentecost have been regarded as the best image in all history of a complete and progressive Church.

The results of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost were:

1. The formal entrance of the apostles upon a universal ministry

[1] Grotius: "Pœna linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum redigit." Annotat. ad Acta Apostolorum, ii, 8.

[2] The best discussion is in Schaff, Church Hist., rev. ed., i, 224, 234–242. Compare Thatcher, Hist. of the Apostolic Church, Bost., 1893, pp. 73–76.

of the Gospel. They had been called during the life of Jesus, and by him, but their future had been only dimly indicated. He had told them, at his ascension, to preach the Gospel to every creature, but to pause until they should be endowed with power from on high. They now received practical proof of the divine presence in the discharge of this broad commission. Every region of the known earth was represented in their first audience—Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Mesopotamians, Palestinian Jews, Cappadocians, dwellers in Pontus and throughout Asia Minor, Phrygians, Pamphylians, Egyptians, Libyans, Jews and proselytes in Rome, Cretes, and Arabians. The dim star of the old Jewish particularism was about to disappear, and the sun of Christian universality to rise for the illumination of the whole world and all coming ages.

UNIVERSAL MINISTRY OF THE APOSTLES.

2. The endowment of spiritual power. Hitherto the disciples had been timid, hesitating, often the proper subjects of reproof by Christ for want of faith. They had accepted the true doctrine from Christ, but it had not been vital in them. Now, however, there was an unwonted heroism. Their hearts were filled with a force which lifted up all their contact with Jesus into a lifelong transfiguration which interpreted to them in a new light his darker sayings, which consumed all the remaining doubts as to his perpetual presence and the certain triumph of his truth, and which would make them fearless before any audience and amid any persecution. To them it was only a question of time as to which should conquer in Palestine, Christianity or Judaism, and which in the Roman world, Christianity or the ethnic faiths which despised it.

ENDOWMENT OF SPIRITUAL POWER.

3. The fulfillment of prophecy. Peter touched a sympathetic key when he applied the event to the prophecy of Joel:[1] "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. . . . And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." The aspiration of the Jewish Church in all its better periods was for the endowment of spirituality. The mind was always burdened with a sense of its poor endowments. The sad feeling that heaven had new treasures in reserve, not yet given, pervades the whole history of Judaism. In the patriarchal times it was the inspira-

PROPHECY FULFILLED.

[1] Acts ii, 17-21.

tion which made the future bright and worthy of hope. In the divided monarchy, and amid the sorrows of many an exile, and all through the Maccabæan rule, it was the sure word of prophecy that reared a new temple, restored their sacred city, and made them once more a mighty people, with a scion of David's line as ruler. It was the fulfillment of prophecy, by the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost, which first gave clearness and force to the minds of the disciples of the whole system of Messianic prophecy in the Old Testament.

4. The immediate declaration of the truth. The old barriers of varied speech were removed. We hear nothing of an interpreter. The gift was less upon the auditor than the speaker, who was so filled with the consuming spirit that his natural linguistic limitations were removed, and each stranger heard in his own tongue. This universality of speech was a type of the new universal love. Or, as Augustine says: "One man spake with every tongue, because the unity of the Church was about to speak in all tongues."[1] PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

5. The law of revival was ordained and inaugurated. The slow processes by which the believer should arrive at a knowledge of the truth were done away. The change of heart could henceforth be a thing of a day, or a moment. This is the present law for the conversion of the world, and he who would doubt the power of God to convert souls instantly and in great numbers, whether in Christian or heathen lands, practically ignores the lesson of Pentecost, when three thousand were converted, and "daily" thereafter there were added others to the original number. REVIVAL.

6. The mode of Christian life and faith was proclaimed for all ages. This was unity of heart, the sharing of temporal possessions with the needy, purity of doctrine, frequent and stated worship in public and private, and gladness and singleness of soul. CHRISTIAN LIFE.

7. The organization and establishment of the Christian Church. The Church, after Peter's sermon and the miraculous effects produced by it, took immediate steps toward organization. There was no longer an uncertain mind as to the future, but a sense of unity and incipient organization which required only time and the adjustment of details to take visible form. Had not a large

[1] "Venit spiritus sanctus, implevit discipulos, cœperunt loqui linguis omnium gentium; signum in illis procedebat unitatis. Loquebatur enim tunc unus homo, omnibus linguis, quia locutura erat unitas ecclesiæ in omnibus linguis." Sermones, 175.

number of Christ's immediate followers, amounting to one hundred and twenty, including the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus and his brethren, met in a fixed place, the upper room, and continued in prayer and supplication? Did not this company take deliberate measures to supply the place made vacant by the defection of Judas, and complete again the apostolic circle by the choice of Matthias? The sole need now was the communication of that all-consuming spiritual power which should produce the profound inner life, the unity of heart, and the heroism of will necessary alike for the Church in its genetic period and in all its subsequent development. After the endowment of power the three thousand newly converted souls were baptized and added to the original company of believers. This body, "all that believed," now continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread and prayers; they sold their possessions and goods, and had all things in common; they continued daily with one accord in the temple, broke bread from house to house, and praised God; and the Lord added to the "Church" daily those who were being saved.[1] The divine force was given. It now remained to be seen what disposition the body of believers would make of the new endowment, and with what spirit they would go forth for the spiritual conquest of the world.[2]

THE CHURCH ORGANIZED.

[1] Acts ii, 39–47.

[2] See elaborate discussion by Baumgarten, Apostolic Hist., i, 40–63.

CHAPTER V.

THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

THE apostolic period extends from the founding of the Church at Pentecost to the death of the apostle John. Its divisions are: 1. The establishment of the Christian Church among the Jews to the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, A. D. 30–50; 2. The establishment of the Church among the nations to the death of Paul, A. D. 50–66; and 3. The blending of the Jewish and national elements under the ministry and example of John, A. D. 66–101. In general terms these may be called the Jewish Period, the National Period, and the Period of Reconciliation. The life of the Christians and the preaching and epistles of the apostles were the most powerful human factors in the internal development of the Church and its territorial expansion. The pagan judgment of Christians assumed an increasingly favorable character because of their irreproachable life as the first century came to a close. So much was this the fact that the leading representatives of the pagan philosophy thought they could see in the Gospel certain parallelisms with the better doctrines of their own system, and some did not hesitate to attempt a systematic harmonization of the two. That they failed might have been expected, for the contrast between paganism and Christianity is so positive, and their effects on life so antagonistic, that no thinker, either in that early period or in any later century, has been able to construct any approach to a harmonious system.

DIVISIONS OF THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD.

The preaching of the apostles combined all the essential elements of a perfect mode of presenting truth to the hearer. It has never been improved. So certain is this that during all the later periods of ecclesiastical history the preaching that has been most successful has most nearly approached the apostolic type, while that of least efficacy has been the farthest removed from it. The quality of the preaching of the apostles cannot be entirely explained on the ground of special endowments. The native gifts were not greater, excepting in Paul and some other apostles, than are to be found in the average ministry of our own times. But the apostles were so singularly conscious of the truth of the word, so possessed that heroic readiness to declare it in any

APOSTOLIC PREACHING.

presence, and, above all, so grouped all their declarations around the personality of Christ that their appeal was irresistible, apart from all miraculous phenomena. Their experiences were calculated to make their preaching intensely realistic. The most of them had been associated with Christ during his ministry, and had been witnesses of their risen and ascended Lord. They uttered what they had seen, and their declarations had all the power of vivid pictures. Had they possessed no further supernatural endowment than is the perpetual privilege of the minister of the Gospel, their preaching would still stand the matchless thing it is—a model for the triumphant declaration of the truth.[1]

INCIDENTAL CHARACTER OF APOSTOLIC PREACHING.

One of the peculiar features of the apostolic preaching was its incidental character. There was no waiting of an apostle for a great opportunity. His only state occasion was when, like Paul before Felix, he was led as a prisoner before a ruler in purple to give an account of himself and answer the charge of infraction of the laws. He was not without his opportunities, but they were furnished him in the prison, by the wayside, and in the humble home where he might be sheltered for the night. He did not live to see the day when ministers of the Gospel overlooked the individual in the great organized ecclesiastical life. He felt that his message was largely to human units, though equally ready to present it to the multitude. He was equally at home with any audience. He had not forgotten the example of Christ, who, in reply to questions from bystanders, or from the natural scenes of the hour had preached his Gospel largely by incidental suggestion. Christ thus differed from all the teachers in the great schools of Egypt and Greece, who had their groves and porticoes where they might dispense their doctrines to sympathetic and confiding younger minds. His stoa was the dusty highway, or the crowded street, or the pebbly shore of Jewish Galilee, and his audiences were often more hostile than friendly, and sought him less for what he might say than to receive the touch of his healing hand. This memory of the great Example was fresh in the minds of the apostles, and, besides, they had not forgotten that he had given them early in their companionship with him special instructions as to the best methods of preaching his doctrines, had reinforced these first lessons by others, and, just before his ascension, pointed them to the world as their field and every creature as their auditor.

[1] See Hoppin, Homiletics, rev. ed., pp. 35–40. On the necessity of being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of scriptural preaching, see Shedd, Homiletics and Pastoral Theol., pp. 16–37.

So far did this incidental method of preaching extend that there was not even an organized plan as to the scene of apostolic activity. That Paul and Barnabas should go to the nations, and Peter and John to the Jews, was the only approximation to a system for the evangelization of the world. The details were left to the revealing and guiding Spirit, and to the exigency of the hour. Who cannot see that Paul's journeys were largely without plan, except in the mere outline? His visit to Macedonia and traversing the entire Greek peninsula were due to his disappointment in being divinely prohibited from preaching in Bithynia and the province of Asia.

NO PLAN OF APOSTOLIC ACTIVITY.

But the apostles possessed, in addition, miraculous gifts. As Christ performed miracles to attest the divinity of his nature and his doctrine, and as a necessary initial method for the introduction of his reign on earth, so he granted to his apostles a similar proof of divine authority. Immediately after the descent of the Spirit miracles were performed in great number, and in the presence of many witnesses. The author of the Acts of the Apostles says: "And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people. . . . They (the people) brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed, every one."[1]

MIRACULOUS GIFTS.

The brief period between Pentecost and Paul's conversion seems to have been a time when there was a special need of this divine attestation of the truth of Christianity and the apostolic authority. The Jewish mind was peculiarly hostile, while there is every reason to suppose that the representatives of Roman authority were equally alarmed at the sudden development of the new faith. The apostles were specially endowed for the great emergency, and their miracles, like those of the Master, were all of humane and restorative character, and were never employed to contribute to their personal convenience or relief from danger of death, but for the help of the vast number of sufferers for whom neither the science nor the religion of Jew or Roman had furnished hope or deliverance. There was a decline in the number of miraculous phenomena at the time of Paul's conversion. He, however, possessed and exercised the same supernatural endowment. He raised Eutychus from the dead, struck Elymas with blindness,

DECLINE OF MIRACULOUS MANIFESTATIONS.

[1] Acts v, 12–16.

healed the cripple at Lystra, restored the sick at Ephesus, and cured the father of Publius at Melita. These are only occasional outgivings of a power which he exercised whenever there was need of it, rather to meet an emergency than to be used in the everyday discharge of his apostolic functions.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

The gift of tongues was a peculiar miraculous endowment designed to overcome the linguistic barriers of the hearer. It was not a sudden communication of the knowledge of a strange language or dialect, designed for the more direct communication of the Gospel either to individuals or nations, but a powerful and instantaneous enlargement of inspiration, when the speaker declared truths in a language whose laws he did not understand. He was, for the time, under the power of a divine afflatus which made him the instrument for a broader communication of the truth than his education had taught him, and which he did not need, and did not possess, in the ordinary exercise of his duties. There is no ground for supposing that the apostles understood the dialects of the country through which they passed. We do know that at Lystra Paul did not understand the barbarous Lycaonian tongue, or he would not have addressed the people in Greek. The miraculous gift of tongues was always designed as a spiritual aid for the convincing of the hearer. "Wherefore tongues are for a sign," says Paul, "not to them that believe, but to them that believe not."[1]

OTHER SUPERNATURAL GIFTS.

While miraculous intervention in the usual course of nature and the gift of tongues must be regarded as the preponderating apostolic endowments, there were other supernatural gifts. Paul's catalogue of the offices in the apostolic Church carries with it an enumeration of all the divine endowments: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."[2] The gift of prophecy, in the original sense, did not exist in the apostolic Church for the reason that the great burden of Old Testament prophecy had been fulfilled in Christ. The New Testament prophecy was, in the main, the power to teach the mind and touch the heart. But it also implied the knowledge of the future. Agabus declared in Antioch the universal dearth which came to

[1] 1 Cor. xiv, 22. Compare Neander, Planting and Training, ed. Robinson, pp. 11–18, 257.

[2] 1 Cor. xii, 28: "Καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήμψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν."

pass in the reign of Claudius Cæsar.[1] The four daughters of Philip the evangelist possessed the same prophetic power.[2] But prophecy as exercised in the apostolic period meant chiefly a powerful and inspired revelation of the truth in all its breadth. It carried with it a force of utterance, a knowledge of the whole truth declared, and a power of conviction which did not exist under the conditions of ordinary inspiration. It was a form of declaration so powerful that the hearer, however hostile, was overcome by the appeal. In such cases prophecy was employed. It convinced the heart, both by what it communicated and by the knowledge that it exhibited of the very mysteries of the heart to which the appeal was made. This is expressly declared by Paul: "But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."[3]

There was, besides, a supernatural element in the teaching, ministration, and government of the preachers of the Gospel who immediately succeeded our Lord in the declaration of his truth. Their task was peculiar, and stands alone among the problems which God's servants have had to solve. It was not God's choice that they should be elevated above danger, or the trials and sufferings on land or sea, or breathe their life out upon peaceful deathbeds. But it was his choice that, when their natural powers reached their farthest limits, their faith should be enriched with such supernatural responses that their ministry would be convincing and successful. They received these subtle reinforcements to their native and acquired powers in such measure that "they turned the world upside down." When their work of "planting and training," as Neander beautifully terms it, was done, there was no further need of miracle or supernatural gift.

MIRACLE NO LONGER NECESSARY.

Miraculous powers did not at once cease after the close of the apostolic age. But the evidence of postapostolic miracles is vague and obscure. The alleged miracles themselves were trifling and almost ridiculous in comparison with the New Testament works. Newman himself allows this.[4] Though the fathers did not deny that wonders were enacted

VAGUE EVIDENCE OF POSTAPOSTOLIC MIRACLES.

[1] Acts xi, 28. [2] Acts xxi, 9.

[3] 1 Cor. xiv, 24, 25. On the New Testament prophets, see Meyer on Acts xi, 27, and 1 Cor. xii, 10; Harnack, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., art. "New Testament Prophets;" Meyrick, in Smith, Bible Dict., iii, 2602, Am. ed.; and Mosheim, Hist. Commentaries on the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church, i, 165, 166.

[4] Essays on Miracles, 5th ed., pp. 116, 117.

in their own times, they uniformly represent the great works of the Lord and the apostles as having ceased. "Why," say they, "do not these miracles take place now, which, as you preach to us, took place once? I might answer that they were necessary before the world believed, that it might believe."[1] "Argue not," says St. Chrysostom, "because miracles do not happen now that they did not happen then. . . . In those times they were profitable, and now they are not. . . . The more evident and constraining are the things which happen the less room there is for faith."[2] Augustine, however, argues for the continuousness of miraculous manifestations, and gives a list; but he says significantly that these do not authenticate the Church as divine, but the Church authenticates the miracles. The Donatists and the heretics had their miracles. "The Church does spiritually every day," says Gregory the Great, "what she did corporally through the apostles. And these spiritual miracles are the greater."[3]

THE APOSTOLIC PREACHERS THE BEST MODELS FOR ALL TIMES.

Singularly endowed as the first Christian preachers were, they have ever been regarded as the best human models in administration, charity, heroism, and wisdom in appeal to the heart and understanding. All later departures have been deflections from the example of apostolic times, while all true reformers have aimed to bring the Church back to sympathy with, and resemblance to, what Johann von Müller well calls, "the Church of the century of wonders."

[1] Aug. De Civ. Dei, xxii, 8, § 1.

[2] Hom. in 1 Cor. vi, 2, 3. Compare Ambrose, Ep. i, 22; Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. iv, 80; Pope Gregory, in Evang., ii, 29.

[3] Newman, in his Essays on Ecclesiastical Miracles, gives an acute discussion of the whole subject from the point of view of a believer. The best skeptical treatment is still Conyers Middleton's Introductory Discourse and Free Inquiry (1748). Middleton, who is called the English Lessing, had a cold and critical intellect of great learning and penetration. Macaulay calls him "the great iconoclast—"

"So wary held and wise
That, as 'twas said, he scarce received
For Gospel what the Church believed."

An abundant literature grew up around his epoch-making treatise.

CHAPTER VI.

THE APOSTLES AND THE SCENES OF THEIR LABORS.

THE apostolic group at the time of Pentecost consisted of the following: Simon Peter, Andrew, James the elder (son of Zebedee), John, Philip, Thomas, called Didymus, Bartholomew (Nathanael), Matthew, James the younger (son of Alphæus), Thaddæus, or Lebbæus, Simon, the zealot or Canaanite, and Matthias, chosen by lot to take the place of Judas Iscariot.

I. PETER AND JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.

The apostle Peter represented the strongly aggressive Jewish element in the first stage of the Church. His restoration to divine favor after his denial of our Lord was complete, and he was the representative of the whole Church on the day of Pentecost. His ardent temperament and lingering attachment to the faith of his fathers adapted him especially to the evangelization of the country occupied by the Jews. The death of Stephen, the young deacon, at Jerusalem, about the year 33 or 34, was the beginning of the first persecution which caused the apostles to leave that city. Philip, the evangelist, went northward into Samaria preaching, and was soon followed by Peter, accompanied by John. Their success was great, large numbers being added to the Church. The persecution came to an end throughout the three provinces, and the number of believers multiplied.[1] The period of rest, however, was due to no friendly feeling toward the Christians, but through a diversion of the Jewish mind. Caligula, the Roman emperor, in his eager desire to receive universal adoration went so far as to attempt the destruction of the Jewish faith, and caused his statue to be set up for worship in the Jewish temple. This extreme measure drove the Jews to the point of rebellion, which ceased only through the sudden death of Caligula.

PETER.

THE FIRST PERSECUTION.

During this pause in the persecution two notable events occurred: first, Paul's conversion, and, after a lapse of three years, his presentation by Barnabas to the apostles in Jerusalem; and, second, the memorable journey of Peter to the coast, where, at Joppa, he was taught by a vision

PAUL'S CONVERSION AND PETER'S JOURNEY TO JOPPA.

[1] Acts ix, 31.

the universality of the Gospel. He gave a twofold proof of his acceptance of the great truth by eating in the house of Simon the tanner, and by receiving into the Church without the preliminary circumcision, but by baptism alone, the Roman officer Cornelius, connected with the noble families of the Scipios, Sulla, and the Gracchi.

The persecution beginning with the death of Stephen had strangely enlarged the field of apostolic labor. Among the Christians driven from Jerusalem were some Hellenists from the island of Cyprus, and from Cyrene, in Egypt, and they went along the maritime Phœnician plain as far northward as Antioch, and included Cyprus also in their field of labor.

ENLARGED FIELD OF APOSTOLIC LABOR.

At Antioch the Christians met with signal success, and it was here, and now, that the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians. This city was a great center of commercial, political, and intellectual importance. It was founded B. C. 300 by Seleucus Nicator, and named after his father Antiochus, and at this time was the third city in the Roman empire, Rome and Alexandria alone surpassing it. Its walls were fifteen feet thick and fifty feet high. Its buildings were surpassed in splendor by only a few in Rome. It was a meeting place of the populations of both Europe and Asia, and Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin were only a few of the languages spoken by its citizens. The apostles early saw its value as a key for the distribution of the Gospel westward. With them that Syrian city was to the Church of Asia Minor and even Greece what Rome later became to Italy and the North. The news of the success of the Gospel in Antioch being received at Jerusalem, Barnabas was sent as a special messenger to aid in the work of evangelization and consolidation. He "was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."[1] Evidently feeling the need of cooperation he went to Tarsus for Paul, and the two returned to Antioch, and remained a year there in charge of the rapidly advancing Church. Subsequently Paul and Barnabas returned to Jerusalem with contributions for the needy Christians there. They again set out for Antioch, which was now the real center of the Church, taking with them John Mark, a man of Jewish parentage and cousin of Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas were now chosen by the Church at Antioch for special apostolic work, and they proceeded on a tour to Seleucia, Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, the Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra,

ANTIOCH.

[1] Acts xi, 23.

and returned to the Syrian Antioch, and made report of their success.

The greatest crisis in the history of the apostolic Church was now at hand. It sorely tested both the faith and charity of the entire body of believers. The question at issue was, whether all persons entering the Church must first pass through the Jewish ceremonial of circumcision, or whether profession of faith and baptism were ample conditions of membership. When Paul and Barnabas reached Antioch they found the brethren who had come from Jerusalem, and were advocating the ceremonial of the Mosaic law as a condition of Church fellowship. Peter seems for a time to have been in favor of the Jewish exclusivism, ceased to eat with Gentile Christians, and was the means of leading others, Barnabas among them, into a similar error. Paul publicly rebuked them, and made Peter the object of his special censure: "I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."[1] The author of the Acts does not mention his or any other name as advocating the measure, but only calls them "certain men which came down from Judea."[2] But Paul, in an epistle, throws very clear light on the whole controversy. His account is his most important historical supplement to the Acts of the Apostles.[3]

A CRISIS IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

The result of the controversy was an appeal to a general council of the Church in Jerusalem, A. D. 50–52. Peter and Paul and Barnabas went thither in person. Peter, who will ever stand at the threshold of ecclesiastical history as the type of a Church leader ready to be convinced, and as ready to return again to his first principles, now appears as a champion for the liberal position of Paul. He even claimed the honor of being the chosen one of God to declare the Gospel to the Gentiles, and now insists that there be no attempt made to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples of Christ.[4] Paul, Barnabas, James, and Simeon addressed the council, and the result was that the liberal view prevailed—that no part of the Jewish ceremonial should ever be prescribed as a condition of Gentile membership. Never, in the entire history of the Church, did a general council reach so important and wise a conclusion or one couched in such brief terms. The whole decision is thus tersely stated: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and

THE GENERAL COUNCIL IN JERUSALEM.

[1] Gal. ii, 11.
[2] Acts xv, 1.
[3] Gal. ii, whole chapter.
[4] Acts xv, 7–10.

from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well."[1]

The relation of the Jewish ceremonial to the Christian system was now settled forever. It could come to the surface no more, except as an occasional ground of local controversy in some obscure society. With the settlement of this question Peter became less prominent. We have no detailed account of his later labors. While he retires more and more into the background Paul advances steadily to the front. Peter's name is not even mentioned after the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, while the latter half of the book is almost entirely occupied with a narrative of the experiences of Paul. With all the difference of opinion between Peter and Paul, and notwithstanding the strong rebuke of the former by the latter, there was no want of real charity. Peter, in so many respects a representative character in the Church, is in no respect more so than in combining the charity of the Christian with the warmth of the partisan. He does not seem to be jealous of Paul, who now occupies by far the leading place in apostolic labor, but cherishes for him a warm regard. It would seem that he meant to correct a popular impression that there was a difference between them, and hence, at the close of his epistles, he speaks of "our beloved brother Paul."[2] He admits that Paul wrote "some things hard to be understood," but puts the burden chiefly on the ignorance of his readers and their willfulness in twisting them from their true meaning.[3]

PETER AND PAUL IN CONTRAST.

We have no account of Peter's later field of labor. The super-

[1] Acts xv, 28, 29. The Didache (chap. vi) repeats the decree concerning idol offerings, and John evidently considered the finding of the council binding (Rev. ii, 14, 20). Paul takes a view characteristically liberal, placing the whole matter on the basis of expediency (1 Cor. viii, 4–13; x, 18, 19, 28, 29. Compare Rom. xiv, 20, *seq.*) Justin Martyr, c. Tryph., xxxiv, xxxv, Council of Gangra, can. ii, and Ap. Canons, lxiii, understand the Apostolic Council as still binding the Church. This is the view of the Greek Church, but the Roman Church, in this respect following Paul more than Peter, takes the liberal construction. It is evident that the parts of the decree referring to matters of ceremonial or ritualistic importance became of none effect when the circumstances which called for them no longer existed. Whether the same principle applies to Paul's prohibition of woman's activities in the Church it is not the place here to discuss. See Schaff, ed. of Didache, p. 183. The best treatment of these Judaistic conflicts in the early Church is found in Slater, Faith and Life of the Early Church, Lond., 1892; a careful and scholarly work. Farrar gives an illuminating discussion of the Apostolic Council, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. xxii, and Early Days of Christianity, pp. 294–297.

[2] 2 Peter iii, 15. [3] 2 Peter iii, 16.

scription to his first epistle would lead fairly to the inference that he had labored and founded societies in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The conclusion of the same epistle contains the information that, at the time of writing, he was in Babylon. There was a strong Jewish element in the population there, and up and down the Euphrates, and he was no doubt attracted thither as a promising and needy field of apostolic labor. During the latter part of his life it seems to have been an understood relation between him and Paul that the latter should labor in the West and he in the East.

PETER'S LATER FIELD UNCERTAIN.

The Roman Catholic Church holds the view that Peter was the founder of the Church in Rome, that he established the episcopacy there, that he was bishop in that capital twenty-five years, and that he terminated his primacy by a martyr's death. This is too large a tax on our credulity. The task of weighing probabilities is never easy, and in this case especially difficult. Even the oldest traditions of the Church do not include Peter among the first bishops of Rome, for the earliest list mentions only Linus, Anacletus, and Clement. Jerome is the first to speak of a twenty-five years' episcopate, and from him all the rest have borrowed the myth. From Dionysius of Corinth, writing about A. D. 170, we have the first mention of his death at Rome.

NO CERTAINTY THAT PETER FOUNDED THE CHURCH IN ROME.

While we are thus left without exact information on the final field of labor by Peter, it is not impossible that he did spend a brief period in Rome, and that he finally suffered martyrdom there in Nero's reign, A. D. 67.[1] We reject totally all legends that raise

[1] Guericke holds, in common with most recent scholars, that Peter died in Rome. But he neither admits any plausibility to a Roman episcopate nor a long residence. Church Hist., vol. i, p. 58. Niedner has a similar view: Lehrbuch d. Kirchengesch., pp. 116, 117. Kurtz (10th ed., 1890) admits the Roman martyrdom as very probable, though not certain. Neander, Hilgenfeld, Rothe, Thiersch, Plumptre, Schaff, and most Protestant scholars hold the affirmative of this question, to which they are bound by the uncontradicted testimony of the primitive Church. Renan in his Appendix to The Antichrist has a valuable note affirming the same view. Volkmar, Zeller, Baur, and some others deny the correctness of the tradition. Gallagher has revived the controversy in his book, Was Peter Ever at Rome? (N. Y., 1894) answering the question in the negative, but he adds nothing new to the argument. The Abbé Fouard in his great work on Peter adheres to his Roman episcopate, though with several liberal admissions (Lond. and N. Y., 1893). Ernest de Bunsen contends for Peter's residence in Rome, A. D. 41–44, and he makes out a fairly good case. See his article in the Unitarian Review, Jan., 1891, pp. 12–17. It was during the time of Herod Agrippa's reign of terror and of Paul's retirement to Arabia.

him to ecclesiastical primacy in Rome, either for one day or twenty-five years, and the total silence of the Acts of the Apostles, of Paul's epistles, and of his own, is ample proof that he could not have been there long enough to constitute an influential factor in the development of the Roman society.

II. PAUL AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

Paul, in the belief and veneration of the Church, occupies the first rank among apostles in talents, varied and broad culture, and sublime consecration. His first home and associations fitted him specially for his later universal character as an apostle to the nations. Tarsus was an important city, the scene of more than one turning point in Eastern and Western history, and the seat of a celebrated university. This school, according to Strabo,[1] was the most advanced in the Roman empire, even excelling those of Alexandria and Athens. Learned men from Tarsus were chosen tutors for the imperial family, and the literary productions of that city were read with avidity in Rome. Paul's first training was in that romantic and historical place, and there his genius first began to develop. His skillful use of the Greek language, with all its charm of imagery and subtle force as the vehicle for his thoughts, and his familiarity with the Greek poets, as exhibited in his address on the Areopagus at Athens, are proofs of the classic atmosphere which he breathed in Tarsus in his youth. The poet, therefore, is not without justification in attributing to the classic associations of Tarsus a strong and permanent influence on the mind of Paul:

PAUL'S TRAINING IN TARSUS.

"In Cydnus' clear but chilly wave
His weary limbs was wont to lave
Great Philip's greater son—
By Egypt's queen on Cydnus' tide,
The Roman, proof 'gainst all beside,
By beauty's smile was won.
But now, I ween, in Christian lays
Hath Cydnus earned a holier praise.

"Where Tarsus, girt with greenest trees,
Her image fair reflected sees
In that fast-flowing stream—
In childhood's hour was wont to stray,
Poring upon the classic lay,
Or lost in heavenly dream—

[1] xiv, 673.

He who should carry far and wide
The banner of the Crucified."

But Paul was a Jew, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, and when a youth his culture was not regarded as complete, or even safe, without a period of study at the fountain head of his faith, Jerusalem.[1] Having a sister there who had married and established her home there, Paul went thither and became a student at the feet of Gamaliel, the most celebrated preceptor of Jewish theology. His residence in Jerusalem could not have been less than twenty-five years.

PAUL IN JERUSALEM.

Paul thus combined in his person many remarkable characteristics of the oriental and occidental, while his attainments fitted him equally well for public labors in either the Jewish or the Græco-Latin world. His conversion near Damascus was the beginning of his Christian life. He had been present at the death of Stephen, and held the loose clothing of the protomartyr's murderers while they performed their cruel deed. The opinion prevailed in the early Church, and was clothed in terse language by Augustine, that there, by the prayer of Stephen, the first impulse toward his conversion was given: "If Stephen had not prayed, the Church would never have had its Paul."[2] After an interval of three years he returned to Jerusalem, where Barnabas introduced him to the apostles. He recognized clearly that his mission was to the nations lying west of Palestine, and he entered zealously upon his work of Western evangelization.

PAUL'S TRAINING FITTED HIM FOR A COSMOPOLITAN MISSION.

Paul made four missionary journeys. His first tour was begun A. D. 49 or 50.[3] Accompanied by Barnabas and John Mark he sailed from Seleucia to Cyprus. He traveled through the island and then proceeded to the mainland of Asia Minor. He visited Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, and afterward retraced his pathway, arriving at Antioch in Syria. His second tour began A. D. 51. He went through Syria, then northwestward to Cilicia, and afterward to Phrygia and Galatia. Following the

PAUL'S FIRST TWO MISSIONARY JOURNEYS.

[1] The best treatment of the relative influence exercised upon Paul by his pagan and Jewish training is found in Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. i–iii. Farrar is correct in his conclusion that the Tarsian influence was slight. It was real, but was overborne by his later education.

[2] Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet. Serm. i and iv in fest. S. Steph.

[3] The dates are uncertain. Lewin gives A. D. 45–46 for the first missionary journey, 49 for the second, 54–58 for the third, and 60 for the voyage to Rome. Conybeare and Howson give 48–49, 51, 54–58, and 60 respectively.

direction that came to him in a vision he sailed for Macedonia, and began his ministry in Philippi. He journeyed through Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth. From Corinth, where he remained fifteen months, he proceeded by way of Cenchræa to Ephesus. He then proceeded to Jerusalem, whence he returned to Antioch.

Paul's third journey began A. D. 54. He visited the churches in Galatia and Phrygia; thence proceeded to Ephesus; then labored in Macedonia and Illyricum, and, departing from Philippi, joined his companions at Troas. He then went by way of Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Trogyllium to Miletus, and proceeded by way of Coos, Rhodes, Patara, Cyprus, Tyre, Ptolemais, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. He was arrested in Jerusalem and sent to Cæsarea, where he defended himself before Felix. He was two years a prisoner in Cæsarea. Felix being superseded by Festus as procurator and representative of Roman authority, Paul appealed to Cæsar. He started for Rome as a prisoner, in charge of the centurion Julius. At Myra he was transferred to a ship from Alexandria, and was wrecked at the island of Malta. After remaining there three months he again set sail for Rome, landing at Puteoli, and, proceeding over the Pontine Marshes, passing Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, he reached Rome. He remained there two years, A. D. 61–63, and was then set at liberty.

THIRD JOURNEY.

Paul's fourth tour occurred after his release from prison, and, according to the most reasonable supposition, embraced a visit to Crete, Macedonia, Corinth, and a winter at Nicopolis. It was during this time that he went through Dalmatia, and afterward reached Asia Minor.[1] He was again arrested and brought to Rome as a prisoner. He suffered martyrdom there during Nero's reign, about A. D. 66 or 67.

FOURTH JOURNEY.

Paul always appealed to the Jews first, but on being rejected by them he immediately turned to the non-Jewish people in the path

[1] For an interesting discussion as to whether Paul visited Spain after his first captivity in Rome, and as to a second captivity, see Kurtz, Handb. d. allg. Kirchengeschichte, vol. i, pp. 71–73, note, Eng. Tr., i, 43, 44. Eusebius (H. E., ii, 22) is the only early writer who mentions Paul's release from imprisonment, but he is apparently unconscious of any other tradition. Jerome (De Vir. Ill. v) follows Eusebius. Modern scholars are divided. The most of those who hold to the genuineness of the Epistles to Timothy hold also the second imprisonment. There seems in fact no sufficient reason whatever to call in question the testimony of Eusebius. See McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 124, note 6; Schaff, Ch. Hist., i, 331–333; Farrar, St. Paul, Excurs. xxvi and xxvii.

of his labors. His career stands alone in the annals of mankind. His disregard of difficulties; his perfect indifference to personal danger; his peculiar combination of the best culture of the pagan mind and of Jewish theology; his strange insight into the heart; his preaching, pointed, terse, and of great scope, and his wonderful epistles, which have furnished a theology for all Christian ages, give him a supreme place among men. His great peculiarity as a teacher was the directness with which he received and imparted the truth revealed to him from God. Hagenbach thus defines it: "It was not the fruit of laborious combinations, and still less of the mere impression made by others, but an immediate perception and grasping of the truth revealed to him by our Lord and his Spirit."[1]

PAUL'S EXTRAORDINARY GIFTS.

With Paul's career as an apostle, both as a preacher and writer, Christianity first assumed a universal character. When his labors were over, the religion which he preached was no longer a limited system confined by Jewish conditions, but had acquired such a relation toward the world that its final triumph over the opposing faiths was only a question of years. He never doubted the issue. At no time, even amid great personal danger, had he any misgivings as to the success of the Gospel. He was often disappointed in his plans, and it would seem that much of his time was lost through imprisonment, the tediousness of his journeys, and his need to earn the means for his support by manual labor. Yet he never murmured at his lot, but was content with his environment. Fully conscious of the lofty place which had been assigned him in the ministry his humility was equal to his spiritual rank. All his genius and learning he counted as nothing compared with the excellency of the knowledge of Christ.[2]

PAUL'S APOSTOLIC CAREER.

III. JOHN AND THE RECONCILIATION.

Peter, by his strong Hebrew attachments representing that element in the apostolic Church, and Paul the spirit of aggressive and universal Christianity, it was John's mission to harmonize the divergent elements. For this purpose he was preeminently fitted by his equable and tolerant nature, by his near relations to our Lord, and by his long life, which closed A. D. 101. According to the general belief of the early Church

JOHN THE APOSTLE OF HARMONY.

[1] Kirchengesch. der erst. sechs Jahrhunderte, p. 83.

[2] There is an immense literature on the Life and Epistles of St. Paul. The three great English lives are by Lewin, 1851, new ed., 1874; Conybeare and Howson, 1852, often reprinted (buy only the unabridged author's edition); and

his death, like his own nature, was peaceful; of all the apostles he was the only one who was believed not to have suffered martyrdom.

In some respects John's life presents more attractive features than that of any of his associates. It was a romance of love, spiritual beauty, and holy calm. As he was the most intimate friend of our Lord during his public ministry, so his writings touch the divine character and relations more intimately than those of any other inspired writer. Of all the evangelists he was the only one who wrote a gospel in an apologetic sense, recognizing and expounding the divine Logos in answer to the objections current during the last quarter of the first century. His epistles, not like those of Paul, which aimed at instruction, breathed only love and unified the still incongruous societies by their sublime tenderness and the remarkable example of their aged author. His Apocalypse accomplished the hitherto untouched purpose in the Bible, namely, in an age of violent persecution it directed the thought and faith of the Church to the rest and the home of all who "endured as seeing him who is invisible." It was, therefore, not without propriety that the early Christian writers represented John, the sole survivor of the apostolic group, as supplying in his writings what the rest had omitted, and, under the symbol of an eagle soaring above the ordinary level of human life and aspiration. Adam of St. Victor, who died in the twelfth century, thus pictured him:

JOHN'S WRITINGS.

"Bird of God! with boundless flight,
Soaring far above the height
Of the bard or prophet old;
Truth fulfilled or truth to be,
Never purer mystery
Did a purer tongue unfold."[1]

Farrar, 1879. These are all monumental works. Farrar's, fully equal to the others in scholarship, is superior to them for its eloquence, insight, fresh and penetrating views, and its fuller discussion of matters of more important and enduring interest. Buy only the two vol. edition. There are excellent short lives by Stalker, 1884, and Iverach, 1891. Schrader, Neander (in Planting and Training), Baur, Hausrath, Trip, Bungener, Renan, and Krenkel have treated the apostle from their various standpoints. Compare the article by Hatch in the Encyclopædia Brit., that by Schmidt in Herzog and Plitt, that by Beyschlag in Riehm, Handwörterbuch, and that by Farrar in the new ed. of Chambers' Encyclopædia (1892). See also works of Ramsay as above, p. 60.

[1] "Volat avis sine meta
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius:
Tam implenda, quam impleta,
Nunquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius."

When Leonardo da Vinci, in his immortal fresco of the Last Supper, portrayed on the convent wall in Milan the beloved disciple as leaning over nearest the Master, he embodied the sentiment of the Church in all ages concerning both the life which John led and the confidential office which it was his destiny to fulfill. So, when amid the great tragedy of the Passion, Christ committed his mother to the keeping of the disciple whom he most deeply loved, he merely expressed his trustfulness in the only one who had never, by any shade of conduct, betrayed him. To others he might intrust the gravest evangelistic duties, but it was only to John that he was willing to commit the delicate charge of caring for his mother. We may well suppose that John never forgot this final command. It was believed in the early Church that Mary reached an advanced age, and accompanied John to Ephesus, where she died. But, apart from the legend, we can well believe that John's care of Mary was the most precious charge of his life. May it not have been the case that, when he wrote his gospel, he was aided not only by his own personal recollection, but by the memories of Mary herself? Many portions of his gospel exhibit very decided traces of conversations with the mother of Jesus.

JOHN'S CARE OF MARY.

There is a little nook in the northwest corner of the Sea of Galilee which is called by the present Arab population Tabighah. The rank vegetation indicates great fertility of soil. There is a profusion of fountains, pools, and remains of old aqueducts. According to Robinson, Macdonald, and Porter this is the site of the Bethsaida which, more likely than Capernaum, was the first home of John. It means "The House of Fish," and was one of the chief fishing towns of the shore of the Sea of Galilee. It is reached by a ride of forty minutes from Tell Hum, the ancient Capernaum; and that again is but a short distance from the Chorazin of the New Testament. John's father, Zebedee, and his mother, Salome, belonged to the well-to-do class; for, while Zebedee had a trade, as was the case with all Jews, he had hired servants,[1] and a business partner.[2] His wife Salome supported our Lord from her means,[3] and embalmed his body, while her son John, as we learn from his gospel,[4] owned a property.[5]

JOHN'S BIRTHPLACE.

[1] Mark i, 20.
[2] Luke v, 10.
[3] Luke viii, 3.
[4] John xix, 27.
[5] See Schaff's ed. of Lange's John, p. 4.

One, in reading of this marvelous Sea of Galilee and the associations connected with it, naturally magnifies the distances. The fact is that the traveler can easily go, in a morning ride, from one end of the lake to the other. It is only fourteen miles long and about one half as wide. One skirts the western shore of the lake, through a thick growth of reeds and oleanders, and in a few hours passes the squalid villages that mark the sites of all those towns along the shore which are forever associated with the labors of our Lord and his disciples. But there was a busy population about this historical little lake. On one of the hills overlooking it the Master fed the multitude more than once. From the little territory of Galilee, Josephus raised, in a few days, an army of one hundred thousand soldiers to resist the Romans. The throngs were about Jesus constantly, bringing their sick to be healed and listening to his words of life. But still this Galilean population was an inland and provincial mass, and took no active part in the world's great movement and thought.

SEA OF GALILEE.

Amid rare natural beauty John grew from infancy to maturity. His life here was, perhaps, only broken by the annual visit to Jerusalem. All the male Jews, after reaching the age of twelve, visited Jerusalem once a year. They descended the valley of the Jordan to escape crossing the odious Samaritan soil, and took the road from Jericho to Jerusalem. These visits produced upon John's mind a profound impression. At the very time when he made his first visit there was studying in Jerusalem the youth Saul, from Asia Minor, who was destined to exert upon the Church a more profound impression than any other man in history. It is not likely that the two met among the throngs of the city, but they were both led by a hand they knew not to be participants, in mature life, in the sublime work of apostleship for Christ.

JOHN'S YOUTH.

After John's call to be a disciple of our Lord he was his constant attendant along the shore of the Sea of Galilee and over these overhanging mountains. No doubt his mind went back with interest to these first experiences. He knew all the paths of the surrounding country and the habits of the people. In his latest life, when leaning upon his staff in far-off Ephesus, he never forgot his home in Bethsaida. The words which he speaks in his gospel concerning Christ's ministrations in that region show how exact was his recollection of his own first home. After the ascension of Jesus, and the subsequent descent of the Spirit at Pentecost, John lived in Jerusalem for many years. He was im-

JOHN'S HOMES.

prisoned several times in Jerusalem, but always came out of his dungeon with increased power and patience as an apostle. He was regarded as the chief representative of the now risen Lord. He had never, like Peter, denied his Master, nor, like Thomas, doubted his resurrection. As occasion demanded he left the city for special evangelistic services. For example, when Philip preached in Samaria, and the whole population were ready to accept his message, he needed help to complete his work. So John and Peter went at once to reinforce him. Indeed, John seems to have now leaned on Peter as his companion and trusted friend. They preached together, traveled together, and communed in sweet fellowship. The impulsive and heroic Peter was a fit companion for the patient and deep-seeing John.

The meeting of the apostolic council occurred A. D. 50, or about twenty years after our Lord's ascension. We now lose trace of John for a period of nearly twenty more years. He disappears so entirely from sight that we are left to depend altogether on a comparison of historical events in order to locate the probable scene of his labors and his reappearance in the history of the Church. When Paul's last visit to Jerusalem occurred, A. D. 59 or 60, John was not present. Where was he? Some conjecture that he was in Perœa, making arrangements for the settlement there of the Christians from Jerusalem when driven out by the persecution, which his prophetic sight anticipated. This is the view of Schaff, who says: "Pella (in Perœa), therefore, formed the natural bridge for the apostle from Jerusalem to Ephesus, and probably he did not leave the congregation at Pella to pass to Asia Minor until it was firmly established."[1] We know that the remaining portion of his life was divided between exile on Patmos and quiet residence in Ephesus. But where did he spend the unknown interval between A. D. 50 and about A. D. 68 or 70? The most probable scene of his labors was in Parthia and the northern valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. One ground for this supposition is that this is known to be the scene of Peter's labors, and, as we find Peter and John to be associated in Jerusalem and Samaria, and in the general direction of the Palestinian Church, we have reason to suppose that they extended their joint field to Parthia and the great valley of which Babylon formed the commercial and literary center.

SILENCE AS TO JOHN'S ABODE.

Josephus informs us that the Jewish element was very large in the population of Babylon. This would be the first class to which

[1] In Lange, on John's Gospel, p. 10.

the two apostles would make their appeal. But a still stronger ground was the impression in the early Church that John had labored in this region. Augustine (A. D. 398) quotes from the First Epistle of John, which he introduces by this expression: "Which is said by John in the Epistle to the Parthians."[1] An argument in favor of this Eastern home of John has been found in the resemblance between the visions in the Apocalypse and the visions of Ezekiel's prophecies. John's residence here would lead to a reperusal, not only of Ezekiel's visions, but of all the visions of the illustrious line of Israel's captive prophets. This examination would naturally affect his authorship and prophetic states.

JOHN PROBABLY IN BABYLON.

The Jewish people were restless under the Roman yoke, and the Christians received no support from either the Jews or the Romans. In fact, they were the common object of hostility from both quarters. The Jews attributed to them all the calamities that had befallen their country and their beloved Jerusalem. So they persecuted them with all the bitterness of pagans. The Herodian family was dying out through sheer moral exhaustion, and the Roman governors were rapacious and cruel. The people rose in one great body against the Roman rule, and, in order to suppress the revolt, Nero sent Vespasian, A. D. 67, with an army of sixty thousand. Shortly afterward Nero died, and Vespasian was proclaimed emperor. His son, Titus, took charge of the army, conquered the Jews, put them to death without mercy, and entirely destroyed the city of Jerusalem A. D. 70. The Christians escaped the universal massacre. Many of them fled to Pella, in Perœa, east of the Jordan, but many escaped to Asia Minor and other western regions. John, having finished his labors in the East, was one of the fugitives to the West. We find him next in Ephesus.

JOHN A FUGITIVE.

Ephesus became his last permanent home.[2] For about thirty years, or until John's supposed death—which, according to Irenæus, was after the year A. D. 98; according to Jerome, when he was one

[1] Quo dictum est ab Joanne in Epistola ad Parthos. Quæst. Evang., c. xix.

[2] Some, in the interest of a denial of the authenticity of the fourth gospel, have tried to keep John out of Asia entirely. See Keim, Jesu v. Nazara, i, 161, ff., Holtzmann, Bibel-Lex., s. v., Scholten, and the author of Supernatural Religion, ii, 410. But here the tradition is absolutely unbroken, and there is no reason whatever to doubt it. All that we can say is that John did not arrive in Asia until after Paul had left it, and, as Professor McGiffert says, this is what we would naturally expect (ed. Eusebius, p. 132, note 6). See Irenæus, Adv. Hær, iii, 1; Clem. Alex., Quis dives Salvetur; c. 42; Polycrates in Eusebius, H. E., iii, 31, and v, 24.

hundred years old; and, according to Suidas, when he was one hundred and twenty years old—Ephesus was his principal home. He here had a sort of superintendence over all the churches of Asia Minor, if not of Corinth and other places in Greece. During his stay in Ephesus the persecution under Nero[1] broke out. John suffered with the rest and was banished to the island of Patmos. According to the Chronicon Paschale, John spent fifteen years on this rocky and barren island, and according to another authority he was allowed to return the year after his banishment. It is about fifteen miles in circumference, and lonely and desolate in the extreme. Here, according to Irenæus, he had the visions recorded in the Book of Revelation. Indeed, John says the same substantially himself. "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ."[2] No exile ever had a more lonely home than John had here. Years passed by, and only after the death of the emperor, according to a statement of Clement of Alexandria, was he permitted to return to Ephesus. He probably had little or no communication with the Christians in the great world, both east and west. He was alone with God and his own thoughts. That he had spent a number of years in Ephesus, and at least time enough to travel through parts of Asia Minor, and inspect the seven churches, is clear enough from the epistles to them in Revelation. The Chronicon Paschale says he had been nine years in Ephesus before banishment.

EPHESUS JOHN'S LAST HOME.

JOHN IN PATMOS.

When John returned to Ephesus he had much to do to encourage the persecuted Christians. They had been scattered and despond-

[1] It was the general opinion, following ancient tradition (Eusebius, H. E., iii, 17, 18; Irenæus, Adv. Hær., v, 30, 3; Jerome, De Vir. Illustr., 9), that the banishment of John took place under Domitian. But more thorough study of the Apocalypse has convinced most recent scholars that that book must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. This opinion we have followed above. There is, too, some external evidence for this. The title of the Syriac Version of the Apocalypse affirms it. Clement of Alexandria and Origen do not mention the name of the emperor. Epiphanius (Hær., li, 33) makes the banishment as early as Claudius, A. D. 41–53, which, of course, is impossible. The Irenæus tradition is too late to be authoritative, if otherwise discredited. Schaff (in his last edition), Lightfoot, Westcott, Renan, Weiss, Lücke, De Wette, Baur, Neander, and many other scholars hold to the early date. The celebrated pamphlet of Vischer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, eine jüdische Apocalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung (1886), makes for the same opinion. Vischer's theory of the Apocalypse cannot be accepted, but he strongly reinforces our judgment as to the early date of that writing.

[2] Rev. i, 9.

ing. The faith of many had grown cold. His first work was reorganization. We can, in imagination, see this aged apostle moving slowly along the streets, dwelling in thought upon the days when he was walking close beside his Master, but still intent on the service of the same Master. He gathered the Christians together, talked with them of their sorrows, and pointed them to their future liberties. Idolatry was all about him. It was before all eyes and in all homes. The worship of Diana had derived a new impulse from the persecution of the Christians, so that the city was given up to a more gross idolatry than ever before. Pagan learning was cultivated to a high degree. But John was patient, loving, and trustful. He had foreseen the downfall of paganism and of all its splendid worship and temples. He could afford to wait. He made such tours of inspection among the suburban and more remote societies as his many years permitted, preaching love and faith by his own sublime example. He was himself a living proof of how beautiful a thing old age is to the Christian. Tradition says that when he could no longer move about with his own strength he was borne into the sanctuary, where he could only say, "Little children, love one another."[1] What is more likely than that the evangel of love, which he had written and lived in his long life, should also be the evangel of his last years and his death? The eagle was weary with many a flight. The final flight was to the city of the great King—the New Jerusalem of his own beatific vision.[2]

LAST JOURNEY OF JOHN.

IV. THE REMAINING APOSTLES.

Of the remaining apostles there are reliable traditions of the scenes of labor and places of death of only a few. For nearly all we know of their apostolic career, apart from the mere indications in the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles, we are dependent on the records preserved by Hegesippus, Eusebius, and Nicephorus, who were careful in sifting the traditions, and reported only the most probable. James, the brother of John, commonly called the Elder, early suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem —about A. D. 44—by the command of Herod.[3] James, the brother

JAMES THE ELDER.

[1] Jerome, in Gal. vi.

[2] On the apostle John, besides the Dictionaries and Introductions to the Commentaries, see Trench, Life and Character of St. John, Lond., 1850; Stanley, Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age, pp. 234–281; Krenkel, D. Apostel Johannes, Leipz., 1871; Macdonald, Life and Writings of St. John, N. Y., 1877; new ed., 1880; Niese, Das Leben d. heil. Johannes, Leipz., 1878.

[3] Acts xii, 1, 2.

of our Lord,[1] wrought a long time in Jerusalem. His labors seem to have been confined entirely to that city and its vicinity. Notwithstanding his relationship to Jesus he was held in high esteem by the Jews on account of his strict adherence to the law, and was called by them the Just. After the departure of Peter and John he was the leader of the Jerusalem Church. Immediately before the outbreak of the Jewish war, however, he, in common with all the Christians in the city, incurred their hostility. It is alleged, and was believed by the early Church, that he was commanded to ascend one of the battlements and publicly renounce his faith in Christ; that he ascended the place, and publicly declared his faith in Christ; that the multitude cast him down headlong, and that he was killed by a blow from a club in the hand of one of the infuriated mob.[2] Philip, according to Polycrates of Ephesus, who wrote about A. D. 190, chose Phrygia as his field of labor, and spent the latter portion of his life at Hierapolis.[3] The early historians among the Fathers say that Simon Zelotes chose Egypt, the Cyrenaica, Mauritania, and Libya as his field of labor; that Matthew labored in Persia; that Andrew chose Scythia, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece; that Matthias labored and suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia; that Judas, called Lebbæus and Thaddæus, made Persia his field of work, and that Bartholomew preached in Lycaonia, Armenia, and India.

JAMES, THE BROTHER OF OUR LORD.

PHILIP.

Concerning the later life and labors of Thomas there is a variety of opinions. There is general unanimity as to his having labored for a time in Persia, then comprised in the vast Parthian empire, which extended from the western bounds of Armenia to the mountain sources of the Oxus and Indus, in the heart of India.[4] There is strong ground for believing that, after laboring for a while in Persia, he went to India, and spent the remainder of his life there. There were many Persian colonists in India. According to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the sixth century concerning the old Syrian Church in Malabar, the colonists in Ceylon were Persian Christians. There is a large body

THOMAS.

[1] Gal. i, 19.

[2] Eusebius, H. E., ii, 23. Josephus (Ant., xx, 9, 1) says that he was stoned to death under the high priest Ananus, A. D. 62.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., iii, 31; v, 24. It is likely that Polycrates confounded the apostle Philip with the evangelist Philip (Acts xxi, 8, 9). His mention of the virgin daughters makes this quite certain. See McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 162, notes 6, 8.

[4] Compare Rawlinson, Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy. Map, pp. 78, 79.

of Christians, whom the missionaries of this century find in India, and who bear the name of Thomas Christians, and claim the apostle as the evangelist of the country.

Cranganore is claimed as the place where Thomas landed from Aden, in Arabia. In the early part of this century it was the seat of an archbishopric, including forty-five churches. Near by is Parvor, where a very ancient Syrian church, supposed to be the oldest in Malabar, bears the name of Thomas.[1] There are grounds for supposing that the Thomas Christians derived their name from others than the apostle. One is, that a Persian disciple of Manes, named Thomas, went to India, and became the founder of the Church there.[2] Another is, that an Armenian merchant, named Thomas Kana, went to India about A. D. 800, and that his descendants became the Thomas Christians.[3] There are strong reasons both for and against Thomas having labored in India. Von Bohlen disputes it,[4] and Hoffmann draws a cautious distinction between the early planting of the Gospel in India and Thomas having been the agent of it.[5] The Persian Christians claim their country as his sole field of labor, and profess to show his relics in Edessa, the alleged place of his burial; while the Thomas Christians of India show his grave at Meliapoor. The weight of evidence is in favor of his having first labored in Persia and then proceeded to India, and spent the remainder of his life there. For the apostolic origin of Indian Christianity we have the testimony of Pantænus (A. D. 190),[6] and for the tradition which assigns Thomas the honor we have the testimony of the Acts of Thomas (about A. D. 195), Bishop Dorotheus (born A. D. 254),[7] Gregory Nazianzen,[8] St. Jerome,[9] Theodoret,[10] Gregory of Tours,[11] and Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is the universal belief of the Syrians, Arabs, and Armenians, and is combined even with the geography of the country.

GROUNDS FOR BELIEF THAT THOMAS LABORED IN INDIA.

PRESUMPTION IN FAVOR OF PERSIA AND INDIA.

Professor H. H. Wilson indorsed the tradition,[12] while Dr. Buch-

[1] Buchanan, Researches in Asia, pp. 74, 75. Phil., ed. 1813.
[2] Theodoret, Hæret. Fab., i, 26.
[3] Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, i, 178.
[4] Indien, vol. i, p. 375, ff.
[5] Die Epochen der Kirchengeschichte, p. 7.
[6] Eusebius, H. E., v, 10.
[7] In Paschal Chronicle.
[8] Orat. 25, c. Arian.
[9] Cat. Scr. Eccl., i, 120, Ep. lix, ad Marcellam.
[10] Serm. ix.
[11] See Yule, Marco Polo, ii, 293.
[12] Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, i, 161.

anan went so far as to say, "We have as good an authority for believing that the apostle Thomas died in India as that the apostle Peter died at Rome."[1]

[1] Christian Researches in India, 5th ed., p. 184. The Rev. Charles Egbert Kennet, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, investigated the matter thoroughly. See his St. Thomas, The Apostle of India, Madras, 1882; 2d ed., 1892. The Mozaritic Breviary declares the same belief. Scholars generally, however, have rejected the tradition. Among these the latest is George Milne Rae, who devotes several chapters of his admirable work, The Syrian Church in India (Edinb., 1892), to a consideration of the early religious history of India. Compare my Indika, N. Y., 1891, pp. 309–312. The early traditions are so variant that little value can be attached to them. See Lipsius, in Dict. of Chr. Biog., i, 28.

LITERATURE: THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

We give here a list of some of the recent discussions. See above, p. 58–60.

1. Lightfoot, J. B. The Christian Ministry, in Comm. on Philippians, Lond., 1868, 7th ed., 1883. Reprinted in Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 185–246. Sober, objective, a model exposition. The best single discussion.
2. Haddon, A. W. Apostolical Succession, Lond., 1869. This is the most brilliant and scholarly defense ever made by the High Church party.
3. Jacob, G. A. Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, N. Y., 1872, ably sets forth the scriptural and other aspects in the interests of the Low Church view.
4. Hatch, E. Organization of the Early Christian Churches. Bampton Lectures for 1880. Lond., 1880, 3d ed., revised, 1888. Growth of Church Institutions, Lond. and N. Y., 1887. Hatch reopens all questions of Church polity. He shows the influence of secular organizations in the early Church, and how the Church officers were anticipated in the voluntary societies and guilds of the Hellenic world. He shows, also, how great a part the distribution of charitable funds had in the growth of the episcopate and diaconate. His work created a storm in the High Church camp, and has often been replied to; but its facts, and many of its inductions, stand.
5. Rothe, R. Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche u. ihrer Ver fassung, Wittenb., 1837. An epoch-making work.
6. Ritschl, A. Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 2d ed., revised, Bonn, 1857. Of great importance.
7. Stanley, A. P. The Clergy: in Christian Institutions, Lond. and N. Y., 1881, chap. x.
8. Harnack, A. In his translation, with notes and discussion, of Hatch, Leipz., 1883, in his ed. of the Didache, and in his Dogmengeschichte, Harnack has entered largely into these matters. He holds that the prophets and teachers, called of God, were the primitive clergy, and that the bishops and presbyters were the executive officers of the local church.
9. Kühl, E. Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen, Berl., 1885. An able work. Agrees with Hatch and Harnack in some respects. He claims, with them, that Church polity was a growth to meet a felt need, but rejects their theory of the development of the episcopate out of preexisting conditions.
10. Müller, J. Die Verfassung der christlichen Kirche in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten, Leipz., 1885.
11. Winterstein. Der Episkopat in den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten, Vienna, 1886.
12. Cunningham, J. Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions, Lond. and N. Y., 1886. (The Croall Lectures.) One of the best books on the subject.

13. Seufert. Der Ursprung u. d. Bedeutung des Apostolats in der christlichen Kirche der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte, Leipz., 1887. He holds that the apostolate was founded in the apostolic age, as an endeavor to get rid of Paul and his free Gospel. A far-fetched idea.

14. Seyerlen, K. R. Die Entstehung des Episkopats in der christlichen Kirche, in Zeitschrift f. prak. Theologie, Frankf., 1887. A reasonable and well-ordered view, illuminating, and somewhat after Lightfoot's thought.

15. Scott, H. M. Recent Investigation into the Organization of the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Churches, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April and July, 1887.

16. The Expositor, London, 3d series, vols. v and vi, 1887, with supplementary article (by Sanday) on A Step in Advance in Early Church Organization, in 1888, pp. 325, ff. A series of articles by some of the best English and German scholars.

17. Weingarten, H. Zeittafeln und Uebersicht zur Kirchengeschichte, 4th ed., greatly improved, Leipz., 1891. Acute and just observations. He shows that imperial development went hand in hand with hierarchical development, and that both had many points in common. His work is of great importance.

18. Loening, E. Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums, Halle, 1888. Yields large influence to Jewish forms, and is not inclined to attach much influence to heathen societies.

19. Heron, J. The Church of the sub-Apostolic Age, Lond., 1888. Argues vigorously against both Hatch and the High Church theory. Founded on the Didache.

20. Fisher, G. P. The Validity of non-Episcopal Ordination, N.Y., 1888. (The Dudleian Lecture.) New ed., Phil., 1897.

21. Gore, C. The Ministry of the Christian Church, 2d ed., Lond. and N. Y., 1889. One of the best briefs for the High Church claims. In trying to adapt itself to recent scholarship it moves uneasily, making some damaging concessions as well as many unproved assertions.

22. Van Dyke, H. J. The Church: Her Ministry and Sacraments, N. Y., 1890. An able book. Should be read in connection with Haddon and Gore.

23. Lefroy, W. The Christian Ministry, Lond., 1890, and N. Y., 1891. A strong defense of the old Low Church theory as against sacerdotalism on the one hand, and Hatch on the other. An elaborate and finely argued work, with good indexes.

24. Weizsäcker, C. von. The Apostolic Age, trans., Lond. and N. Y., 1894. Writes this part of the history from the point of view, largely, of Hatch and Harnack. Vol. iii transl., 1895.

25. Fraser, J. Episcopacy: Historically, Doctrinally, and Legally Considered. Lond., 1898.

26. Griffis, W. E. Validity of Congregational Ordination (Dudleian Lecture), in Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1898.

Although there is now no scholar in the world outside of the Roman Church and the hierarchical party in the Episcopal Church who adheres to the divine right theory of the origin of the episcopate, that theory is still maintained in all its practical force by the Anglican Church, and it is still the great barrier to Christian union. In this connection see the following admirable discussions:

27. Forrester, H. Christian Unity and the Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1889. An able historical study to show that the Church Catholic has at various times received men into her ministry without episcopal ordination, such reception giving them "all that would have been given had the usual form been followed."

28. McConnell, S. D. American Episcopacy, N.Y., 1889. Handles the matter in a free and excellent spirit.

29. Harwood, E. The Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1889. Has a valuable appendix, tracing the views held in the English Church. These three (above) are pamphlets by ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

30. Gallagher, Mason. The True Historic Episcopate, new ed., N. Y., 1893. Specially emphasizes the constitution of the church in Alexandria, and gives *catena* of English testimonials.

31. Long, J. C. The Historic Episcopate, in Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1894. A fine article by the late lamented professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary.

32. Bartlet, J. V. The Historic Episcopate, in Contemporary Review, June, 1894; Aug., 1897.

33. Shields, C. W. The Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1894. A Presbyterian plea for acceptance of the Episcopal proposals for Church union.

34. Cooke, R. J. The Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1896.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

WHEN the converts entered the Christian communion during the apostolic period, they could not be expected to forget their former environment. All the experiences and knowledge which they derived from either the Judaism or the paganism that had produced and reared them were not obliterated during their transition from darkness to noonday. This change was voluntary, conscientious, and fundamental, and the repugnance to the faiths of their former love was intense and final; but the view which they took of the new faith received something of the color of their former associations. Hence the Jew carried unconsciously with him into Christianity a certain subtle attachment to the faith of his fathers, by which he could not forget immediately his love for the holy days and sacred festivities, and distinctions in meats, of which he had read and heard as observed by his immortal fathers in the golden age of the kingdom. Every Jew that sat at the feet of James at Jerusalem or Peter at Antioch reflected the whole national life and faith of his ancestors as far back as the deliverance from Egypt and the Abrahamic call. The attachment to the temple continued after the ascension. Whither should the one hundred and twenty disciples retire, after the ascension from Olivet, but to the upper room of the temple? Even Jesus had given the example of his own respect for the sanctity of the temple, and the Jews did not regard the Christians as an independent body, but only a sect, a *αἵρεσις*, within the large body, just as the Græco-Russian Church regards the Molakans and similar dissidents from the general faith as sects within the large fold.

THE JEW AS A CHRISTIAN.

With the Greek and the Roman the case was different. He saw in his paganism not that clear preparation for Christianity which he could not fail to observe in the Jewish system. He was even more intolerant of his old faith than was the Jewish Christian of his former Judaism. He saw nothing in the worship of Venus on Cyprus, or of Diana at Ephesus, or of Minerva on the Acropolis at Athens, or of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, or in the Sibylline utterances, or the mummeries of the haruspices, which he was willing to see introduced into the Christian

THE GREEK AND ROMAN AS CHRISTIANS.

ritual. Unlike the new Christian at Jerusalem, the pagan Christian had no lingering love for his own temple. To him it was a crystallization of the blasphemies and nameless vices of all the past ages of polytheism. Yet, even with him, the only good forces that paganism had imparted to him went with him into the new Christian life. He was the universal man. He needed no exhortation, as did his Jewish brother Christian, to be cured of his particularism. He was not under the necessity of being taught that God could be worshiped in every place, and that all lands were hallowed ground. The migrations of nations, the fusing of provincial and metropolitan life in the capitals, the ceaseless wandering of the scholars over all paths, and that great republic of letters whose leaders had been born on the Greek islands and the far-off provinces, had given him a breadth of view which he carried with him into Christianity, and by which he was led to believe that, as Alexander and the Cæsars had conquered, so Jesus would conquer, until the world should become his footstool. Then, too, we find that the echoes of the philosophy of his great fathers of thought were still lingering in his ears. It was not a society of men once Jews, but once pagans, namely, that of Corinth, which Paul censured for being carried away by that peculiar preaching of Apollos which reflected the philosophy of the Greek masters.

We find, therefore, in the whole apostolic period a prevalence of these two antithetical tendencies, the Jewish and the pagan. Some critics, who, like Baur, of the Tübingen School, can see in the early Church only a tangled thread of prejudices and ignorant strivings for mastery, hold that the antagonism between the Jewish and pagan points of view, or, rather, the Petrine and the Pauline, brought only disaster to the Church; that it was the ignorance of the Church in its infancy; that it was the gross and wasteful outgiving of controversial minds at their whitest heat, the wild play of narrow souls. The truth is to be found far away from this position. The Hebrew and the pagan view lay at extremes. The one was particular and special, the other cosmopolitan. Between these terms lay the golden mean of the correct Christian view of humanity and doctrine. The apostolic Church (and so the Church of all later periods) was not the loser, but greatly the gainer, by having this antithesis presented at the very threshold of its history. The necessity was early thrust upon it to learn to harmonize differences, to see in all thought something that can serve as a lesson, in all regenerate character a measure of good for the whole body ecclesiastic, and to make the whole world, Jewish and pagan, lay at its feet its best lessons in organized activity and administrative force.

JEWISH AND PAGAN TENDENCIES.

The constitution of the Church was only in part a matter of divine direction. The merest outline for ecclesiastical government was revealed, while the general structure was left to the spiritual discernment of the controlling minds, and to such needs as experience might produce and reveal. In constitution the Jewish element predominated, and gave more or less character to the economy of all the churches, while in the conditions of membership and the use of foods and festivals the Gentile prevailed, and finally eliminated the former altogether. "How could the apostles," asks Rothe, "escape adopting, in the most intimate way, even the very form of constitution which they had known in their own mother Church?"[1]

CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH PARTIALLY REVEALED.

All the officers in the apostolic Church are defined by name, and the only difficult question has been, what functions belonged respectively to these officers? The answer has been very varied, some regarding the Church at its beginning as containing all the officers designed for it in all later ages, and others believing them to have been prescribed in only a general way, the Church being left to shape its constitution according to the requirements of nationality, culture, and temperament of the peoples which might become evangelized. Long periods of fruitless controversy, the fatal development of the papal idea, and the figment of apostolical succession and of the episcopacy as a distinct and fixed third order in the Church, have grown out of the same question.

OFFICES DEFINED BY NAME.

There were five classes of Church officers in the apostolic period.

I. TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

To these belong, first, the apostles. They were a class appointed directly by Christ himself, and a condition of their holding the office was that they must have seen Christ in the flesh, or in his risen state. This, therefore, could not be otherwise than a temporary office. The apostles were charged with the supervision of all the churches, and to their judgment there was always a willing appeal. They were thor-

THE APOSTLES.

[1] Anfänge d. christl. Kirche, p. 147. The minuteness of the resemblance between the constitution of the synagogue and the Christian Church was first shown by Grotius, and more fully exhibited by Campegius Vitringa, in his De Synagoga vetere libri iii, 4to, Franequer, 1696. Several points are mentioned in Plumptre, art. "Synagogue," in Smith, Bible Dict. The statement of Kurtz on this is exaggerated (§ 17, 2). There can be no question whatever that several elements in the polity of the Church were due to the influence of the synagogue worship and other Jewish customs. It could not be otherwise.

oughly aggressive and evangelistic, and regarded it their first duty to preach the Gospel to those in darkness. With the exception of James the Just, who made Jerusalem his home, all the apostles were evangelists, and went abroad preaching Jesus and the resurrection. Some of them, as Paul, John, James, and Peter, were divinely inspired to write, and their writings have formed a necessary doctrinal and spiritual basis for the Church of all ages. Though they labored in separate fields, there was a unity of plan. The apostolic council of Jerusalem gave proof of this harmonious action and of the acknowledged right to decide finally all important questions for the whole Church. It has been a favorite opinion of High Church writers that the bishops were the successors of the apostles. The discovery of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles has changed all this. The name descended to those traveling missionaries who succeeded to the most important apostolic function, and the actual successors of those who, like Barnabas, Luke, Mark, and Apollos, were called apostles in a secondary sense. The bishop received neither the name nor the functions of the apostles; the apostles of the second century inherited both the name and part of the functions.[1]

THE PROPHETS.

The prophets are second in rank. They were persons inspired by the Holy Ghost for the special work of teaching higher revelations. The power of foretelling events was not their controlling function. It was their office to reveal the will of God when especially needed, as in the choice of persons for great office and service in the Church. The apostles were at the same time prophets, but the prophet was not necessarily an apostle. The apostle Paul, Agabus, Simeon, Barnabas, Manaen, Judas the evangelist, and Silas belonged to the prophetic class.[2] The prophets persisted into the second century, when they were a most important class of workers. But they sadly degenerated, and rules were laid down to test and govern them. The Montanists tried to revive this miraculous agency, but their attempt proved abortive.[3]

Third are the evangelists. They were preachers whose ministrations were not confined to special localities, but extended in every direction where it was thought best that the Gospel should

[1] Acts xiv, 4, 14; 1 Thess. ii, 6; Rom. xvi, 7; 1 Cor. xv, 5, 7. Didache, chap. xi. Comp. ed. Schaff, pp. 67–69. Their work is best described by Eusebius, H. E., iii, 37. He distinctly connects them in succession with the apostles. One of the best refutations of the High Church theory is Withrow, Were the Apostles Prelates? in Presb. Rev., April, 1887.

[2] Acts xiii, 1; xv, 32. [3] See Did., xi, 7–12; xiii.

be preached. They were in close relationship with the apostles, either assisting them immediately or laboring under their direction. They were the apostolic helpers (*συνεργοί*), or, as Rothe calls them, "apostolic delegates."[1] Their labors were largely confined to the introduction of the Gospel, or the preaching of it in new societies, until permanent organization was established. Philip, Timothy, Titus, Silas or Silvanus, Luke, John Mark, Clement, Epaphras, and perhaps Epaphroditus were evangelists. The evangelists were without an analogue in the later Church. Theodoret gave them the title of apostles (*ἀπόστολοι*); "not at all unfitting," says Rothe, "for it was their very object to represent the apostles."[2] They are not mentioned in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, their place being there taken by the apostles. They have no analogy whatever to the so-called evangelist of the present day, their modern counterpart being the missionary or pioneer preacher.[3]

EVANGELISTS.

II. PERMANENT OFFICERS.

1. *Presbyters or Bishops.*—The presbyter and bishop were identical in order and in the reverence of the Church. The two terms furnish another illustration of that twofold life of the early Church which arose from the twofold origin of the members. The word presbyter is of Jewish origin, while bishop is derived from Greek and Roman usage. Presbyter, or *πρεσβύτερος*, an elder, is an exact translation of the Hebrew word *saken*, which indicated the ruler of the Jewish synagogue in all religious exercises, and who held that office, generally, because of his greater age or more tried character. He might be the oldest man in the society, or he might be a younger member, but, age and wisdom being presumably associated, the official took his name from his years.[4] In Palestine, and wherever the body of the society had been Jews, the term presbyter, or elder, was used to designate the official head of the Christians of that place. Peter and James, being Palestinian apostles, used only the word *πρεσβύτερος*, and not *ἐπίσκοπος*.

PRESBYTER OR BISHOP.

The word bishop is derived from the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*, or overseer, and was applied by the pagan Christians to the individual exercising the same functions. Both the Greeks and Romans

[1] Anfänge d. christl. Kirche, p. 305.

[2] In Acts xx, comp. ver. 17 with 28; and Titus i, comp. ver. 5 with 7.

[3] See Eusebius, H. E., iii, 37; Neander, Planting and Training, ed. Robinson, p. 151, note.

[4] We have analogies to the word *πρεσβύτερος* in *senator* and *alderman*, both of which words indicate, not the age of the incumbents, but their official dignity. Comp. Bingham, Works, vol. i, p. 250, Lond. ed., 1843.

had been familiar with the term in civil administration. In the Athenian constitution there were officers who bore the name ἐπίσκοποι, from their character as supervisors.[1] Pollux, in his category of archons, names the following: ἔφορον, ἐπόπτην, ἐπίσκοπον.[2] Arcadius Charidius, a Roman jurist, in discussing the civil offices, enumerates them as a class presiding over the sumptuary affairs of the cities.[3] Cicero says that Pompey wished him to be an ἐπίσκοπος, who should rule over the civil affairs of the Campania and the whole seacoast, who should have charge of the levying of troops, and be responsible for the principal business.[4] Nothing was more natural than that the Christians of pagan origin, who had been familiar with the word and the functions which were represented by it, should apply it to the pastor or administrator of the truth and all clerical functions.[5]

USE OF WORD BISHOP.

The bishop, or presbyter, was not originally a supervisor over a diocese, or a collection of churches, but the teacher, pastor, and spiritual head of one church or society. But as the number of churches increased, and a bond of unity and supervision was needed, one presbyter was appointed for this work. His clerical order remained the same, than which there was nothing higher, but his office assumed larger territorial scope. His chief work was to preach and teach; but associated with this was the duty of reconciling differences, looking after the purity of life and doctrine, and promoting harmony of general administration. In time the word bishop came to mean more than had ever been associated with the term presbyter, but for this there was no scriptural warrant or apostolic example. It was a matter of policy.

ORIGINAL OFFICE OF THE BISHOP.

There are two views as to the relation borne by the bishop, or presbyter, to the societies. One is that small societies originally organized themselves in a community, each independent of all the rest, holding their meetings in different places, and continuing an ecclesiastical life without any common bond of government or relationship, and that afterward, when the need of unity was perceptible, the presbyters of all

RELATION OF THE BISHOP TO THE SOCIETIES.

[1] Suidas, s. v. ἐπίσκοπος, and the scholiast on Aristophanes, Clouds, verse 1023.

[2] Onomastic., Book viii, let. 8, sec. iv, p. 905, of ed. of Hemsterhuis.

[3] Episcopi, qui præsunt pani et ceteris venalibus rebus, quæ civitatum populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt. Digest, Book iv, chap. 4, 1, 18, par. 7.

[4] Vult enim me Pompeius esse quem tota hæc Campania et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον ad quem dilectus et summa negocii referatur. Itaque vagus esse cogitabam. Letter to Atticus, vol. vii, p. 188. Teubner ed., Leipz., 1844.

[5] Comp. Neander, Hist. Ch., i, p. 184. For full literature of the question as to identity of the terms πρεσβύτερος and ἐπίσκοπος, see Kurtz, Handb. d. allg. Kirchengeschichte, p. 142, ff.

grouped themselves into a local spiritual government for the administration of all the societies.[1] This view, which Neander well calls the "atomic theory," is not sustained by a careful examination of the genesis of the Church as described in the Acts and the Epistles.[2]

ONE SOCIETY.

All the Christians of a community, however numerous, originally grouped themselves into one society. They were under one spiritual head, and regarded themselves as forming the ecclesia, or gathering of believers, of that place. There were no spiritual competitions or religious jealousies. Those were the golden days when the success of one was the holy joy of all. All the services could not be held in one place. There were smaller groups of worshipers, in contracted quarters, and for the most part in private houses. But there was no infinitesimal organization. There was one body of believers. The head of this one society was the presbyter. As time advanced, or the members multiplied, the number of societies increased also, and, in the same ratio, the number of presbyters grew. These presbyters, or bishops, constituted a common order and office, and became a general bond, by which the societies of a large community were held together, and, as the Church advanced, by which the societies of contiguous communities and outlying rural regions were kept in organic, effective, aggressive life. The first common bond of ecclesiastical unity was the apostles themselves. They, by their travels, came into frequent personal relationship with the societies. They adopted regulations for the societies.[3]

DUTIES OF THE BISHOP.

All the duties of the presbyter, or bishop, were involved in the obligation "to feed the flock of God, . . . and have oversight thereof."[4] This involved three functions: First, the supreme duty of preaching the Gospel; second, the administration of the two sacraments; and third, the regulation of discipline, though at the beginning both preaching and administration of the sacraments were the common right of all.

2. *Deacons.*—This is both an order and an office, and the functions of the deacon are more minutely described in the Scriptures than any other officer in the Church.[5] The diaconate is an illustra-

[1] Kist, the Dutch theologian, advocates this view in the Archief voor Kerkerlike Geschiedenis, Deel ii, pp. 1–61, trans. and pub. in Illgen's Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol., vol. ii.

[2] Comp. Neander, Gen. Hist. Christ. Rel. and Church, vol. i, p. 185.

[3] Acts ii, 44, 45; iv, 33–37. [4] 1 Peter v, 1.

[5] Acts vi, 1–8; 1 Tim. iii, 8–12. The word was applied in a general sense to all ministers, and even to magistrates (1 Thess. iii, 2; 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. vi, 4; Rom. xiii, 4).

tion of providential guidance in the early Church. When the office was about to be instituted, the ground given was that the apostles might be assisted in the distribution of alms to the poor and care for the sick. They were, therefore, the assistants of the apostles in providing for the temporal needs of the societies. At first they were seven in number. They derived their authority from the great commonalty of the Church. The apostles called the whole Church together, pointed out the need, told "the multitude of the disciples" to make their own selection, and "the whole multitude" made choice of Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas.[1] In addition to the care of the poor and the sick, the deacons assisted in the administration of the eucharist and preached as they found occasion. "For," asks Rothe beautifully, "how could such men bury their talent of Christian knowledge and perception and bury in their breasts their impulse to testify of the Redeemer?"[2] The office of deacon was introduced into the Gentile societies of Asia Minor and other countries as the Church expanded. For everywhere there were poor and sick, and there was a prompt recognition of the duty of Christians to provide for them. The prominence of the diaconate in relation to the poor did not cease for a long time, as even Jerome, in the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of them as ministers of the widows and of tables. But with the establishment of hospitals and almshouses this part of their work fell into the background, and they employed themselves in preaching and in the other duties of the pastoral office. This change in the work of the deacon involved no change of office, but the diaconate in the secondary form is that which has taken its permanent place in history and in the constitution of the Church. The diaconate in its original form represents the noblest principle in Christianity—love. The deacons were the constructors of those institutions of relief which have been the glory of religion in all ages. The present time demands a return to the apostolic office of deacon. The Church must take her ancient place as the saviour of the poor. "The deacon must confront the communist along the lanes and hedges."[3]

OFFICE OF THE DEACON.

3. *Deaconesses.*—This was a special office, the duties of which

[1] Acts vi, 5. [2] Anfänge, p. 166.

[3] See Plumptre, and especially Schaff, in Smith, Bib. Dict., Am. ed., s. v.; Stanley, Chr. Institutions, pp. 210, 211, Scribner's ed.; Rothe, Anfänge der ch. Kirche, 163, ff.; Geo. S. Mott, in Presb. Rev., July, 1886; Hackett, Com. on Acts, ed. Hovey (Phila., 1882), pp. 85, 86. Many hold that the diaconate did not grow out of the appointment of the seven (Acts vi), but the view given above is much the more probable.

were to care for the sick, the aged, and the female poor, and to instruct the orphans. There are intimations in the Acts of other duties collateral with these, but they are not specifically defined. Christianity found woman neglected and degraded, and it immediately addressed itself to the sublime work of woman's relief by woman herself. The office of the deaconess arose among the pagan Christians. Among the Jewish Christians the women could be preached to by the apostles and evangelists. But among the pagan Christians woman was the slave, and was excluded from society. Grotius thus states the contrast, and the necessity of the female diaconate in the apostolic times, in order to reach the whole population: "In Judæa the men could minister even to women; for there the access to females was freer than in Greece, where the harem was shut against men."[1] Only lately has the Church begun to approach the apostolic method in reaching the women and children of heathen lands by the employment of women, who combine medical skill with spiritual instruction, and are thus, for the first time, bringing the light of the Gospel into the dark homes of unevangelized lands. This zenana work is constantly assuming larger proportions, and will inevitably be a potent factor in the conversion of all peoples to Christianity.[2]

MODERN RESTORATION OF THE APOSTOLIC DEACONESS.

These were the supervisory and evangelistic agencies with which the Church began its organized mission among men. In appearance they were feeble in the extreme. There was no large wealth with which to endow them or with which to erect stately churches. It is difficult to tell whence came the means by which the Gospel

[1] Com. on Rom. xvi, 1. "In Judæa diaconi viri etiam mulieribus ministrare poterant; erat enim ibi liberior ad fœminas aditus quam in Græcia, ubi viris clausa γυναικωνῖτις."

[2] The best study of the early deaconesses is H. E. Jacobs, The Female Diaconate of the New Testament (Phila., 1892, p. 47). It is still a question whether there was any such office in the apostolic times. Kurtz, Church Hist., last ed., § 17, 4, gives a new interpretation to the classical passage, Rom. xvi, 1, 2. He thinks it refers to the institution of the patron, which was widely prevalent in ancient times. "Freedmen, foreigners, proletarii, could not in themselves hold property, and had no claim on the protection of the laws, but had to be associated as *Clientes*, with a *Patronus* or *Patrona* (προστάτης and προστάτις), who in difficult circumstances would afford them counsel, protection, support, and defense." The Christians found it necessary to avail themselves of this provision. Phœbe is recommended as faithfully acting her part as a patron even of the apostle himself. Kurtz translates Rom. xii, 8, προϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ, "Whoever represents anyone as patron, let him do it with diligence." But even if the office of deaconess did not exist in apostolic times in well-developed form, there must have been women then who performed most of its duties. Jacobs, The Female Diaconate of the New Testament, pp. 17-20, gives a chain of testimony

was promulgated during its first century. There was no disposition to cluster about great cities, though Paul's invariable method was to begin in the centers of population, and thus secure the radiation of the truth into the surrounding country. There was no partiality for localities. The reverence for specially holy places was a sentiment of later origin. The prospect for success was not flattering, if one might judge by the multiform antagonism on every side. Over against Christianity was the solid structure of the complete Roman organization. From the Pillars of Hercules in the West to the Parthian empire in the East, and from the North Sea down to the great African desert, the Roman had extended his perfect civil and military systems. He had been a learner from all ages. He had learned that a system was as good as men, but that with both he could carry his eagles to any far-off tribe or kingdom and annex them to his empire. He had seen other faiths arise on every part of his map, and witnessed their decline. He had seen them in Rome, whither all that was beautiful and grotesque alike drifted, and soon they were to be seen no more. He expected the same decline in the new Judæan religion. Its heralds were in Rome, but they, too, he expected, would soon be gone.

INVISIBLE SOURCES OF EVANGELISM.

There was one thing not known, nor even slightly suspected, by the Roman. He had no knowledge of the spiritual force of Christianity. It was more than a novelty; it was a leaven. No one could measure the power of the new organization, Christianity adjusted to universal conditions, and making ready for permanent triumphs. Its first successes were in the home, and therefore in the individual life. This was a great blank in paganism, which had its palaces, but not a home. The great proof of this pervasive power of systematic labor was in the firmness and silence with which the Christians met persecution. They could not be moved, but died willingly for their faith. Everywhere these individual Christians felt that they were sustained, not merely by a divine power, but by the sympathy and prayer of the Church everywhere. They felt that they were a part of the great organization,

FIRST SUCCESSES OF THE GOSPEL.

of great value in favor of the apostolic institution or development of this institute. Women had a wide and useful sphere in the early Church, though except among the Montanists, and that to Tertullian's great disgust (De Præscrip., chap. xli), their activities never included preaching. The widows of 1 Tim. v, 9, 10, are not to be considered as superannuated deaconesses. Deaconesses are not mentioned in the Didache, a significant fact. See Augusti, Ch. Archæology, ii, p. 8; Bennett, Ch. Archæology, p. 368. The old monograph of Ziegler, De Diaconis et Diaconissis Veteris Ecclesiæ, Wittenb., 1678, is full and satisfactory. So also Schaff, in his Hist. of the Apostolic Church, p. 585.

which had both life and feeling. They knew they were a part of an ecclesiastical body which would live and develop, and be the refuge, in all coming ages, from the storms of the world. The Lord's house was large, and many lived in it, and they were willing, if the alternative was the renunciation of their faith, to exchange it for the New Jerusalem.[1]

We cannot close this discussion of the constitution and organization of the early Church without recognizing the special service of Hatch, who has thrown a flood of new light on this important subject, and caused it to be investigated anew.[2] His conclusions are substantially as follows: HATCH'S IMPORTANT SERVICE.

1. The poverty of the Roman world and the charity of the Church brought it to pass that the function of the distribution of relief exercised a formative influence on the development of the offices of the Church. Taking for granted the persistence of the synagogue organization at certain places at least, and the original parity of elders and bishops, which latter point, as Hatch well says, "has been removed from the list of disputed questions," the prominence of the bishop or president of the body of elders came about by virtue of his position as chief almoner. It was an administrative and financial necessity. Standing next to him was the deacon, his right-hand man in these distributions.

2. The presbyterate was simply a continuation of the Jewish plan. Among Gentile churches the presence of the presbyter is accounted for by two facts: (1) A government by council or committee was almost universal in all the organizations throughout the Roman world. (2) The name of the office by which the members of such council or committee were designated, implied seniority. "Respect for seniority was preached from the first as an element of Christian order" in the Christian communities themselves.

3. In general, the contemporary institutions and associations of the pagan world offered many parallels to the Church organiza-

[1] Our word church has the Lord's house at root—*κυριακή*. Hence, too, the German *kirche*, the Scotch *kirk*, Old Saxon *circ*, Swedish *kyrka*, and Danish *kirke*. Comp. Bunsen, Christianity and Mankind, vol. i, pp. 29, 30.

[2] In the preface to Organization of the Early Christian Church, Lond., 1881, 3d ed., 1888, the author says that, while denying any intention of finally laying down conclusions in a study "which is only in its infancy," that the discussions to which his lectures gave rise have been around subordinate views, and have not disturbed at all his larger and more important propositions. The book was translated into German, with additions, by Professor Harnack, and all recent continental scholars are inclined to attach importance to the forces which the lamented Hatch was the first to bring before the public in a sympathetic, rational, and thorough presentation.

tion, which latter were necessarily more or less copied or adapted from them.

4. The development of Church polity was natural, by the stress of circumstances and historical necessity, and had no relation whatever to any supposed divine prescription.

These views of Hatch can be accepted with safety. While the great point of originality consists in his emphasis on the influence of charity and of secular societies, his whole treatment is most interesting and suggestive, and is illuminated and strengthened by the most abundant learning. Great effort has been made to overturn his position in the interest of the divine right theory of the episcopate, but in the main he has received the approval of the great body of important scholars. Hatch, more than any recent writer, has imparted an immense impulse to the study of the beginnings of Church polity.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOCTRINAL BASIS AND LITERATURE.

THE absence of the incarnate Teacher made necessary the written truth for the doctrinal instruction and guidance of the future Church. This consisted of two departments: the Hebrew Scriptures, already in use in the synagogue and temple service, and the New Testament writings, which were collected into a complete canon in the period immediately succeeding the apostles. The writings of the Old Testament were recognized by Christ and his apostles as a divine revelation. "At the time when Christ was born," says Reuss, "the synagogue had framed the writings of the prophets and some other books, for the most part of more recent origin, into a collection which, added to the five volumes of the law, formed its canon, the sacred source of its doctrines and laws, of its civil and ecclesiastical code. The people were familiarized with its contents, less by means of private study than by the public readings in the weekly assembly of the community."[1]

NECESSITY FOR THE WRITTEN TRUTH.

At the beginning of our Lord's ministry he bore witness to the supernatural character of the Old Testament by reading, at his first priestly exercise in Nazareth, Isaiah's remarkable prophecy of his Messiahship and the benign and sacrificial character of his ministry. In his temptation our Lord resisted the adversary by citing from older Scriptures, while throughout his ministry, in his formal discourses and in his conversations with both his friends and enemies, he frequently made such references to the historical, poetical, and prophetical parts of the Hebrew Scriptures as to prove that he had studied them deeply, that he was so familiar with them as to quote their exact language at will, and that he saw their true fulfillment and solution to be in his own person. In the apostolic writings we observe the same familiarity with the Old Testament, an equal acknowledgment of their inspired character, and as firm a reliance upon it as a basis for the entire scriptural canon of the future. The early Church very naturally grew into as firm a belief in the value of the Old Testa-

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

[1] Hist. of Christian Doctrine in the Apostolic Age, vol. i, pp. 351, 352.

ment Scriptures as a rule of faith as was held by our Lord and his apostles. Nor was there any difference as to the Jewish or pagan Christians. Each class was alike tenacious of the necessity and divine inspiration of the Old Testament.

Very early, however, there was manifested a divine plan to continue the inspired record by further writings, which should contain such truth as described the redemption wrought by Christ, the consequent founding of the Church, and the universal propagation of the Gospel. No sooner had our Lord ascended than he chose men, who had been witnesses of his life, to write minute accounts of his life, each being in a sense independent of the other, and each exhibiting such discrepancies, on minor matters, as would prove the absence of coordinate plan. In addition to the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles was committed to writing. It forms the connecting link between our Lord's ministry and the Church in its settled and assured existence. Then came the epistles of Paul, with their twofold character of doctrinal statement and practical guidance; the general epistles, with their treatment of Christians in their relations to one another; and the Book of Revelation, as an encouragement for the Church and the individual believer, in persecution then, and in sorrow in all coming times. All these writings constituted the New Testament, and were at length acknowledged by the Church to be of divine authority, and designed to form and nurture the faith of the Church during its entire future history.

NECESSITY FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT.

There was no attempt at formulated doctrine. It was not necessary. That is a human and uninspired process which belongs to the later period of diversity and controversy. The words of Jesus and his apostles and evangelists were the sole theological basis for the theology of the first century. As the admonitions of a faithful Christian father comprise the whole round of necessary instruction, and the child is not left to go amiss on any part of its ethical instruction, so the informal teachings of Christ and his apostles embraced the entire cycle of things to be believed and done.

NO FORMULATION OF DOCTRINE.

Moreover, there was no doctrinal trend produced by a school or an individual. The supposed variety of stress and tendency, according to the personality of the teacher, is more a theory than a fact. It is not historically accurate to allege that there were three currents of faith in the Church—the Johannine, with the emphasis on the divine Logos; the Petrine, with its prominence to the human Christ as a type of a holy life; and the Pauline, with its exposition of the divine fullness in Christ. Neither is it correct to allege that Paul

was the teacher of faith, John of love, and Peter of hope.[1] There was no doctrinal bias. Each of those inspired teachers imparted truth, so that it harmoniously blended with the truth declared by all the rest, and in such a way that there was no longer a preponderating individuality in the believer's mind. All the apostles taught faith, hope, and charity. Each did his work, but when the work came to be studied in its separate quality it was found to have united with that of others to form the wonderful harmony of the New Testament. The whole Church had its faith, and that was derived rather from the words of Jesus than from the constructions placed upon them, though inspired, by Paul, or Peter, or John.

ONE UNIVERSAL CURRENT OF FAITH.

The example of the apostles was not supreme. There was beneath it the universal Christian consciousness. "The center of gravity," says Reuss, "of the early Church, and of its spiritual development, did not reside in a few individuals. If the twelve occupied, in consequence of their peculiar relations with the Saviour, a place apart in the midst of this rapidly increasing company of Christians, their influence must still have been counterbalanced by that of others, possessing the advantages they lacked of a systematic and high education. . . . We have no evidence that the apostles exercised over all these men an exclusive ascendency so strong as to mold them at their will; least of all, have we any proof that they possessed from the outset ideas and views more or less unknown to those around them, and by virtue of which they became the leaders of the thought of their age."[2]

REUSS ON THE FAITH OF THE GENERAL CHRISTIAN BODY.

There was, however, all the advantage of a systematic theology, without any of its disadvantages. There was a compactness and a breadth which made that theology of the apostles able at once to reject the overtures of philosophical teachers, and yet to absorb the fruit of the best thought, from whatever quarter, that the age afforded. It was the century of test in doctrinal belief. Had the first two generations of Christian believers failed to discharge their whole duty, first in deriving from the ministry of Christ the wisdom of his doctrine, and the

ADVANTAGE WITH THE FORCE OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

[1] Comp. Kurtz, Handbuch der allg. Kirchengeschichte, vol. i, p. 89 (note); Usteri, Darstellungen d. paulin. Lehrbegriffs (Zurich, 1834); Frohmann, Darstell. d. johan. Lehrbegriffs (Leipz., 1839); Grimm, de Johannea Christologiæ indole Paulinæ comparatæ (Leipz., 1833); Stevens, The Johannine Theology (N. Y., 1894), and The Pauline Theology (N. Y. 1893); Bruce, St. Paul's Conception of Christianity (N. Y., 1894).

[2] Hist. of Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age, p. 241.

spotlessness of his life, and then in transmitting them to the Church of the second century, the onward course of God's kingdom among men would have been arrested, and a new remedial plan for human salvation made necessary. But there was no failure here. The human work, like the divine preceding it, was a complete triumph over the strongest forces of both the Jewish and pagan world.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The Apostles' Creed, so called in the literature of the Church, may have derived some of its parts from brief formularies used by the Church during the first century.[1] In its main statements, however, there is no proof that it existed before the middle of the second century, while in its present full state we do not find that it existed before the sixth or seventh century. Usher and Pearson prove clearly that the article on the descent into hell was not used for four centuries, except in the single obscure creed of Aquileia. Cyril, Rufinus, and Augustine are witnesses that its use was to be a guide for catechists in training the young, and all who were admitted into the Church, in a knowledge of the fundamental Christian doctrines.[2] It was used for a long time in the Greek section of the Church in the city of Rome, and in its present form is to be traced to Gaul.

OTHER FORMULARIES.

There are traces of brief formularies in the New Testament writings, such as in our Lord's command to his disciples to baptize in the name of the Trinity,[3] and possibly, in Paul's command to Timothy: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith, and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which

[1] As a specimen of the puerile attempts to prove that the apostles produced the creed bearing their name, and that each had a part in it, we may cite the following: "Peter said, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty.' John, 'Maker of heaven and earth.' James, 'And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord.' Andrew added, 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.' Philip said, 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.' Thomas, 'He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead.' Bartholomew, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.' Matthew, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' James, the son of Alphæus, added, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.' Simon Zelotes, 'The communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins.' Jude, the brother of James, 'The resurrection of the body.' Matthias, 'Life Everlasting. Amen.'" From pseudo-Augustinian sermons in Augustine (Bened. ed.), vol. v, Append., p. 395. This worthless tradition is first mentioned by Ambrose and Rufinus, and is still received by some Roman Catholic scholars as, *e. g.*, Abbé Martigny in his Dict. des Ch. Antiq., sub Symbole des Apôtres. It was first refuted by Laurentius Valla, the founder of historical criticism, and by Erasmus.

[2] Cyril, Catechesis; Rufinus, de Symbolo; Augustine, Serm. i, ad Catechum.

[3] Matt. xxviii, 19.

was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us."[1] Several writers of the early centuries, such as Jerome and Peter Chrysologus, state that symbols were employed by the apostles, but that they were not recorded by them.[2] Nothing was more natural than that there should be terse formularies, or watchwords, of faith in the individual churches, and that these might vary, according to the locality and the minister.[3] Later, when controversy arose, and the necessity of a common bond of belief became apparent, the Apostles' Creed took shape, and was widely, though not universally, used.[4]

Theology, which is the human construction of the divine word, was in process of development during this period. The gospels contained a statement of facts. Yet each had his right, as a believer, to draw his conclusions as to the fact itself. We have, for example, several important declarations of our Lord on the sanctity of the Sabbath. But neither he, nor any evangelist, nor Paul lays down a formal statement of the doctrine itself. The result was that the Church began early to think upon it and reach formulated conclusions on it as an article for the belief of its members. The same liberty was granted the mind of the Church in relation to the person of Christ. It was never designed that the believer should not investigate this profound theme and do what lay within his power to expound the doctrine in the briefest and clearest possible terms. There was nothing in the gospels that did not require an explanation. There were the great themes

DEVELOPMENT OF THEOLOGY.

[1] 2 Tim. i, 13, 14.

[2] Jerome says: "In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus." Ep. ad Psammachium adv. err. Johan. Hieros. chap. ix. Peter Chrysologus states this: "Hæc fides, hoc sacramentum, non est committendum chartis, non scribendum literis." Serm. 57, in Symb. Apost.

[3] Σύμβολον means watchword. Its origin, as applied to a creed, is doubtful, some holding that it is from military language; others, that it is a sign of recognition among the pagans in relation to their mysteries. In either case it means the same thing—a word, or collection of words, indicating a test. Other words of substantially the same force are, canon, regula fidei, Μάθημα, Γράμμα, Γραφή. Comp. Bingham, Works, vol. iii, pp. 318–323.

[4] The best book on the Apostles' Creed is the epoch-making work of Caspari, Geschichte des Taufsymbols, Christiania, 1866–79, four parts. The dogmatic significance has been reinvestigated by Harnack in his Hist. of Dogma and special works, but under an anticonservative reaction. Against him see Swete, The Apostles' Creed, Lond., 1894. Comp. McGiffert in Chr. Literature (magazine), Nov., 1894, p. 44. See also Lumby, Hist. of the Creeds, 3d ed., Lond., 1887, and Swainson, The Nicene and the Apostles' Creed, Lond., 1875, and his article on Creed in Smith and Wace, Dict. of Chr. Biog., etc. The older work of Heurtley, Harmonia Symbolica, Oxf., 1858, is still of value.

which were to test not only the faith of the Church, at that early day, but that sublime energy in thought which is needed at all times for a candid inquiry into the truth necessary for salvation.[1]

One cannot contemplate without admiration these first efforts of Christian thinkers to group and formulate into theological statement the fundamental truths of their faith. They were wrestling with principalities. The literature of the world was against them. When summoned to expound their doctrines they had the difficulty of explaining miracles and a divine character. Yet they did not fear, but addressed themselves to their work with an energy which has not been surpassed at any later period.

FIRST EFFORTS TO FORMULATE THEOLOGY.

But the thinkers were not a privileged class, recognized by the Church as having the right to dictate a theology for the average member. Thinking on the great themes of revealed truth was the privilege of all. "It was not regarded," says Reuss, "as the peculiar study or special privilege of any one class of Christians. As soon as reflection, aroused by personal experience or by the conflict of opinions, had begun to grasp the meaning of religious facts, all the members of the community, without distinction of origin, might take part in this intellectual labor, the full bearing and consequences of which were not as yet apprehended. . . . The power of the ideas contained in the Gospel was such that from the moment circumstances had broken through the trammels that at first fettered their development their volcanic force produced its natural effect in the world of thought, just as every healthy and vigorous plant starts into new growth and beauty when the spring sunshine sets the sap in motion and bursts the blossom-sheath."[2]

POPULAR THOUGHT ON THEOLOGICAL THEMES.

The sacred canon was not closed, and the apostles had not yet departed, before the appearance of the hostile literary forces of Judaism on the one hand and paganism on the other. The recognition of this antagonistic factor by some of the apostles has proved a help to the Church amid similar opposition down to the present time. John's gospel, written in large measure to repel the false gnosis, is the one book

APOLOGETIC CHARACTER OF JOHN'S GOSPEL.

[1] Reuss shows how the death on the cross was capable of developing thought. The disciples, in answering the Jews, "found themselves constrained so to explain his death that it should not compromise his Messianic dignity." Hist. Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age, p. 293. On the Messianic thought of the gospels the best book is Briggs, The Messiah of the Gospels (N. Y., 1895), a work remarkable for its scholarship and the spiritual power of its interpretation.

[2] Hist. Christ. Theol. in the Apost. Age, p. 294.

to which appeal must ever be made for a triumphant proof of the divinity of our Lord, while Paul, who foresaw that "grievous wolves"[1] would appear among his flocks, was permitted to point out the best methods to control their ravages, as he does in his epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, Titus, and Timothy, not only for his own days, but for the Church of the future. That the apostolic age possessed an inspired counteraction of the errors from every quarter is one of the most beautiful evidences of divine prevision and guidance. This was a need of the Church. Its mind required to be clear in faith, and to go out upon its long mission with a positive confession of the vital truth which had been committed to it. The continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine was no Pentecostal spasm, but became a law of the Church's life and the condition of its success. Is it a matter of surprise that, having this rich endowment, it was prepared for the social proscription and physical sufferings which now confronted it? Even martyrdom was no hard trial, but was the welcome crown to an experience based upon the calm and certain faith in Christ.

[1] Acts xx, 29, 30.

CHAPTER IX.

WORSHIP AND LIFE.

THE first worship of the Christians was a free imitation of the service of the Jewish synagogue. It was severely simple and earnest. At the beginning the place of meeting was the temple itself, or some hall connected with it. There was no thought, at this time, of separate edifices for worship alone, and there are few traces of churches having been built before the third century. The poverty of the Christians was not favorable to such structures, and their necessity led them to that close fellowship and social sympathy which proved an invaluable help in their sufferings. As the chasm between Christianity and Judaism widened, the attachment of believers to the temple diminished, and in time all their services were held in private houses. All parts of that close resemblance between the Christian and Jewish worship among the Jewish Christians disappeared with the destruction of the temple, A. D. 70. It was the sundering of the last bond which held Christianity to Judaism. One room in the private house served the purpose of a sanctuary, and assumed somewhat the appearance of a place of worship A cathedra, or platform, served for the speaker or reader, while a table (*ara*) was placed for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.[1]

SIMPLICITY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

The services consisted, first, of reading from the Old Testament Scriptures, the apostolical epistles, and, latest of all, of the gospels. The selections were lengthy, and of such character as to supply the want of the average hearer, who was not possessed of a manuscript copy of the Scriptures, and could not even read. Connected with the reading were both exposition and exhortation, according to the will of the speaker.

FORM OF WORSHIP.

The singing of psalms and hymns was an important part of the service. It might be led by an individual, but Paul's advice proves that the singing by the whole congregation was regarded as the best form of praise.[2] The psalms of David, the antiphonal portions of the prophecies, and, indeed, all those parts of the Old Testament which have rhythmic character and express the deeper flow of the

[1] Comp. Guericke, Church History, vol. i, p. 188.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv, 26; Col. iii, 16.

soul, were sung at these early meetings of believers. We cannot suppose, however, that the hymns were confined to the Scriptures. Even then Christians began to give expression to their loftier feelings in verse, and some of their better productions, such as those inscribed to Christ, reached the congregation, became the possession of the whole Church, and produced a profound impression on the world.[1] With the hymns, as with the confessions of faith, while their exact forms have not been preserved, their spirit and thought have reached us, so that, while singing the rich melodies of the older hymns, we are expressing the same sentiments as the Christians of the first century.[2] The most ancient liturgical formulary which has reached us is that inserted into the Abyssinian text of the Apostolical Constitutions of the Coptic Church. But even this gives evidence of the disturbance of the early simplicity of sacred verse and melody by that unnecessary critic of every age, the vandal hymn-mender, who is, generally, as destitute of the poetical quality as the literary critic is of the gift of original authorship. It is not unlikely that sentences like 1 Tim. iii, 16 and 2 Tim. ii, 11–13 are fragments of early Christian hymns.[3] PSALMS AND HYMNS.

Prayer was connected with the singing. Sometimes it was silent, but more generally it was audible, and while it was most frequently offered by the minister there was not, as yet, a necessity which kept the private layman from leading the petitions of the assembly. In fact, freedom of testimony was characteristic of the Christian meetings, as it had been of the Jewish. When the prayer was concluded the congregation responded "Amen." The concluding exercise was the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Originally, the ἀγάπη, or love feast, was connected with the Lord's Supper. It was the Christian meal of the earliest period, partaken together, as a token of the brotherhood of all believers. Food was brought by the more able members, and this was distributed so that the poor had equal privilege of participation with the rest. But certain irregularities took place in connection with the love feast. It was abused, and in some cases converted into an occa- THE LORD'S SUPPER.

[1] Witness Pliny's testimony to the singing of the Christians: "Carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere secum invicem." Epp. Lib. x, Ep. 97.

[2] For the oldest forms of the Christian hymns see Bunsen, an enthusiastic student of liturgical history, Christianity and Mankind, vol. ii, pp. 50, ff. Comp., on later oriental liturgies, Neale, Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church, vol. i, pp. 314, ff. The best work on early hymnology is the great work of Daniel, Thesaur. Hymnolog., 4 vols. (Leipz., 1855). Comp. the excellent book of Duffield, Latin Hymns (N. Y., 1889); Pitra, Hymn. de l'Eglise Grecque (Rome, 1867).

[3] Westcott and Hort, the editors of the best text of the Greek Testament, arrange these and other passages in poetic form.

sion of gluttony and disorder. It was, consequently, separated at a later day, about A. D. 150, from all connection with the Lord's Supper. After the exercises were finished the kiss of charity, or brotherhood, was given (*φίλημα ἀγάπης*), and, prayer being again offered, and the congregation responding "Amen," the services were concluded with the apostolic benediction. These services were held at first daily, then weekly.

BAPTISM.

Besides the Lord's Supper there was only one other sacrament, baptism, known to the apostolic Church. While the former was a part of every service, baptism was occasional, and dependent on the requirements for admission. After the council at Jerusalem, which abrogated the Jewish ceremonial as a necessity for admission into membership of the Church, baptism was regarded by all Christians, the Greek and Roman, not less than Jewish, as the only visible condition for reception into the Christian fold. Baptism was practiced by immersion, or sprinkling, or pouring, and we have ample ground from the Scriptures for believing that it was applied to children as well as adults.[1]

MODE OF BAPTISM.

The evidence for infant baptism in the apostolic Church rests on the historic presuppositions of Jewish customs and on that principle of Christianity which involves the union of children with Christ rather than on any certain recorded examples. It is not excluded by the New Testament, and is in entire accord with the spirit and teachings of the Gospel, if not, indeed, required by its spirit and teachings. It is traced in the writings of Irenæus, and others of the Fathers, to a time so near the apostles that it is impossible to account for its origin and wide prevalence in the Church, except by regarding it as having the sanction of apostolic practice. Tertullian opposed it on speculative grounds, but not as an innovation. That immersion was one of the modes of baptism practiced in the primitive Church is generally conceded by exegetes and ecclesiastical historians, but not to the exclusion of other modes.[2] That pouring and sprinkling were practiced is shown by the most ancient frescoes, and also by the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.[3] The methods of administration in the early Church do not necessarily bind later Christians.[4] The formula of baptism, in the name of the Father,

[1] Acts ii, 39; xvi, 33; 1 Cor. vii, 14.

[2] Moeller, Hist. of Chr. Church, trans. by Rutherford, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, p. 70.

[3] Chapter vii.

[4] See Smyth, Baptism in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and in Early Chr. Art, in Andover Review, i, 583, 663, and, on the Baptist side, Burrage, Hist. of the Act of Baptism in the Chr. Church, Phila., 1879. See below, pp. 291-2.

the Son, and the Holy Ghost, was observed from the beginning of the apostolic Church.

The Romish enlargement of the number of the sacraments, beyond the Lord's Supper and baptism, has no authority in the prescriptions of Christ or the usage of the early Church.[1] The Sabbath, or seventh day, was still observed by Jewish Christians, but the Sunday, or first day of the week, was also religiously observed, in memory of the resurrection of Jesus. Gradually the Sunday became more prominent, and finally the seventh day gave place altogether to the first. The many festivals of the Jewish Church were regarded with reverence by the Jewish Christians, and the stress laid upon them by that element in the Church led Paul to express himself very fully against a too rigid observance of them. Easter and Pentecost, however, were no less important events in Christian than in Jewish history, and there is every reason to believe that two such events as the resurrection of Christ and the outpouring of the Spirit were, from an early time, held in special remembrance as sacred seasons by the Christians.[2]

THE SABBATH AND SUNDAY.

The life of the Christians, like their worship, was simple, pure, and fraternal. It was the outflow of their heroic faith. The obliteration of social and national differences was powerful and complete. Whenever either the Jew or the Greek became a Christian he was received into the fold of believers with such a welcome as made him feel that he was a member of a great community of believers. His nationality was forgotten in the broader commonwealth of brothers in Christ. "These Christians," says Bunsen, "belonged to no nation and to no State; but their fatherland in heaven was to them a reality, and the love of the brethren, in truth and not in words, made the Christian congregation the foreshadowing of a Christian commonwealth, and model for all ages to come."[3] One of the first evidences of this fraternal sense is to be found in the help which was extended to the needy. The poor in Jerusalem, for whom Paul collected contributions from the Greek Christians in Asia Minor, were only the first to receive the benefit of this early tender sympathy of the strong for the weak. Beneficence became the law, and not the impulse of a generous hour, which entered into the whole life of the early Church. No needy society was forgotten in its silent sorrow,

FRATERNITY OF CHRISTIANS.

[1] The Protestant view of the number of the sacraments has received new confirmation in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

[2] It is likely that the observance of these festivals grew up in the second, or, more likely, in the third, century.

[3] Christianity and Mankind, vol. i, p. 6.

whether of mere poverty or unsparing persecution. The eager notice and active help of the strong radiated as sunbeams to dispense their warmth.

The Christians, in this respect, contrasted beautifully with the desperate and cold conduct of pagans toward their needy brothers in faith. During the pestilence which raged throughout North Africa in the reign of Gallus, A. D. 251–253, the sacrifices made by Christians revealed the width of the chasm between their faith and paganism. For, while the pagans deserted their sick and dying, and stripped their bodies of what might be valuable, and saw, unmoved, the streets of Carthage filled with the bodies of the dead, the wealthier Christians divided their means, and the poor gave their labor, so that the streets were soon cleared of the decomposing bodies, and the sick were cared for with great tenderness and devotion.[1] When the plague visited Alexandria, in the reign of Gallienus, A. D. 260–268, the pagans drove their friends, when stricken by the contagion, from their presence, cast the half-dead into the streets, and refused to bury the dead; while the Christians took the diseased to their homes, nursed them with care, and, if the sufferers died, their bodies were buried with Christian rites.[2] Sometimes it might be a question as to the propriety of a benefaction. But the grave need soon overcame all questions of relative importance. For example, when some Numidian Christians were led off into captivity the churches of North Africa soon raised enough money (one hundred thousand sesterces) to cover the ransom demanded for their restoration.[3] Neither the faith nor the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans came to aid that universal physical suffering which seemed to be one of the leading characteristics of the decline of the Roman empire.[4]

CONTRAST WITH THE INHUMANITY OF PAGANISM.

The way in which the Church began to lift woman up into privilege and hope was one of its most prompt and beautiful transformations from the blight of paganism. Too long in the darkness, she was now helped into the sunlight. There was much, even in the origin of Christianity, to suggest her true place in life and religion. Elizabeth, Anna, and, most of all, Mary the mother of Jesus, be-

[1] Comp. Neander, Gen. Hist. Christ. Rel. and Church, vol. i, pp. 258, 259.

[2] Eusebius, Ch. Hist., book vii, chap. xxii.

[3] Cyprian, Ep. 60. Sestertia centum millia nummorum. About $4,500.

[4] Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege, pp. 2–6. See Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1870, pp. 617–619, and the valuable article in the Quarterly Review (Lond.), Jan., 1883. The whole subject is canvassed *in extenso* in Chastel, Charity of the Primitive Churches, Phila., 1857, and Uhlhorn, Christian Charity in the Ancient Church, N. Y., 1883.

came early witnesses of the new emphasis on the dignity and worth of woman, while the women of whom Paul makes mention in his epistles were not only highly appreciated for their works' sake, but became exemplars for earnestness and devotion in the spread of the Gospel, and for a quick and wise appreciation of the best plans for its expansion over the earth. Without her helping hand Christianity, in its initial as well as all its later stages, would have been limited by a narrow horizon. By her devotion in peace, her heroism in persecution, and her fortitude at all times, woman early won that high place in the respect and veneration of the Church which she has preserved in every period of later history.[1]

ELEVATION OF WOMAN.

The way in which Christianity applied its humane spirit to the slave is not less a proof of its promptness to minister to the needy. Paul said, "There is neither bond nor free."[2] Christians constituted a universal brotherhood. The slave was not a slave, but a brother with his master.[3] Paul's appeal to Philemon, to show kindness to the slave Onesimus, and receive him back again, is a clear indication of the view with which Christians of this whole period regarded slaves, as brothers beloved in the Lord.[4] At the same time obedience was urged upon the slave, and no attempt was made to interfere with existing institutions. As Biot well says,[5] no writer for three hundred years ever spoke of Christianity as doing away with slavery. For emancipation the Gospel acted directly on the heart, only indirectly on legislation.[6]

HOSTILITY OF CHRISTIANITY TO SLAVERY.

The triumph of Christianity was in the whole structure of social life. The pagan civilization, according to its own witnesses, was a whited sepulcher. With all its beautiful exterior of poetic and philosophic achievement, its triumphs in oratory and art, and its military deeds, there was still lacking that conservative principle which was needful for the life of the nation and the moral dignity of society. The Christianity of the earliest period supplied this need. While

TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL LIFE.

[1] See The Position of Women Among the Early Christians, by Principal Donaldson, in The Contemp. Rev., Sept., 1889, Mag. of Chr. Lit., Nov., 1889. He shows the restricted sphere accorded to women in the early Church.

[2] Gal. iii, 28. [3] Ratzinger, Geschichte der Armenpflege, p. 86.

[4] Philem., verses 15–19.

[5] L'abolition de l'esclavage dans l'Occident, p. 126.

[6] In Cochin, L'abolition de l'esclavage, Paris, 1862, vol. ii, pp. 348–470, there is an able treatment of the relation of Christianity and slavery. See also Schaff, Hist. of the Apostolic Church, § 113, and his Essay on Slavery and the Bible in his Christ and Christianity, N.Y., 1885, pp. 184–212. There are excellent remarks in Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, pp. 163, ff.

it began with the poor and the home, it did not confine itself here. This was a current of too much force to find an early limit. It gave promise of transmuting the whole life of the people, in all parts of the Roman empire. "This world-renewing spirit," says Bunsen, "could not stop short with the family relations; its work became social, in spite of aristocratic pride, of mammon and State law, of philosophers and national economists. . . . Each member of the congregation was bound to assist every other, as a brother; and the congregations all over the earth were to feel themselves united by the Spirit as one body of redeemed men, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians." [1]

ALARM PRODUCED IN THE PAGAN GOVERNMENT BY REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY.

It should not surprise us that a system of such revolutionary character should very early be regarded as antagonistic to the State. It was of just such nature, by the very atmosphere that surrounded the places of worship and existed in all Christian circles, as to excite alarm, not only that the national faith was in danger, but also the life as well. Nero found many to believe him that the Christians had set Rome on fire. It was one of the pagan watchwords that the Christians are traitors to the national cause. While such a charge, in the sense in which it was made, had no foundation, the fact does remain that an empire, based on such perversion as that of Rome, could not live in the presence of Christianity. Therefore the Roman empire and the pagan faith went down at the same time in a common abyss before the Gospel —the evangel of the free mind and the pure heart.

[1] Christianity and Mankind, vol. i, p. 49. Charles Loring Brace has treated this whole subject in an illuminating and satisfactory manner in Gesta Christi (N. Y., 4th ed., 1885, chap. i–x).

SECOND PERIOD.

THE PATRISTIC AGE.

A. D. 101–313. PERIOD OF PERSECUTION AND DEFENSE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY.

THIS, more than any time in the history of the Church, was the period of persecution and defense. These two forces ran in parallel lines from the death of John to Constantine's Edict of Toleration in the year 313. However severe and violent the attempts to arrest Christianity, heroism and skill were never wanting in meeting them. Even before the death of the apostles there was a strong disposition on the part of the great outlying world to destroy the new religion, but there was no indication that the persecution would become general and a part of the settled public policy of the Roman empire. While there had been an intense hostility toward the founders of the societies it was, nevertheless, a question whether, they having disappeared, there would be the same antagonism toward the great body of later believers.

PERSECUTION AND DEFENSE.

No long period elapsed before this question was settled. The patristic age was more violent in its dealing with the Christians than the apostolic. What, in the latter case, was sporadic, became general in the former. It is very easy to account for this result. The initiatory persecutions had failed of securing the desired object. Christianity, instead of being eradicated, or driven into obscurity, had spread far and wide, so that it was difficult to find any department of life, or any region of Roman territory, where there were not Christians in abundance. They were to be found in every social stratum. Before the middle of the second century the universal increase was so rapid as to become a subject of alarm. The Christians had penetrated the distant colonies and the conquered territory; they were abundant

UNIVERSAL INCREASE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

in the army, and in many instances filled important civil offices.[1] It was this remarkable growth, not only by natural increase, but by rapid accessions from the Jewish and pagan population, that led the rulers to consider seriously the question whether Christianity should be exterminated by violent measures, or be allowed to expand with its usual rapidity, and become a rival to the old faith, and possibly possess itself of the government.

Persecution was adopted as the wiser and safer course. It was not simply an indifference to humane impulses, a culmination of centuries of brutal and voluptuous associations, that led the most of the emperors to persecute the Christians, but rather a persistent effort to preserve the national faith and make any civil prominence of the Christians an impossibility. There was less of wild and hostile impulse than of deep-seated purpose in all the persecutions. Some have supposed that certain of the rulers were so favorable to Christianity as, secretly, to wish it final success. We can find no warrant for such a pleasing and charitable opinion. The emperors exhibited the usual variety in temperament and mental qualities, some being impulsive and others cautious; some, like Nero, heartless, and others, like Aurelius, more appreciative of good wherever found. But the general position of the empire toward Christianity was that of intense hostility, modified only by the individuality of the ruler, the character of his environment at court, the external condition of the empire, and the firmer hold of Christianity in the centers and its diffusion in the provinces.

PERSECUTION A FIRM PURPOSE.

There is some truth, but far more exaggeration, in Conybeare's explanation of the persecutions, when he says that the first Christians were nihilists and anarchists; that their tendencies were thoroughly antisocial; that they rejected family ties and interfered with family relations; that they were communists; that they elevated the anticivic vice of improvidence and poverty into a virtue; that their rites were secret; that early Christianity was, in short, subversive of society.[2]

CONYBEARE'S EXAGGERATION.

These positions are far wide of the mark. For the Christians were uniformly obedient to the laws, except in the matter of idolatry; they mingled freely with the pagans in the ordinary work of life; they were industrious and virtuous; there is no single instance of a communistic Church except that at Jeru-

[1] See Plummer, The Church of the Early Fathers, Lond. and N. Y., 1887, pp. 3–6.

[2] Collection of Armenian Acts of the Martyrs. The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity, Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 288–288.

salem, which, it is evident, soon abandoned this feature of its life; they honored the family relation, but held that it should be subordinated to higher claims. Some of the Christians accumulated wealth and others were in the court of Cæsar himself.[1]

The Christians could resist only with moral and spiritual forces. They had no civil ruler to whom they might go for sympathy, or on whom they might lean for aid in the hour of need. They could not draw the sword if they would; and they would not if they could. They could be banished, and yet, in their solitude, they found means to write some of those strong and nervous defenses of Christianity which have never been superseded as models of defensive logic and of aggressive literary warfare. They had breathing spells between the violence of persecutions, especially when the rulers were otherwise engaged, as in making war upon other powers or quelling a revolution, and during these pauses they divided their time between industrious evangelistic work and framing skillful apologies for the faith. It is a high testimony to the intellectual vigor of that age that there was not a weakness of paganism, a fallacy of its thinkers, a moral defect of its popular religion, or a civil wrong inflicted by its rulers upon Christianity, that was not exposed by these apologists. They had been converted from paganism. They had learned it at home from their parents and in the schools. They had been taught rhetoric and other broad studies by wise masters, and now, as with Paul before them, they came with this wealth of culture and laid it at the feet of Christ. It was paganism lifting its sword against itself.

THE APOLOGISTS.

Out of this attack and resistance came a certain speculative tendency. At no time has there been such a complete breaking up of the old forms of thought as in the second and third centuries. Outside of the Christian world there was no certainty, and the theosophic speculations from the East were obtruding themselves even upon Rome and other centers, and so mingling with the current paganism that the mass was a hopeless confusion of worn-out and despairing beliefs. There was neither color nor fiber in any non-Christian religion. The old pagan identity was destroyed. All the world's faiths flocked to Rome for a hearing, a footing, and a new sway in the West. It was their fate to find only a graveyard. The speculations were, in some cases, originated by pagan thinkers, who thought they could see some points of affinity between Christianity and the old polytheism, and undertook to achieve the impossibility of a compromise. Hence gnosticism,

SPECULATIVE TENDENCY.

[1] As against Conybeare, see the juster estimate of the causes of the persecutions in Neander, i, 86–93, and Schaff, rev. ed., ii, 40–44.

the last effort of the pagan mind to solve the mysteries of being, and this only by assimilating Christian elements, was a more complete failure than any one of the systems of Greek philosophy. Ebionism, too, with its large measure of Jewish speculations, was destined to a similar fate. Thus the speculative task of paganism on the one hand, and of Judaism on the other, was incapable of fulfillment. It was a final dash in the dark for escape, and it met only the granite wall. It was, in both cases, an attempt at rehabilitation by the infusion of Christian elements, or an accommodation to the spirit of the age. The failure was certain and prompt; for Christianity consents to no compromise and admits no rival to its fellowship.

Every destructive agency of Nature in her wildest moods was charged upon the Christians. The ills of every land were laid at their door. In Africa it was a proverb: "It does not rain; lead us against the Christians." Tertullian declared in his Apology: "When the Tiber reaches the city walls, when the Nile does not overflow, when famine or pestilence prevail in a land, the cry is heard, 'Cast the Christians to the lions.'"[1]

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN SPITE OF OPPOSITION.

But in spite of all this opposition, the Church grew steadily in numbers and firmness. This same Tertullian could also say: "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are only a lure to this sect. Our number increases the more you destroy us. The blood of the Christians is their seed. . . . We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only. You count your armies, but our numbers in a single province will be greater."[2] "Many," says Pliny, "of every age, every rank, and also of both sexes, are called into danger, and are likely to be so; and not only through the cities, but even through the villages and rural districts, the contagion of that superstition has spread."[3]

[1] Apol., chap. xl. [2] *Ibid.*, chap. xxxvii. [3] Letter to Trajan, about A. D. 112.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION—THE JEWISH PERSECUTION.

THE death of Christ did not appease the wrath of the Jews. They soon saw that his passion was far from being the termination of his work. The disciples showed no disposition to forget their allegiance and disband, while the result of the preaching of Peter at Pentecost was such a large accession of numbers that the cause began, on that day, a new career of work and growth. Forcible measures were adopted. Stephen, the deacon, was put to death, and Peter and John were cast into prison. The persecution under Herod Agrippa I, which began A. D. 44, was general, and continued eight years. James the Elder became a victim to it. There were several elements that entered into it and made it the more violent. One was the fact that, in the Roman empire generally, and particularly in the capital, the Jews saw that Christianity was confounded with Judaism, and that it was judged as a Jewish phenomenon.

PERSECUTION UNDER HEROD AGRIPPA I.

In far-off Rome the Jews and Christians were confounded, in the popular mind, as sects of equal absurdity. Nero's persecution was directed to both alike. There were no finespun distinctions. Both Jew and Christian had their cradle in despised Palestine, a rebellious province, and both were regarded as alike unworthy a place in the Roman Pantheon. This was very humiliating to the Jews. They had repudiated Christianity, and while it arose in their country and from among their people, they did not wish to be held accountable for a system whose Founder they had crucified and whose nearest friends they had put to death.

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN ROME.

But a still deeper ground of hostility lay in the belief that Christianity was in large measure responsible for their national overthrow. There was not a single Jewish sect that had not ground for seeing in Christianity an uncompromising enemy. The Pharisees remembered that Christ had declared against their hypocrisy and formality, and had insulted their national prejudice by attentions to the Samaritans. The Sadducees had not forgotten that Christ had exposed their unbelief in a future and spiritual world. In their numerous revolts no

CHRISTIANS REGARDED BY THE JEWS AS DISLOYAL.

sooner did the Jews enjoy a temporary success than they employed violent measures against the Christians, putting them to death often with slow tortures. During the interval between the death of Christ and the year 70 much of the persecution of the Christians in Rome and the adjacent provinces was due to the instigation of the Jews in Palestine, who sent messengers to the capital, and to the centers of proconsular authority, to give warning to both Jews and pagans against the Christians as enemies to the cult and civil polity of the empire. Toward the martyrdom of Polycarp the Jews contributed their full share.[1] This peculiar procedure, or method of epistolary warning accounts in no small measure for the hostile measures which greeted Paul everywhere on his arrival in the cities of Asia Minor and Greece.

CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS A. D. 70.

But the Jewish hostility to Christianity reached its culmination in A. D. 70, when Jerusalem was captured by the Roman army under Titus. This event was the destruction of the Jews as a nationality. Their despair on seeing the Roman army in possession of their sacred city, and especially of their temple, both of which were destroyed, so far exceeded all bounds that many cast themselves down headlong, and put themselves to death in other ways, sooner than witness the profanation of their sacred places. According to Josephus one million and one hundred thousand Jews lost their lives during the siege, while ninety-seven thousand were led off into captivity. The Christians fled to Pella, east of the Jordan, where they were in comparative safety. Not only was no mercy shown to the Christians by the Jews during the four years that elapsed between the Jewish victory over the Roman army, under the command of Cestius Gallus, and the destruction of Jerusalem, but in the time of final overthrow their rage against the Christians was even more violent than against the Romans.

BAR COCHEBA'S REVOLT AGAINST ROMAN SUPREMACY.

While the political power of the Jews was broken by the conquest of Palestine and the destruction of Jerusalem one more attempt at restoration was made by them. Bar Cocheba, the pseudo-Messiah, led a revolt against the Roman supremacy in the year 132, and was successful for three years. He was a man of great energy and of magnetic spirit, and, combining the religious and military elements, possessed a double charm for the desponding Jews. Suddenly

[1] Eusebius, Ecc. Hist., iv, 15; *μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἔθος αὐτῶν, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων.* We may believe, with Renan and Ewald, that the Jews instigated the persecution under Nero. Tertullian calls the synagogues of the Jews "fountains of persecution" (Scorp., chap. 10).

emerging from obscurity, trained as a robber chieftain, and with no mercy or remorse in his character, he carried destruction wherever he went. His original name was Simon, but he called himself Bar Cocheba, son of a star, or the long-promised Messiah, the Star out of Jacob.[1] He gained possession of Jerusalem and the entire country. The Christians took no part in his revolution, and their refusal was made the pretext by him and his followers for violent persecution. His movements were quick and well planned. His strategy and courage, with a devoted army of two hundred thousand Jews at his command, were more than a match for the Roman army under Annius Rufus.

This revolt soon became known at Rome, and Julius Severus was called home from Britain and put in charge of the Roman forces in Judea. He caused Bar Cocheba to concentrate his forces, and defeated him at Bethar, in 135, after a strong and successful revolution of three years. Such of the Jews as were not slaughtered were sold into slavery. Bar Cocheba perished with his army, and ever afterward became known to the world as Bar Kosiba, the Son of a Lie.[2] The condition of the country, often plowed by war, had never been so desolate as now. It is estimated that fifty fortified cities, besides hundreds of towns, were destroyed, and seven hundred thousand people fell victims to the sword and famine. While it was not permitted a Jew to come within sight of Jerusalem on penalty of death, every effort was made to destroy all traces of Christianity in that city. The Emperor Hadrian ordered the organization and settlement of a Roman colony on its ruins, to which he gave the name of the Ælian Capitol (Ælia Capitolina), in honor of his own family. He rebuilt the city, but left Mount Zion out of its limits, and extended the new streets to the north and east of the former site. He leveled Mount Moriah, the former site of the temple, and ornamented it with trees and statues of himself; he erected a temple to Venus on Mount Calvary, and placed a statue of Jupiter on the supposed spot of the sepulcher. This studious sacrilege of places dear to the Christians was especially gratifying to the Jews, who regarded it as no small compensation for their own humiliation and even their loss of nationality.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT BY JULIUS SEVERUS.

The Jews were now hopelessly prostrated. They had risen in revolt against their Roman masters in Palestine and were conquered

[1] Num. xxiv, 17.

[2] Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, pp. 70, ff; Milman, Hist. of the Jews, ii, 433–442; Ewald, Geschichte d. Volks Israel, vii, 373–432; Schürer, Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, 350, ff.

and almost the remnant of the population destroyed. In other countries they had thrown off the Roman yoke for a time, and wherever they succeeded for even a brief space they directed their hostility at once against the Christians. Besides the revolutions in Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt proper, two hundred and twenty thousand fell victims to their rage in the Cyrenaica, and two hundred and forty thousand of the people of Cyprus.[1] Many of these were Christians, and always they were the first on whom the Jewish vengeance fell.

PROSTRATION OF THE JEWS.

But all the revolutions failed. The Jew was prostrate and helpless, and even his hostility to the Christian did not help his cause with the Roman. So abject was his condition and hopeless his fate that he became an object of even poetic attention.[2] One thing only was left him. He could seek to gain by letters what he had lost in arms. Even after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in 70, we find the first movement in this direction. Only a small remnant of the people was left after the sack of Jerusalem and the slaughter of the people; but with that marvelous vitality which has always characterized the Jews they again organized, distributed themselves judiciously, turned their attention toward the study of the sacred law, and applied it especially against Christianity. The elder Disraeli thus describes this new impulse: "Judaism found its last asylum in its academies. A conquered nation changed their military leaders into rabbins, and their hosts into armies of pale-cheeked students covered with the dust of the schools." The love of retired study had never been wanting, for in the days of the judges we read of Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, Rama, and Mount Carmel as places where students congregated in great numbers and sat at the feet of wise teachers of the law.[3] Even before the captivity these schools were neglected, but after the return they were to some extent revived. It was only after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus that the Jewish mind was thoroughly directed toward their restoration, as if in the calm *beth midrash*, or house of exposition, the fire might be kept alive which in the time to come might burst forth into national revival and glory.

THE NEW JEWISH IMPULSE TO STUDY.

[1] Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, p. 68.

[2] Juvenal, living in Hadrian's time, writes:

"Cophino foenoque relicto,
Arcanam Judsea tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna sacerdos
Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cœli;
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius sere minuto,
Qualiacumque voles Judsei somnia vendunt."—Sat. vi, 542–547.

[3] Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias, pp. 52, 53.

Eight of these schools were organized—Jamnia,[1] Lydda, Bethira, Chammatha, Cæsarea, Magdala, Sephoris,[2] and Tiberias. They were the quiet places not reached by the tumult of the world, where hermeneutics, the traditional law, ethics, demonology, poetry, fable, and chronology were studied with great care and minute division of labor. Jamnia was the chief center of learning in Palestine, and the second Gamaliel was the president of the seminary. It rose to great prominence, and attracted many students from all the countries whither the Jews had been scattered. At the same time the other schools were not neglected, but became busy places for the study of Jewish theology and the cultivation of the traditions. Even as far eastward as Babylon there was an important school, where, in addition to the usual theology, astronomy and medicine were a part of the curriculum.

JEWISH SCHOOLS.

These schools steadily grew in influence and in the number of students. The fire of patriotism burned on their altars. The least commotion that had for its aim a national uprising was fostered by them, and when Bar Cocheba arose they sent forth both students and rabbins to swell his ranks. After the overthrow of his revolt, though the remnant was again a mere handful, there was an immediate gathering about the schools. The seats of learning, as with the first Saxon schools in England when a tribal war was over, were the homes toward which the soldiers retreated, where they might at least find companionship and some little relief in reading that law which they regarded as their one immortal possession. Great teachers arose. Jose ben Halefta, Meir, Jehuda ben Illai, Simon ben Yochai, and the second Gamaliel became dear and familiar names to the scattered and weeping Jews of every land. They formed the bond of dispersed Jews everywhere. The theological tendency was a disposition to show the absurdity of Christianity, and that the Messiah was yet to come. These rabbins called the religion of Christ an atheistic heresy,[3] and from their quiet retreats sent out to their dispersed brethren heated attacks upon it. So decided was the literary hostility on the part of the Jews that the Christian writers were compelled to recognize them as well as pagan writers in their apologetic works. Justin the Martyr wrote a Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew,[4] and Tertullian wrote a work against the Jews.[5] The seminary at Jamnia was ter-

GREAT TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOLS.

[1] Called also Jabneh, Japhia, and Japhne. [2] Zaphat, or the present Safed.

[3] Αἵρεσις ἄθεος. [4] Πρὸς Τρυφῶνα Ἰουδαῖον διάλογος.

[5] Adversus Iudaios. Fabricius furnishes passages from the early Christian writers who complain of the Jewish persecution. Lux Evang. Ch., § 1, p. 121. See also Epistle of the Church of Smyrna de Martyrio Polycarpi, §§ xii, xiii.

minated by the Romans because of the seditious declarations of Jehuda, a teacher, but the scholars gathered now at Tiberias, which took the place of Jamnia as the learned center of the West.

LITERARY PRODUCTS OF THE SCHOOLS.

The literary creations which came from these seminaries are mainly commentaries on the earlier works and expositions of the Scriptures. The first part of the Talmud is a product of that period of national sorrow and Christian antipathy. The school at Tiberias, though often nearly destroyed by devastating wars, has preserved its existence through all the Christian and Mohammedan centuries down to our own times.[1]

OPPOSITION OF THE SAMARITANS TO CHRISTIANITY—SIMON MAGUS.

Even the Samaritans contributed their share toward the universal opposition to Christianity. They possessed no political power, but very early after the death of Christ attempted that revival of their faith, with an infusion of Persian elements, which had a direct bearing against the Christians. Simon Magus, of the province of Samaria, after laboring for a time in Palestine, and gathering disciples about him, proceeded in 42 to Rome, where he taught his wild fancies, practiced magical exercises, and led an immoral life until about the year 50. He taught that there is an eternal and pure God, who has created eons and spirits like himself, and lives in a bright world; that there is a wicked force, which has created evil spirits; that there is a great number of good souls, which are united with a material and evil body. Men, therefore, are of both good and bad material. Simon represented himself as the greatest of all eons which God sent into the world to bring men to a knowledge of the truth, and his wife Helena as the best of all female eons, for the same purpose. Simon combined with these doctrines, which were of such effect as to throw off all moral restraints, the practice of magic, by which he gained great honor among the Romans, and was even deified by them.[2]

He gathered about him a large following, the Simonians, who were pagans and Jews, and aimed at inroads upon Christianity. They exerted no appreciable influence upon the thought of the times, and disappeared after the beginning of the fifth century.

[1] In 1871 I found at Tiberias a number of rabbins engaged in the study of their ancient vellum folios. They had betaken themselves to the roof of a house, which is always flat, as most favorable for undisturbed study. So intent were they at their labor of love that they barely looked up at the approach of an intruding visitor from the West.

[2] Justin the Martyr speaks of a statue erected to him in Rome, bearing the inscription: Simoni Sancto Deo. (Apol., i, § 26, 56. Dial. cum. Tryphone, § 120.) This is most likely the same statue which was discovered on the island in the Tiber, inscribed Semoni Sanco Deo Filio (Semo Sancus, a Sabine god).

Dositheus, also of Samaria, declared himself to be the promised prophet,[1] taught a peculiarly strict observance of the Sabbath,[2] practiced an ascetic life, baptized in his own name, and founded a sect which continued until the sixth century. Menander, a disciple of Simon the Magian, announced himself as the incarnate Messiah, and founded a short-lived and obscure sect, the Menandrians. All these teachers of erroneous opinions entertained a feeling of intense bitterness toward Christianity. Almost without exception they claimed to be the prophetical fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies, and made these lofty assumptions the excuse for immorality in life and extravagance in opinion. It was the final effort of the Jew to justify his treatment of Christ, and account for his own national ruin. Henceforth he became the wanderer among the nations.[3]

OTHER FALSE TEACHERS.

[1] Deut. xviii, 18.

[2] He held that the position in which one finds his body on awaking on the Sabbath must be strictly kept until night. Origen, De Princ., iv, chap. 17.

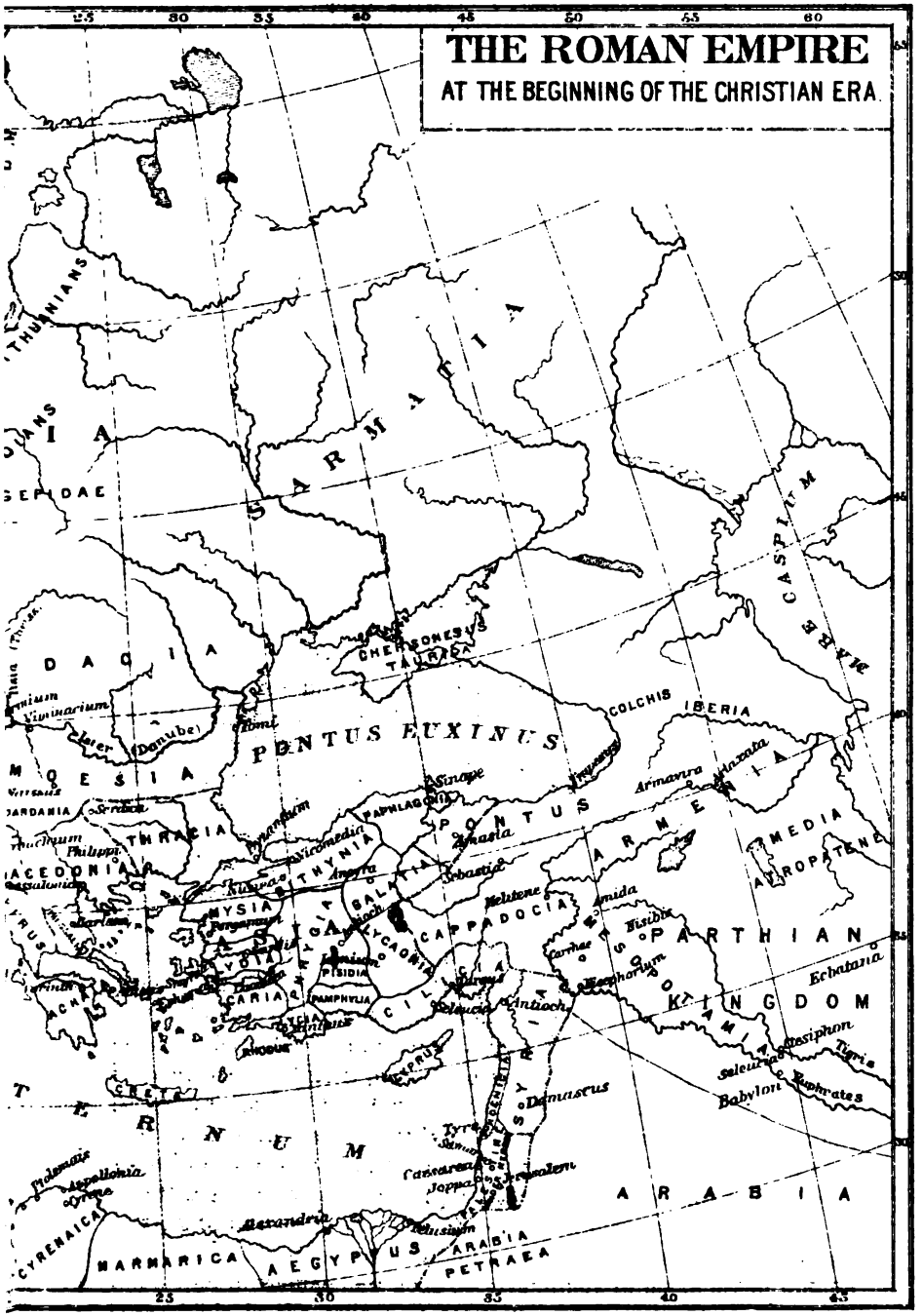
[3] The great work of Grætz on the history of the Jews has been translated and published in an abridged form by the Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia, 1894–96. Written from the standpoint of an intense Judaism it needs correction here and there, but is a work of vast learning. A useful book is Morrison, The Jews under the Romans (Lond. and N. Y., 1898).

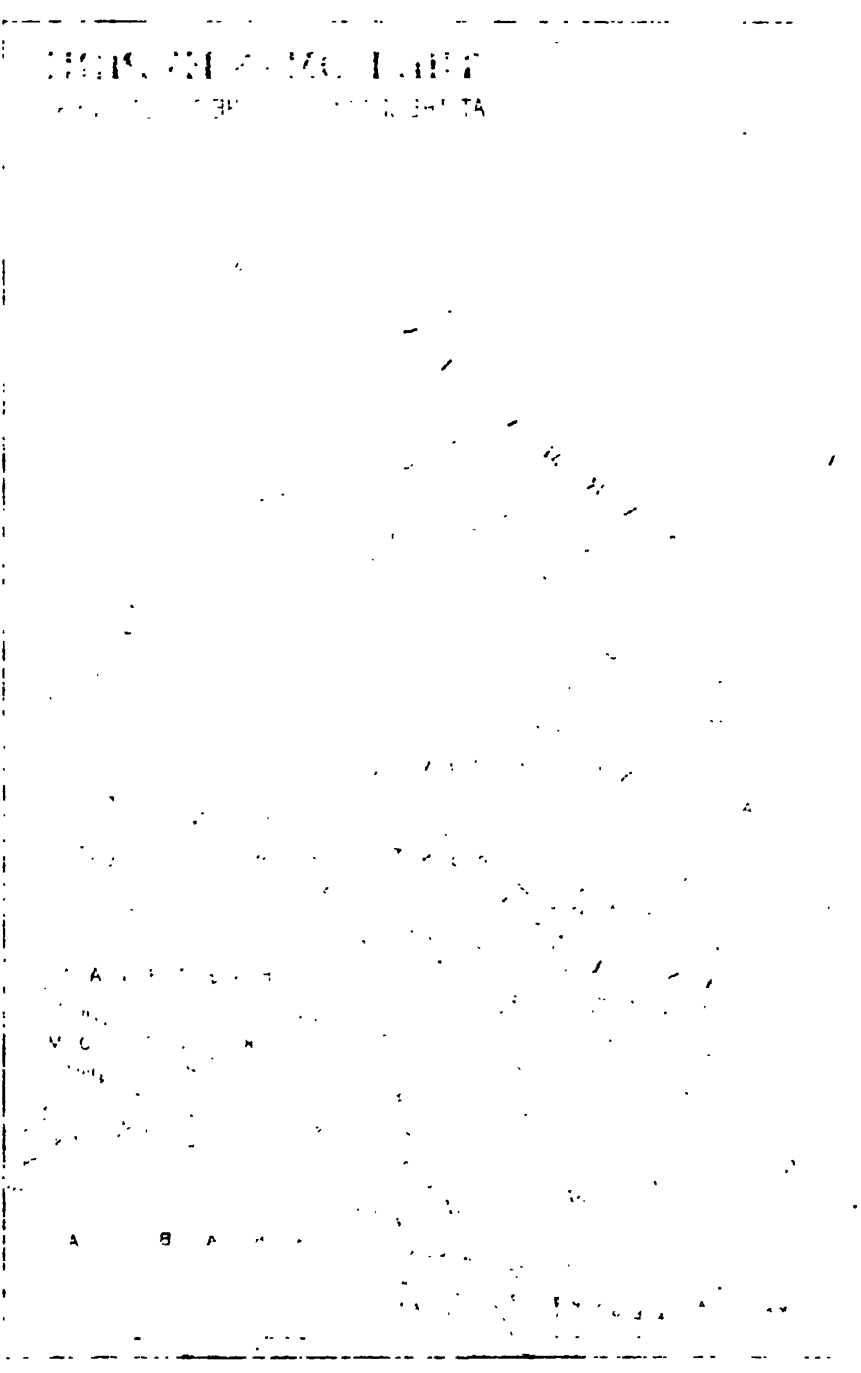
LITERATURE: THE PERSECUTIONS.

For special studies of the early persecutions see the following:

1. Aubé, B. Hist. des Persécutions de l'Église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins, Paris, 1875. Aubé made a special study of this subject in this and other works. He is one of the masters of the field.
2. Overbeck, F. Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche, Chemnitz, 1875. A thorough investigation of Roman persecutions.
3. Wieseler, K. Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren, Gütersloh, 1878.
4. Uhlhorn, G. The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. Trans. with additional Notes by E. C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes, N. Y., 1879. An excellent introduction to this subject.
5. Mason, A. J. The Diocletian Persecution, Lond., 1876. An admirable monograph.
6. Hochart, P. Études au Sujet de la Persécution des Chrétiens sous Nèron, Paris, 1885.
7. Oxenham, H. N. Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography, Lond., 1884, pp. 27–56.
8. Arnold, H. Studien zur Geschichte der plinianischen Christenverfolgung, Königsb., 1887. Neronische Christenverfolgung, Leipz., 1888.
9. Allard, P. Les derniès Persécutions du troisième Siècle, Paris, 1887. Histoire des Persécutions pendant les deux premiers Siècles, Paris, 1884. Histoire des Persécutions pendant la première moitié du IIIe Siècle, Paris, 1885.


OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
HIBERNIA
CALEDONIA
BRITANNIA
MARE GERMANICUM
JUTES
ANGLES
SAXONS
FRISII
CHAUCI
CHERUSCI
CHATTI
LONGOBARDS
VANDALS
SUEVI
BURGUNDIONES
TURONES
GERMANIA
BELGICA
LUGDUNENSIS
GALLIA
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
MARCOMANNI
QUADI
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
MARE ADRIATICUM
ITALIA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Roma
Neapolis
Pompeji
Brundusium
Capua
Ravenna
Pisae
Massilia
Narbo
Tolosa
Burdigala
Lugdunum
Augusta Vindelicorum
Virunum
Aquileia
Salona
Corinthus
Tarentum
HISPANIA
TARRACONENSIS
LUSITANIA
BAETICA
Tarraco
Caesar Augusta
Emerita
Corduba
Valentia
Malaca
Gades
BALEARES
MARE IBERICUM
MARE
Caesarea
Saldae
Hippo Regius
Utica
Carthago
Lilybaeum
Messana
SICILIA
Rhegium
Syracusae
Agrigentum
Hadrumentum
NUMIDIA
ZEUGITANA
BYZACIUM
MAURETANIA
GAETULIA
NOVA AFRICA TRIPOLITANA
Leptis Magna
MARE IONIUM
IN
Arsinoe
Berenice
Charax


THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA
SARMATIA
DACIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
CASPIUM MARE
MOESIA
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
ASIA
BITHYNIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
PONTUS
ARMENIA
MEDIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
CILICIA
SYRIA
JUDAEA
ARABIA
PETRAEA
AEGYPTUS
MARMARICA
CYRENAICA
CRETA
RHODUS
CYPRUS
CHERSONESUS TAURICA
COLCHIS
IBERIA
Danube
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Ecbatana
Antioch
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Sinope
Trapezus
Armavira
Amida
Nisibis
Carrhae
Zela
Amasia
Tarsus
Tyrus
Caesarea
Joppa
Ptolemais
Apollonia
Cyrene



CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN PERSECUTION.

THE persecution of the Christians by the Romans varied with the emperors. There was at no time a State policy, shaped with a view to the final overthrow of Christianity, which remained unaltered through successive reigns. The sudden caprice of the ruler, produced possibly by the persuasion of an artful and bribed woman, or by an attack of indigestion, was often the potent agent to kindle the fires of martyrdom from Asia Minor to the Iberian peninsula. The alleged ground of hostility was the unquestioned antagonism of Christianity to the national religion. The Romans boasted that there was perfect liberty accorded all the faiths that might arise in the land or be introduced from abroad. The writers of the times lauded this religious catholicity as a distinguishing feature of the Latin civilization. When a province was conquered it was not made obligatory that the faith should be changed with the rule. The boast of the Roman was that his capital was the home of "a thousand faiths." But this charitable exterior was largely conditioned upon the quality of the faith which asked for tolerance. No liberty was granted a religion that impinged, to the least degree, upon the national religion.

DISLOYALTY THE GENERAL CHARGE AGAINST CHRISTIANS.

The theory of the expounders of Roman law was that every citizen owed allegiance to the religion of the State as a fundamental part of the political structure. Julius Paulus reports, as one of the civil laws, that whatever nobleman introduced a new religion, which, though its general character be unknown, might disturb the citizens, should be banished; while a plebeian committing such an offense should be put to death. Dio Cassius gives the following as the advice of Mæcenas to Augustus: "Worship the gods, in every particular, according to the laws of your country, and require others to do the like thing. But despise and punish all who introduce any religion foreign to our own, and this not only because of our gods, for he who does not revere them cannot reverence anything; but because those who introduce new gods deceive others to make use of foreign laws. This is the source of sedition and private plotting, which

THEORY OF THE EXPOUNDERS OF THE ROMAN LAW.

must not be tolerated in a monarchy. Allow nobody to deny our gods or make use of sorcery."

It was very soon seen that, while Christianity might be allowed to settle in Rome as a foreign faith with others, it possessed some qualities which made it obnoxious to the representatives of Roman authority. Its relation to the religion of the State was not that of submission and acquiescence, but of positive hostility. No one could be a Christian and sacrifice at a heathen altar or worship with the multitude in a heathen temple. From the moment that he adopted the religion of Christ, every bond that held him to the pagan mythology was sundered. His attitude was one of pronounced hostility, if not by word, at least by absence from all pagan rites, and by meeting with Christians in their services. He was at once a marked man.

REAL ANTAGONISM OF CHRISTIANITY TO PAGANISM.

There was not a single point of sympathy between his old faith and the new one. The pagan associates could no longer be intimate friends. The ties of kindred were broken by the still stronger bonds of religion. In addition to this antagonism to the Roman faith Christianity possessed a strong element of aggressiveness. It was the grain of mustard seed, and must necessarily take root; it was the leaven, and its force must permeate the mass. A still Christianity is always an impossibility. It must be at work, whatever the threat, and however near and sure the Damoclean sword above it. When Christianity reached Rome it was soon found in every circle of society, and more than one emperor was persuaded, by the pure life of some Christian member of his court, to be tolerant toward Christianity. The charge was made, and not denied, that Flavius Clemens, a former consul and a cousin of Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, were Christians.[1] While there was this steady and ceaseless progress of Christianity in Rome, which left no class

CHRISTIANITY IN IMMORAL ROME.

[1] Eusebius says (H. E., iii, 18) that Domitilla, a niece of Flavius Clemens, was banished to the island of Pontia for her Christianity in the last year of Domitian, A. D. 96. The earlier historians, Suetonius (Domit., xv) and Dio Cassius (lxvii, 14), say that Domitian put Flavius Clemens to death for contemptible indolence and atheism—favorite charges against Christians. But whether Flavius was inclined toward Judaism or Christianity we cannot say. The fact that Christian tradition made his wife, Domitilla, a Christian, but was silent concerning the consul himself, is almost conclusive proof that the latter had not gone so far as his spouse. See McGiffert on Eusebius, as above; Venables in Smith and Wace, i, 553; Lightfoot, Phil., p. 22. The discovery of the family burial vault of Domitilla among the oldest remains of the kind, and with Christian emblems and associations, shows how early Christianity had found a place in the Flavian imperial family. See Kraus, Roma Sott., pp. 41, ff. Northcote, Roma Sott., 69, f. Comp. Hasenclever, in Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1882.

untouched by it, the aggressive spirit was everywhere present in the other parts of the empire. The zeal of the confessors was never satisfied except in winning new peoples to the Christian faith. The evangelistic example of the apostles was faithfully reproduced in the centuries immediately succeeding them.

INJURY OF CERTAIN PAGAN INDUSTRIES BY CHRISTIANITY.

Another decided factor which proved the antagonism of Christianity to the national religion was the injury which it inflicted upon the handicrafts that arose from the polytheistic system. The more materialistic the faith, the nearer its approach to the unreal and the unspiritual, the more dependent is it upon the work of the hands for its perpetuation. Even now, in the Greek and Roman Catholic countries, there are communities which are chiefly supported by the fabrication of articles connected with the service. In the town of Troitza, in central Russia, the entire business of the place is occupied in the manufacture of images and other objects which bring a ready price from the many worshipers that throng about that Russian Canterbury. Einsiedeln, the old monastic town which overlooks Lake Zurich, and is dear to the Protestant Swiss because of its having been the home of Zwingli, derives much of its sustenance from the sale of articles to the constant stream of pilgrims toiling upward to that historic shrine.

A LARGE ROMAN POPULATION DEPENDENT ON THE STATE RELIGION.

In the Roman empire a large population was entirely dependent upon the State religion for its support. Every temple had a large class of priests and servants, and there was no department of the service which did not, in some form, furnish a support for many people. Even the one feature of sacrifices required a large body of lay priests to conduct the nonpriestly part of it. Every temple was dedicated to some one of the many divinities, and the sale of the images alone furnished a livelihood for a community. The books on magic, burned by the Christian converts at Ephesus, amounted to fifty thousand pieces of silver, while the persons who made silver shrines for Diana seem to have been no insignificant guild, for they had power enough, through the leadership of Demetrius, to fill the whole city with confusion.[1] This question of financial ruin entered largely into the argument against Christianity, and in the places remote from the capital was the ground of violent opposition to its adherents. The administrators of the law saw that here was a source of loss to the State, and they reported to the chief authorities in Rome that, in proportion as the Christian population increased, there was a decrease of funds for the treasury of the State.

[1] Acts xix, 19; xxiv, 20.

There was no ground for charge of personal treachery to the empire.

OTHER CHARGES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

It was not questioned that the Christians were brave and pure, but the charge was that their faith was unnational throughout, and therefore ought to be exterminated. There were other serious charges—that they held secret meetings, which aimed at the death of the empire; that they practiced cannibal (Thyestine) rites, a misinterpretation of the Lord's Supper; and that they early introduced their children into their own forbidden practices. But these charges were easily refuted, and were only advanced as a desperate justification for violent measures, so that they had only limited force.

NUMBER OF THE PERSECUTIONS.

While it is generally assumed that there were ten persecutions it is not safe to define the number. The boundary between a general and a local persecution is often very vague, and what one writer has regarded universal has been found to have been limited, and rather the work of the proconsul than of the emperor. There was a progress in the bitterness of the persecutions, and an increase of the territory by them, as the centuries advanced. It was found that persecution failed of effect, but this, instead of causing the rulers to abandon violent measures, only led them, in desperation, to increase them. This was done until they were powerless to continue it, and it became clear that what could not be overcome as an enemy must be attached as a friend.

THREE STAGES OF PERSECUTION.

There were three stages in the persecution: 1. From Nero to Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 54–161. During this time the persecutions, except in case of that by Nero, were not violent, and of but limited area. 2. A. D. 161–251. From Marcus Aurelius to Decius. This was a time of more aggravated opposition on the part of rulers and the Roman people. 3. A. D. 251–313. From Decius to Constantine's Edict of Toleration. This brief period was the culmination of the persecution. The opposition was not only more violent and inhuman than at any previous time, but the territory was broader, and bounded only by the limits of the Roman empire.

NERO'S PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS.

The persecution by Nero (A. D. 54–68) proceeded less from antipathy to the Christians specially than from a brutal nature. He placed before himself as an ideal of a great reign the erection of magnificent buildings, which should take the place of the less ostentatious structures in which the city abounded. The evidence is too strong to be resisted that he caused the city to be set on fire in several places (A. D.

64).[1] But the conflagration went far beyond his anticipations. Breaking out between the Palatine and Cælian Hills, it raged six days, and when it ceased the larger portion of the city lay in ruins. Ten out of the fourteen districts into which Rome was divided were in whole or part destroyed by the fire. Many of the most revered and historical buildings, such as the Ara Maxima, erected to Hercules, the temple of Luna, the temple of Vesta, Numa's precious palace, and trophies from a hundred battlefields, were sacrificed to the flames.

During the burning of Rome Nero had no higher conception of the seriousness of the occurrence than to regard it as a scenic display, a proper representation of the destruction of Troy. The buildings which he afterward erected did not silence the indignation nor conceal the poverty of his subjects. He was promptly charged with the crime, and, with that readiness in wicked resource which always distinguished him, he took advantage of the popular hostility to the Christians, made them responsible for the fire, and began a persecution of them. His mind, ever fertile of cruel inventions, produced new forms of torture. Christians were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and dogs were set upon them, which tore them to pieces. Some were smeared with inflammable gums and placed at convenient intervals in Nero's garden and set on fire, and thus made to serve the purpose of lamps, while Nero, clad as a charioteer, conducted a chariot race for the delight of the multitude. The persecution was confined to Rome and the vicinity. Nero's interest in destroying the Christians was not a matter of general policy, but satisfied itself with the scenic display for the entertainment of the populace of the capital.[2]

NERO'S BASE CONDUCT DURING THE BURNING OF ROME.

The Christians enjoyed peace during the reigns of Vespasian

[1] The testimony of the Roman historians as to Nero's responsibility for the burning of Rome is very pointed. Vid. Tacitus, Annal., xv, 67; Suetonius, Nero, 38; Dion Cass., lxii, 16; Pliny, H. N., xvii, 1, 1.

[2] Besides the original authorities mentioned in the preceding note the best accounts of the Neronic persecution are: Renan, The Antichrist, chaps. vi, vii; Merivale, Hist. of the Romans under the Empire, chap. liv; Schaff, rev. ed., i, § 37; Schiller, Geschichte des röm. Kaiserreichs unter Nero (Berl., 1872); Daniell, art. "Nero," in Smith and Wace; Arnold, Die neronische Christenverfolgung (Leipz., 1888), who claims that Nero had no religious interest in the persecution, but used the Christians simply as a pretext, that the Christians were distinguished from the Jews, and that the persecution was purely local; Uhlhorn, Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism, pp. 241–250; Wieseler, Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren, Gütersloh, 1878. See discussions of special points in Ferneaux, ed. of Tacitus, Annals (Oxf., 1883–91), 2 vols., Hist. Zeitschrift, xxxii, and Weizsäcker in Jahrb. für Deutsche Theol., xxi.

and Titus (A. D. 70–81), but during the latter part of Domitian's reign (A. D. 81–96) they were severely persecuted. They had increased greatly in Rome, and, indeed, throughout the empire, and their numbers excited the fears of Domitian. Reports had been brought to him that Christ had been of the royal line of the Jews, and that there were still men in Palestine who claimed to be of the same family, and might aspire to the Roman throne. Domitian sent for these men, and, after inquiring of them, and finding them ignorant, and that their hands indicated that they were laborers, let them return home.[1] Domitian charged the Christians with atheism, and, not content with requiring of them the Capitoline tax, a gift for Jupiter Capitolinus, subjected some to martyrdom. He even banished to an island of the west coast of Italy Flavia Domitilla, his niece and the wife of his cousin Flavius Clemens, because of her profession of Christianity. He had slain Flavius himself, but whether on account of his religion we cannot positively say.[2] This emperor, however, made no systematic effort to persecute the Church.

THE DOMITIAN PERSECUTION.

Under Nerva (A. D. 96–98) the Christians enjoyed a season of comparative rest. During Trajan's reign, however (A. D. 98–117), they were persecuted anew. That emperor, chagrined at the forces destructive of the national religion, espoused the cause of the old faith. His earnest civic spirit made him anxious that all religions should be suppressed that did not do homage to the State. But his manner of doing this was, on the whole, moderate and conservative. He took pains to see that his Eastern officers of the law should prevent Christian secret meetings, and that compulsory measures should be adopted to make them return to the old religion. The Christians in Palestine were persecuted by the Roman proconsul Tiberianus, who crucified the venerable Simeon, now one hundred and twenty years old, and the head of the Church in Jerusalem.[3] In no part of the empire were the Christians making more rapid progress and increasing more rapidly than in Asia Minor. Their strength was a source of great alarm to the authorities in Rome, and special instructions were given

TRAJAN'S PERSECUTION.

[1] Eusebius, H. E., iii, 19, 20.

[2] See above and note. Plumptre speaks inexactly when he says (in Smith and Wace, art. "Domitianus") that Eusebius (iii, 18) and the Christian tradition make Flavius Clemens a Christian. The historian speaks only of Domitilla. That in the same connection he should have failed to mention one so near the throne as Flavius, is strong presumptive evidence that the tradition did not bear witness to the latter's conversion.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., iii, 32. According to Eusebius, Chron., the date is 106 or 107.

to inquire into their methods and cause them to abandon their faith.

PLINY'S LETTER TO TRAJAN.

The correspondence between Trajan and his friend Pliny, a proconsul in Asia Minor, furnishes the most remarkable picture of the life of the Christians and the Roman policy that has come down from those times. Pliny thus reported to Trajan:

"It is my rule, my lord, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of removing my scruples or informing my ignorance? Having never been present at any trials of the Christians I am unacquainted, not only with the nature of their crimes or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether, therefore, any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon; or, if a man has once been a Christian, it avails nothing to desist from his errors; whether the mere name unattended with crimes, or only the crimes themselves associated with the name are punishable; in all these points I am greatly doubtful.

"In the meanwhile the method I have observed toward those who have been brought before me as Christians is this: I asked them whether they were Christians; if they confessed I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time, when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be led away to punishment; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, that a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved punishment. There were others also brought before me, possessed with the same infatuation; but being citizens of Rome I directed them to be carried thither. But this crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred. An anonymous paper was presented to me containing a charge against several persons, who, upon examination, denied they were Christians, or had ever been so. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue (which for this purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods), and even reviled the name of Christ; whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into a doing of any of these things.

"I thought proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some of those who were accused by an informer at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it; while the rest owned, indeed, that they had been formerly, but had now (some above three, others more, and one even twenty years ago) forsaken that error. They all worshiped your statue and the images of the gods, and cursed Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their guilt or error was that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and sang antiphonally a hymn to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purpose of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up. After which it was their custom to separate and then to reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I prohibited fraternities (*hetæriæ*). After re-

ceiving this account I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavor to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were called deaconesses (*ministræ*); but I could discover nothing more than a depraved and excessive superstition.

"I thought proper, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings in this affair in order to consult with you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, this inquiry having already extended, and being still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages and even of both sexes. For the contagion of this superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the villages and in the country. Nevertheless, it still seems possible to remedy this evil and restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were almost deserted, begin now to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are again revived, while there is a demand for fodder for the victims, for which previously hardly a buyer was to be found. From hence it is easy to imagine what numbers might be reclaimed if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent."

Trajan replied as follows:

"The method you have pursued, my dear Secundus, in the proceedings against those Christians who were brought before you, is extremely proper, as it is not possible to lay down any fixed plan by which to act in all cases of this nature. They are not to be searched for. If, indeed, they are accused and convicted, they must be punished, with this restriction, however, that when the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Anonymous accusations ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to our times." [1]

This celebrated rescript (about A. D. 112) laid down the general principles on which the Roman emperors proceeded until the persecution of Severus, A. D. 202. It was moderate, yet uncompromising. The Christians were not to be sought out, but when once fairly and legally proved guilty of Christianity they were to be punished. The mode and extent of the punishment were apparently left to the discretion of the governor, but with the understanding that continued profession of the Name merited death. This was the first legal declaration against the Christians as such. Besides the supposed incompatibility of their religion with the spirit of patriotism, we know that Trajan had a mortal dread of all secret societies (*hetæriæ*), as he would not allow even the formation of a fire brigade in Bithynia. The secret meetings of the Christians made them thus especially obnoxious to the State. Trajan, however, ordered no persecution, and the fact that the later apologists referred the persecuting emperors to his

LIMITS OF TOLERATION UNDER THIS RESCRIPT.

[1] Pliny, Ep., 96, 97.

humane policy, and even to this decree as a safeguard against injustice,[1] would seem to prove that no general distress was inflicted upon them in his reign, or that at least comparatively few suffered death. Professor Ramsay has thoroughly investigated Trajan's relation to the Church, and his conclusion seems justified that, while Trajan stood squarely on the principle that the Christian religion was opposed to the genius of the Roman State, and as such must be put down, in interpreting this principle great moderation must be observed, even to the extent of requiring Pliny "to shut his eyes to the Christian offense, until his attention was expressly directed to an individual case by a formal accuser, who appeared openly to demand the interference of the imperial government against a malefactor." Trajan inaugurated a milder policy. It was the "first step in the *rapprochement* between the empire and the Church."[2] The later legend represented the emperor admitted to heaven by the prayers of Gregory the Great, and Dante beheld his soul in the sixth heaven.[3] This legend also found embodiment in art. It is sculptured on the Doge's Palace, and worked on the tapestries of Berne.[4]

CHRISTIANS UNDER HADRIAN.

Under Hadrian (A. D. 117–138) there was a continuation of a tolerant policy. Christianity was placed on much the same basis as all the new faiths, and suffered neither less nor more than any other, except the national. The Christians, being subjected to popular anger and in danger at any time of death, were protected by imperial favor, and proconsuls were ordered to inflict punishment on them only when charges were brought in legal form and supported by reliable testimony.

Hadrian's letter to Minucius Fundanus is very similar in tone to Trajan's to Pliny, and may even be considered more favorable to the Christians.[5] Hadrian looked with equal contempt on all religions—

[1] Tertullian, Apol., ii. Comp. Eusebius, H. E., iii, 33. Later Trajan's fairness was interpreted as actual toleration—a grievous error. See Sulp. Sev., ii, 31; Orosius, vii, 12.

[2] The Church in the Roman Empire: Before A. D. 170 (Lond. and N. Y., 1893, pp. 196–223). This is a work written on fresh lines and with admirable spirit and fine scholarship. Comp. Plummer, Church of the Early Fathers, pp. 165–168; Daniell, art. "Trajanus," in Smith and Wace; Hardy's notes in his ed. of Pliny's Epistles.

[3] Parad., xx, 44.

[4] Daniell, *l. c.* Arnold, Studien zur Geschichte der plinianischen Christenverfolgung, Königsberg, 1887, has gone into this subject with zeal, and his conclusions are of great interest.

[5] There is no reason to consider this rescript spurious. It is given by Eusebius, H. E., iv, 10, Justin M., I Apol., chap. lxviii. The objections of Keim, Overbeck, and McGiffert rest on a misinterpretation of *κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ*

money is at the bottom of all.[1] He said to Minucius Fundanus: "I have received an epistle, written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me that the matter should be passed by without examination, lest the men be harassed and opportunity be given to the informers for practicing villainy. If, therefore, the inhabitants of the province can clearly sustain this petition against the Christians so as to give answer in a court of law, let them pursue this course alone, but let them not have recourse to men's petitions and outcries. For it is far more proper, if anyone wishes to make an accusation, that you should examine into it. If anyone therefore accuses them and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, do you pass judgment according to the heinousness of the crime. But, by Hercules! if any bring an accusation through mere calumny, decide in regard to his criminality, and see to it that you inflict punishment."[2]

HADRIAN'S RESCRIPT.

Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138–161) was of humane character, and disposed to oppose the popular hostility to the Christians. But during his reign there was great suffering throughout the empire. Floods, famine, and pestilence united to produce widespread misery in every class of society. The inference of the people was that the gods were angry because Christians were allowed to practice their faith in the empire. The emperor did not regard Christians in the same light, but was not able to protect them from the brutal opposition of the people.[3]

We now come to the stage of more decided hostility. Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161–180) belonged to the better class of pagan emperors and thinkers. He professed a sincere attachment to the Stoic philosophy, and yet claimed strict adherence to the national religion. He looked upon Christianity as

MARCUS AURELIUS.

ἁμαρτήματος, which does not necessarily refer to other moral and political offenses, but may just as naturally be taken as indicating the Name itself. Funk (Tüb. Theol. Quar., 1879) makes an able argument for genuineness. Ranke maintains the same.

[1] Unus illis deus nummus est.—Hadrian, Ep. ad Servianum, ap. Vopiscum, Vita Sev., 8.

[2] Eusebius, H. E., iv, 9, McGiffert's translation. Renan gives a brilliant review of Hadrian's reign in its Christian aspects in his Christian Church, chaps. i–iii. He, and also Neander, holds to the genuineness of this rescript.

[3] The Epistle of Antoninus to the Common Assembly of Asia is spurious (against Lardner and Wieseler). It is quoted, from variant copies, in Eusebius, iv, 13, and Justin Martyr, I Apol., chap. lxviii. But this emperor did write, as Eusebius says, "to the Larisseans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks, forbidding them to take new measures against us" (iv, 26). He continued the policy of Trajan.

fanaticism and superstition, and regarded it as detrimental to the State and hostile enough to be suppressed by violent measures. He devised a policy for the suppression of Christianity, and ordered Christians to be found out and exposed and put to death. He exhibited a singular bitterness toward Christianity and despised the very resignation and humility of the Christians. The persecution which he inaugurated varied in intensity, but extended in reality over every part of the empire. A pestilence, which raged with great fury from Ethiopia in the south to Gaul in the northwest, was made a pretext for persecution, on the ground that the Christians had provoked the wrath of the gods. In A. D. 155 or 166 Smyrna became the center of a persecution to which the aged Polycarp fell a victim. When urged to renounce his faith he made this noble reply: "Eighty-six years I have served Christ, and he has done me no harm; how could I now blaspheme my King, who has redeemed me?" Only a year before, in 166, Justin the Martyr had died in the persecution at Rome.

THE CHURCHES IN LYONS AND VIENNE.

In 177 the churches in Lyons and Vienne, in France, suffered severely. The details of this persecution have come down to us through a letter written by the churches in these cities to their brethren in Asia Minor, a beautiful specimen of the intensity of Christian love and the firmness of fraternal bonds in a time of universal sorrow.[1] The literature of the Church does not furnish a better illustration of that sympathy which the Christians of one region felt toward their far-off fellow-sufferers than we find in this outpouring of the soul by the Christians in Gaul to their fellow-sufferers in Asia Minor. It was the beginning of that tide of blood and deep affliction and bitter suffering which has flowed at intervals in France during fourteen centuries, from the days of Marcus Aurelius down to Charles IX.

THE THUNDERING LEGION.

It was during this reign that the legend of the Thundering Legion arose. It was believed that while the emperor was leading an army against the Marcomannians and Quadians, and it was suffering from extreme thirst and in danger of immediate attack, the soldiers of the twelfth legion, all of whom were Christians, prostrated themselves in prayer; that a sudden thunderstorm arose and burst in such fury above the enemy as to terrify them, and yet to furnish water to refresh the Roman army; that, as a result, a great victory was gained by Marcus Aurelius and his soldiers, and that the emperor thereafter ceased to persecute the Christians.[2]

[1] This letter is quoted in full by Eusebius, H. E., v, 1.

[2] See Eusebius, H. E., v, 6; Tertullian, Apol., v; the forged letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate appended to Justin Martyr, I Apol., chap. lxviii; also Dio Cassius, lxxi, 8, and Capitolinus, Vita Marc. Aur., xxiv.

BASIS OF HISTORICAL FACT.

Beneath the fancy there is a basis of historical fact. The battle did take place, and it was a great victory for the Romans; besides, there was a sudden rain, which refreshed the thirsty army. But Marcus Aurelius persecuted the Christians afterward as before; he had a medal struck, in which Jupiter is represented as hurling thunderbolts on the enemies, and the Thundering Legion had been called by that name ever since the time of Augustus. That there were Christians in that legion who, in their extremity, prayed to God; that they fought with bravery; that they regarded the victory as the fruit of their prayers, and told it to their companions in faith on their return from battle; and that all this should enter into all later Christian art, and become a thread with which to weave a beautiful belief in an age that had so little to cheer and please, is at once probable and natural.[1]

Commodus (A. D. 180–192) was influenced by a woman of his court, Marcia, to put an end to the persecution of the Christians; but they were ill-treated in various parts of the empire, chiefly through the cruelty of the proconsuls, who continued of their own accord the policy of Marcus Aurelius. The recently discovered Greek Acts of the Martyrs of Scilla reveals some of the slaughter of Commodus's reign. Some charged with magic suffered in Carthage, and the martyrs of Madaurus belong here; also Apollonius, whose most important Acts and Apology were first brought to the attention and study of European scholars by Conybeare in 1894.[2] Septimius Severus (A. D. 193–211) was, at the beginning, favorable to the Christians, owing, it was believed, to a Christian slave, Proculus, who had healed him with oil from a dangerous illness.[3] But he soon fell into the path of Marcus Aurelius. The Christians were commanded to renounce their faith, and severe penalties were threatened on any who should become Christians.

The bitterness was so intense that a large part of the Church

[1] The best recent discussions are Lightfoot, Ignatius, i, 469–476, Aubé, Hist. des Persécut., first series, chap. viii, pp. 364–372, and Stokes, Thundering Legion, in Smith and Wace, iv, 1023. These scholars furnish a searching criticism, but agree in allowing a modicum of fact in the story. On the relation of Marcus Aurelius to Christianity, see Renan, Marcus Aurelius, the seventh part of his brilliant and learned work on the Origins of Christianity; Paul Barron Watson, Marcus Aurelius (N. Y., 1884), who gives a favorable view of the emperor; Farrar, Seekers After God, pp. 295–301; Capes, Age of the Antonines (Lond. and N. Y., 1876); and the histories of the Roman empire.

[2] See Goerres, Das Christenthum und der römische Staat zur Zeit des Kaiser Commodus, in Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1884, H. 2; Conybeare, Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity (Lond., 1894), an indispensable work.

[3] James v, 14. Tertullian, ad Scapul., 4.

regarded Septimius Severus as the antichrist. In Alexandria the father of Origen was beheaded; the beautiful and pure Potimiana, with her mother Marcella, was destroyed in burning pitch; Perpetua, from the nobility, and Felicitas, a slave, were torn to pieces by wild beasts (A. D. 203). These are only single examples of a persecution which raged in various parts of the Roman empire, but especially in Egypt and the whole of North Africa.[1] During Caracalla's reign (A. D. 211–217) there was some continuance of opposition to Christianity, but rather as an effect from the preceding reign than from any measures of the reigning emperor. Elagabalus, Syrian sun god (A. D. 218–222), was so called because of his adoption of the Syrian worship of the sun. He regarded all religions, save that of Syria, as of equal worthlessness, but tolerated Christianity as being at least Syrian. He erected on the Palatine mount a temple to the sun god of Syria, in which the service was a mixture from many faiths.

CARACALLA AND ELAGABALUS.

Most important was the work of Caracalla in conferring the franchise on every person not a slave in the Roman empire. "A most grateful and humane deed," says Augustine.[2] No more could Christians be crucified, unless they were slaves, nor thrown to the wild beasts. They suffered by the sword at last, and all their tortures were such as might by equal right befall any citizen of Rome who transgressed the mandate of the emperor. Thus martyrdom, instead of the obstinacy of an abject alien superstition, became the bold and cheerful resistance of free citizens to the arbitrary will of one who, when he began to torture, became a barbarous tyrant."[3] Alexander Severus (A. D. 222–235) carried this eclecticism still further, and treated Christianity as a religion of equal value and worthy of a place with the national and other religions. Maximinus (A. D. 235–238) persecuted the Christians in certain localities, but more particularly in Pontus and Cappadocia, where a violent and destructive earthquake was attributed to their presence. During the reigns of Gordianus (A. D. 238–244) and Philip the Arab (A. D. 244–249) the Christians enjoyed peace and greatly increased in number and popular favor. The report even went so far as to say that Philip himself was a Christian. There is in fact little doubt that he did penance before a bishop, perhaps under the vague desire to propitiate even

ECLECTICISM OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

[1] J. J. Müller and Goerres have made elaborate investigations into the state of the Church in the reign of Alexander Severus, the former in his Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Severus, Zürich, 1874, and the latter in his Kaiser Alex. Severus und das Christenthum, Leipz., 1877.

[2] De Civ. Dei, v, 17. [3] Birks, in Smith and Wace, i, 408.

the Christian's God. But there is no sufficient evidence to believe that he made any formal profession of Christianity, and it is true that he still continued in all the pagan rites.[1]

The final and most bitter period of persecution began with the reign of Decius (A. D. 249–251). He gave minute attention to the destruction of the Christians, and hoped to put an end to the Church. His purpose was to restore the old polytheism to its former glory. It had declined, and was losing its hold. It must, he thought, be brought back again to its place of honor, when it reflected its splendor on the whole empire. Christianity was considered the only thing that stood in its way, and, therefore, it must be eradicated. The bishops were held to be chief offenders, and were put to death remorselessly. Such men as Fabianus, Bishop of Rome; Babylas, Bishop of Antioch; and Pionius, presbyter of Smyrna, were among the victims. All property belonging to Christians was confiscated, they were ordered to worship at heathen temples, and refusal to comply was punished with death. Decius was impeded in his persecution by a foreign war, and his cruelty was terminated by his sudden death.[2]

DECIAN PERSECUTION.

Gallus (A. D. 251–253) continued the persecution on the ground that the national calamities were due to the presence of Christians. Valerian (A. D. 253–260) was very favorable to the Christians at the beginning, but afterward adopted a policy of violent persecution. In the fourth year of his reign he issued an edict that all bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be put to death, that all Christian senators and knights should be stripped of their office and property, and, in case of refusal to adopt the national religion, should be beheaded.[3] Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, were among the victims to his fury. Gallienus (A. D. 260–268) was friendly to the Christians. He declared that all forfeited property should be restored to the Christians, and that such bishops as had only been banished should be restored.

GALLUS AND VALERIAN.

Eusebius says that by public proclamation he recognized Christianity as a religion to be tolerated, and he gives a copy of a rescript of his to some Egyptian bishops declaring that they must be un-

[1] Eusebius, H. E., vi, 34, with notes by McGiffert. St. Chrysostom, De St. Babylas c. Gentes. No heathen historian mentions this. For discussions, see Tillemont, Hist. des Emp., iii, 494, f., and Clinton, Fasti Rom., ii, 51. Daniell gives an excellent summary of the evidence on both sides in Smith and Wace, s. v. Aubé is a recent able defender of the tradition (Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Rom., Paris, 1881).

[2] For the Decian persecutions, see Eusebius, H. E., vi, 39–44, the Epistles of Cyprian and his treatise De Lapsis.

[3] Cyprian, Ep. 80.

molested. This was the first distinct recognition of the Christian religion as a *religio licita.*[1] The rescript is as follows: "The Emperor Cæsar Publius Licinius, Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the other bishops. I have ordered the bounty of my gift to be declared through all the world that they may depart from the places of religious worship [that is, that the heathen may leave the Christians in peaceable possession of their houses of worship—the first recognition of the right of the Christians to hold property]. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my rescript [*ἀντιγραφή*, a private notice, instead of *πρόγραμμα*, or *προγραφή*, a public proclamation] that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do has already for a long time been conceded by me in previous edicts. Therefore Aurelius Cyrenius, who is the chief administrator of affairs, will observe this ordinance which I have given."

RESCRIPT OF PUBLIUS LICINIUS.

Aurelian (A. D. 270–275) was also favorable to the Christians. It was currently believed that, at the end of his reign, he issued an edict against the Christians, but if so it caused no suffering. The murder of Aurelian put an end to any possible opposition. There was no settled government until A. D. 284, when Diocletian ascended the throne, with Maximian, in 286, as his associate, the latter ruling over the West and the former over the East. In 292, for the better suppression of sedition, two subordinate emperors were called to assist the principal rulers—Galerius, to aid in the government of the East, and Constantius Chlorus in the West. Diocletian was the most statesmanlike spirit of the four, and he was goaded on by the dark fanaticism of Galerius. Both were bitter opponents of Christianity, on the ground of its great progress as a competitor of the State religion. No doubt Galerius disliked its rebuke of his vices. A systematic effort was made to restore the old faith, which was considered the only sure support of the State. The court was united in this view, and every measure that promised the ruin of Christianity was adopted with ardor and carried out with energy.

DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION.

Diocletian inaugurated a general persecution in 303, when all assemblies of Christians were forbidden and churches were ordered to be torn down. Four different edicts were issued, each excelling the preceding in intensity. One edict ordered the burning of every copy of the Bible—the first instance in history when the Scriptures were made an object of attack. It also

DIOCLETIAN'S FOUR EDICTS.

[1] Eusebius, H. E., vii, 13. Comp. Mason, in Smith and Wace, s. v. Gallienus; Goerres, in Jahrb. für Prot. Theol., 1877, pp. 606, f.

provided that all churches, which in the good times after Gallienus had been rapidly built, should be demolished, and that all Christians should be deprived of civil rights, thus opening to their vision the horrors of torture. Another edict provided for the imprisonment of all preachers, while the last, issued by Maximian and Galerius, required all Christians, on pain of death, to sacrifice to the gods. Diocletian himself was heartily opposed to extorting the death penalty. He and Maximian abdicated (305), and their subordinates, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, reigned in their stead. Now was the chance of the fanatical and vicious Galerius, upheld and even surpassed by his nephew, Maximin Daza, whom he made Cæsar. A new edict was issued in 308, and a reign of horrors ensued in the East. It was in these fateful years that the real terrors of the so-called Diocletian persecution were felt. The Christians suffered everything which ruthless tyrants could inflict. On his deathbed, lashed by mortal fears, Galerius issued an edict of toleration, April 30, 311, thinking, it may be, to buy the favor of the Christians' God. It was signed also by Constantine and Licinius. After an adulatory superscription the decree reads :

EDICT OF TOLERATION BY GALERIUS.

"Among the other things which we have ordained for the public advantage and profit, we formerly wished to restore everything to conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to provide that the Christians also, who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors [that is, of their old Roman forefathers], should return to a good disposition. For in some way such arrogance had seized them, and such stupidity had overtaken them, that they did not follow the ancient institutions which possibly their own ancestors had established [the old pagan religion], but made for themselves laws according to their own purpose, as each one desired, and observed them, and thus assembled as separate congregations in various places. When we had issued this decree that they should return to the institutions established by the ancients, a great many submitted under danger, but a great many, being harassed, endured all kinds of death. And since many continue in the same folly, and we perceive that they neither offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due, nor pay regard to the God of the Christians [many deterred by the persecutions], in consideration of our philanthropy and our invariable custom, by which we are wont to extend pardon to all, we have determined that we ought most cheerfully to extend our indulgence in this matter also; that they may again be Christians, and may rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble, on the condition that nothing

be done by them contrary to discipline. In another letter we shall indicate to the magistrates what they have to observe. Wherefore, on account of this indulgence of ours, they ought to supplicate their God for our safety and that of the people and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes."[1]

The demoniac Maximin Daza still continued his bloody deeds; but he too was soon compelled to own his defeat and withdraw his exterminating edicts.[2] Constantius Chlorus, a man of broad and tolerant mind, the father of Constantine, ordered an immediate cessation of all repressive measures throughout his lands.[3] Constantine (306–337) was the first Roman emperor to declare full and final toleration to the Christians. This Edict of Toleration, issued at Milan in 313, declared Christianity to be a *religio licita*, and of equal rights and privileges with all other faiths. His edict of 323 gave it still higher rank in the empire, making it in reality the religion of the State. We give here a copy of the celebrated edict of 311, the first in history to grant complete religious toleration:[4]

TOLERATION BY CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

"When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview in Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonweal, it seemed to us that amongst those things that are profitable to mankind in general the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to

[1] This decree is found in Latin in Lactantius, De Mort. Pers., xxxiv, and in Greek in Eusebius, H. E., viii, 17; both substantially the same. We have followed Eusebius (McGiffert), which was probably the form in which the proclamation was circulated in the East. McGiffert's interpretation of *τῶν γονέων τῶν ἑαυτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν, parentum suorum sectam*, as against Mason and others, is undoubtedly correct.

[2] For this last great struggle between heathenism and Christianity, see Eusebius, H. E., viii and ix, passim; Lactantius, De Mort. Pers., xxxix-l; Gibbon, chap. xiii; Preuss, Kaiser Diokletian and seine Zeit, Leipz., 1869; Vogel, Der Kaiser Diokletian, Gotha, 1857; Mason, The Diocletian Persecution, Cambridge, 1876; Allard, La Persécution de Diocletian et le Triomphe de l'Eglise, Paris, 1890—a very thorough study; Carr, The Church and the Roman Empire (Lond. and N. Y., 1887, chaps. ii, iii).

[3] See an able essay by Goerres on the religious policy of Constantius I in Zeitschrift Theologie, 1887, H. I., f.

[4] This edict is extant in two forms: the original Latin in Lactantius, De Mort. Pers., xlviii, and Greek translation in Eusebius, H. E., x, 5. We follow Lactantius as the briefer and more literal, in the excellent translation of Fletcher, in the Ante-Nicene Library (N. Y., Christian Literature Co., 1886).

follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to everyone under our government. And therefore we judged it a salutary measure, and one highly consonant to right reason, that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, and thus the supreme Divinity, to whose worship we freely devote ourselves, might continue to vouchsafe his favor and beneficence to us. And accordingly we give you to know that without regard to any conditions in our former orders concerning the Christians, all who choose that religion are to be permitted, freely and absolutely, to remain in it, and not to be in any way disturbed or molested. And we thought fit to be thus special in the things committed to your charge, that you might understand that the indulgence which we have granted in matters of religion to the Christians is ample and unconditional, and perceive at the same time that the open and free exercise of their respective religions is granted to all others as well as to the Christians. For it befits the well-ordered state and the tranquillity of our times that each individual be allowed, according to his own choice, to worship the Divinity; and we mean not to derogate aught from the honor due to any religion or its votaries. Moreover, with respect to the Christians, we formerly gave certain orders concerning the places appropriated for their religious assemblies; but now we will that all persons who have purchased such places, either from our exchequer or from anyone else, do restore them to the Christians, without money demanded or price claimed, and that this be performed peremptorily and unambiguously; and we will also that they who have obtained any right to such places by form of gift do forthwith restore them to the Christians: reserving always to such persons, who have either purchased for a price or gratuitously acquired them, to make application to the judge of the district, if they look on themselves as entitled to any equivalent from our beneficence.

CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF TOLERATION.

"All those places are, by your intervention, to be immediately restored to the Christians. And because it appears that, besides the places appropriated to religious worship, the Christians did possess other places, which belonged not to individuals but to their society (*corpori*) as a whole,[1] that is, to their churches, we comprehend all such within the regulation aforesaid, and we will that you cause them all to be restored to the society of churches, and that without hesitation or controversy; provided always that the persons

[1] A recognition of the right of the Church, as a corporation, to hold property.

making restitution without a price paid shall be at liberty to seek indemnification from our bounty. In furthering all these things for the behoof of the Christians you are to use your utmost diligence to the end that our orders be speedily obeyed, and our gracious purpose in securing the public tranquillity promoted. So shall that divine favor which in affairs of the mightiest importance we have already experienced continue to give success to us, and in our successes make the commonweal happy. And that the tenor of this our gracious ordinance may be made known unto all, we will that you cause it by your authority to be published everywhere."

This edict, says Lactantius, was directed to the "president of the province."

The policy of persecuting Christianity in order to destroy it had now undergone a trial of nearly three centuries, and had entirely failed. Often declared by imperial edict as hostile to the State, it was at last pronounced a necessity to the State, and paganism, the religion of the pagus, or country village, was thrown into the background.[1]

FAILURE OF PERSECUTION.

[1] On the persecutions in general, and the relation of the Church to the Roman State, besides the works already mentioned, see Neumann, Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diokletian, Leipz., 1890, a most valuable investigation; Plehwe, Die Christenverfolgungen der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Berl., 1889; Réville, Die Religion zu Rom unter den Severen, Leipz., 1888; Allard, Hist. des Persécutions pendant les deux premiers Siècles d'après les documents archéologiques, Paris, 1885; and the same author's Les Dernières Persécutions du troisiéme Siècle (under Decius, Gallus, and Valerian), Paris, 1887; Mommsen, Hist. of Rome: the Provinces, 2 vols., N. Y., 1887; Duruy, Hist. des Romains, vol. vii, Paris, 1885; Addis, Christianity and the Roman Empire, Lond., 1893, chap. iii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITERARY ATTACK.

THE opposition to Christianity was twofold. Not content with inflicting physical penalties, both Jews and pagans entered the field of literature with the common purpose of preventing the new religion from securing a firm place in the domain of thought. One peculiar characteristic of Christianity commanded the respect of all thinking opponents, and at the same time inspired their dread, lest this new phenomenon from the Jewish provinces might gain a recognition as an important intellectual development. Reluctant as their opponents were to admit it, the Christians possessed the treasure of a unique and venerable literature. The first century did not close without the fact becoming apparent to both the Greek and Latin mind that Christianity, far from being a wild outgrowth of the warm oriental imagination, had such ancient records as formed the positive groundwork of its entire creed.

LITERATURE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

It was clear that these writings were at total variance from all the ethnic religions, in that they were based on historical events, and not on legendary traditions; that they dealt with fundamental moral themes; that they diverged radically from the speculative methods of the philosophic schools by asserting their doctrines with masterful positiveness; that the people professing these doctrines had never grown weary of them through the twenty centuries of their history; that out of these writings there had been evolved a new and larger faith, with all the strong support of heroic characters and of a central figure who asserted his own divinity and whose disciples were multiplying in all lands; and that the older writings, going farther back than Homer, and presenting a cosmogony more consistent than that of Hesiod, were supplemented by new treatises, which were more original in conception, clear in method, and aggressive in spirit than any known to the pagan literature. The men who saw most deeply into the times became convinced that something more was necessary than an imperial edict against an illicit faith and the banishment or death of its adherents.

HIGH QUALITY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

The two methods of opposition went side by side. During the

time that the proconsuls declared the forfeiture of property and personal violence the writers attacked the documents and analyzed the motives of the Christians, and did not hesitate to misrepresent their moral character. The people were fast falling away from attendance at the temple service, and exhibited a growing indifference toward the priesthood and that now disenchanted mythology which underlay their hold upon the popular mind. In the eastern parts of the Roman empire such was the small number of worshipers in some of the older and greater temples that the alarm reached Rome itself, and became a ground of fear to the makers, not less than to the administrators, of the laws. In addition to the loss to the number of pagan worshipers by the withdrawal of Christians, there were as many, in all probability, who did not profess Christianity and yet were influenced into indifference by the Christian example, and held aloof from all interested observance of the pagan rites. The whole social atmosphere was pervaded by a chilliness toward the old faith, and while the people, apart from the influence of Christianity, had begun to grow tired of paganism, as a political factor it was regarded as a necessity for the existence of the State. When a faith loses its moral power, and is only upheld by the poor claim that the country needs it for its own perpetuity, its days are numbered.

DECLINE OF PAGANISM.

Such was now the hopeless condition of paganism. It was not defended, by its warmest friends, on moral grounds. Through all their attacks upon Christianity we read but one plea for it—the empire must sustain it for its own life. With great force the apologists retorted: Your own writers have revealed its hollowness as a vital and pure system, and how can that be good for the State which is destitute of these essential internal qualities for the individual? We here find a critical literature which greatly aided the work of the apologetical writers. They did not see about them a robust and aggressive paganism, rearing new temples, endowing them with larger wealth, and sending heralds into the remote provinces for the organization of new pagan societies. The question was not of advance, but how to keep the existing possession. The apologists, therefore, had the large advantage of contending with a religion which was growing more decrepit every year in the very face and by the admission of its warmest devotees.

THE QUESTION WITH PAGANISM ONE OF EXISTENCE.

The Jewish writers against Christianity were few in number, the downfall of their nation having destroyed all disposition to encounter so vigorous an antagonist. No work or name of a writer has been preserved, and, with the single exception of the notorious book Toledoth Jeschu, which Voltaire has vainly attempted to clothe

with historical importance as the first literary attack on Christianity,[1] not even the title of a Jewish work against the Christian faith has come down to our times. The only proof we have of Jewish writings against Christianity is to be found in such references to them as may be found in Justin's Dialogue with Tryphon, in Tertullian's work Against the Jews, in occasional allusions in several of Cyprian's works, and in the repeated declarations of Origen that he had himself disputed with the Jews.[2]

THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH ATTACK.

The Jewish attack was confined to the following points: that Jesus did not fulfill in his own person the prophecies of glory, honor, and a kingdom which his disciples claimed to have reference to him; that he was, therefore, not the Messiah; that the Mosaic law is still in force; and that the resurrection was a myth, for the disciples stole the body of Jesus. The whole Jewish opposition, accordingly, was confined to an attack upon the divine character of Jesus and the credulity and deception of his disciples.

There were enough occasional references to Christianity in the Roman and Greek writers to indicate the antagonistic spirit which prevailed in the Roman literature of the first two centuries. Tacitus dismisses the whole subject by saying that a certain Christ was the founder of the new sect, that this individual had been crucified by Pontius Pilate, under the government of Tiberius, that Christianity was a deadly superstition,[3] and that the Christians were obnoxious to the human race.[4] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus says that the soul must be ready to leave the body, not, as with the Christians, by a mere obstinacy, but by a well-considered resolve.[5] Juvenal sneers at Jewish, and by implication at Christian, adoration of the heavens.[6] Arrian puts in the mouth of his master, Epictetus, a protest against the assumption of the Galileans, that they have no fear of danger, or even of death itself, and that God has created all things in the world. Epictetus attributes the fearlessness of the Christians to madness (*μανία*) and habit (*ἔθος*).[7]

ROMAN WRITERS AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

Lucian, while a satirist upon all religions, was especially severe in his invective against Christianity. In three works, the Death of Peregrinus, Alexander or the False Prophet, and True History, he confined himself to an invidious but unmistakable opposition to

[1] Œuvres, i, 69, p. 36. This Middle-age forgery, which every Jew now treats with contempt, Voltaire puts into the first century. See Pick, McClintock and Strong, x, 456.

[2] Contra Celsum, Lib. i.

[3] Exitiabilis superstitio. Ann., xv, 44.

[4] Odii in genus humanum. Ann., xv, 44.

[5] Meditations, xi, 3.

[6] Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant. Sat. 14, v, 96.

[7] Disc., iv, 7.

both the doctrines and the personages of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Of the Christians, he says that they worship the well-known sophist whom they crucified in Palestine, because he introduced new mysteries; that these poor people have gotten it into their heads that their souls and bodies are immortal; and that their first lawgiver has brought them to live like brothers from the moment they throw off the old faith. Either from an examination of the Old Testament Scriptures or hearsay as to their nature, Lucian became acquainted with the miraculous element of the Jewish and gospel history, and parodied the career of Jonah, the walking of Jesus on the Sea of Tiberias, and John's description of the New Jerusalem.[1] In his Peregrinus Proteus he represents the Christians, not as criminals or revolutionists, but as simply blindly believing enthusiasts, ready to make any sacrifice for the good of their community—which is exactly the attitude, as Harnack well says,[2] taken toward them by the indifferent in the last half of the second century.[3] The attack of Lucian failed of general impression. It was too veiled in fiction, and too indirect and satirical, to be of great force in the general pagan onslaught.

LUCIAN AGAINST BOTH JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.

We now come to the three Neoplatonists, Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles. They were by far the strongest assailants of early Christianity; and to resist their works was the chief aim of all the leading Christian apologists. Very little was known of the personal history of Celsus, even by his contemporaries. Origen, who refuted him, could say but little more of him than that he was an Epicurean and that he wrote in the former half of the second century. But Origen, elsewhere in his reply, admits that Celsus entertained Platonic ideas, such as a chief deity, a superintending providence, and the immortality of the soul. The attack of Celsus was directed against the entire foundation of the Christian faith. He assailed the Old Testament, the character of Jesus, and all the great doctrines which constitute the body of the Christian faith. He declared that Jesus was a deceiver; that he was born in lowliness and need; that he announced himself as God; that his mother was a poor woman; that she had improper relations with a soldier, one Panthera; that Jesus lived himself as a slave in Egypt; that he sought his bread in a miserable way; that he gathered disciples about him and deceived them; that all fled in the hour of dan-

CELSUS.

[1] De Vera Historia, L. i, Tom. ii, p. 94, f., ed. Reitz; L. ii, pp. 104, 107.

[2] In Herzog and Plitt, *s. v.*

[3] See Cotterill, Peregrinus Proteus, Edinb., 1879. Froude, to whom Lucian was a special favorite, has thoroughly canvassed that sparkling writer's attitude toward paganism and Christianity. See Short Studies, iii, 210–240; iv, 282–311.

ger; that some of them turned against him; that his own people put him to death, and that his resurrection was a deception.[1]

PORPHYRY.

Porphyry, of Tyre, was born about A. D. 233, and in his early years he bore the Phœnician name of Malchus. He went to Greece, where he studied philosophy, and in his thirtieth year went to Rome, and placed himself under the care of Plotinus. He subsequently removed to Sicily, where he wrote against Christianity. His fifteen books against the Christians dealt largely in thaumaturgy, and in his Life of Pythagoras he attempted to show that the pagan world presented higher magical characters than Jesus. The gospel history was his chief object of attack. He aimed to show that it abounded in contradictions.[2] Hierocles was a governor of Bithynia, and took active part in the Diocletian persecution. He then wrote a work, Candid Treatise Against the Christians, designed to trace a parallel between the magician Apollonius, of Tyana, and Jesus, and with a balance in favor of the former. He, like Porphyry, endeavored to prove many contradictions in the gospel history.[3]

THE SYSTEM IN THE PAGAN ATTACK.

But no definite idea of the fullness and bitterness of the pagan attack can be secured by an examination of the separate tasks to which the individual writers addressed themselves. Their assault was upon the entire Christian structure. There was a system in their method so thorough and far-reaching that the Christians of the time grasped at once the seriousness of the danger, and lost no time in giving equal breadth to the work of defense.

The charges against Christianity may be reduced to four general divisions: 1. Disloyalty to the State; 2. Philosophical absurdity; 3. False theology; 4. Immorality. Persistent opposition to the

[1] The work of Celsus has been well restored by Keim, with critical remarks of great value, in his Celsus's Wahres Wort, Zürich, 1873; also by Aubé, Hist. des Pers., Paris, 1878. Froude has done the same in Short Studies, iv, 237–281, preceded and followed by thoughts of his own, some just and true, others false and misleading. See Moeller, of Kiel, in Herzog and Plitt, xi, 101, ff. The date of Celsus's True Word is 177 or 178 (Keim). Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (Lond. and N. Y., 1886, pp. 253–268), has a fine treatment of Celsus, whom he calls a representative of the Reformed, or Unitarian, paganism.

[2] Porphyry was rightly regarded by the Christian fathers as a most formidable antagonist. Unfortunately his book against the Christians is lost, except the fragments which can be gathered from his opponents. See Cheetham, in Smith and Wace, *s. v.*

[3] The substance of Hierocles's attack can be obtained from Eusebius's reply to him, ed. by Gaisford, Euseb. Pamph. contra Hieroclem et Marcellum libri (Oxf., 1852), and Migne, iv, 795, ff.

Christians was based on their alleged hostility to the State. There is no proof that the Christians were disloyal to the empire. They were obedient citizens, avoiding all share in conspiracies against the existing authorities and paying taxes without murmuring. But, so great was the contrast between their civil life and that of their fellow-citizens, that they presented all the characteristics of a distinct social organization. They had much in common. Their early community of property was regarded as hostile to the general interests of the political body. They were regarded as subjects of that invisible kingdom of which Jesus had spoken, and which was an essential element in their theology. They confessed themselves to be members of the Church, which, to the pagan mind, was accepted as an antagonistic force to the empire. While they paid allegiance to the emperor, their citizenship extended only to the civil ruler; they would not accept him as worthy of divine honors while living, and, after his death, would not take any part in giving him a place in the pantheon. Their disposition was pacific, and, instead of engaging in warfare, except under compulsion, always discouraged warfare, and, when they could, refused military service.[1]

LOYALTY OF THE CHRISTIANS TO THE STATE.

Celsus declared that so soon as a man became a Christian he adopted a faith hostile to the nation. What, the writers asked, was the Roman empire but the gift of the gods? What was the long history of magnificent triumphs but the reward which the gods had granted in return for observance of the ancestral worship? When the Christians worshiped a foreign god they only invoked the divine wrath and made the State a sufferer by their irreverence and atheism. Even Horace, with reference to a decay in worship, had earlier said:

CELSUS ON THE PATRIOTISM OF THE CHRISTIANS.

"Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ.
Jam bis Monæses et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros; et adjecisse prædam
Torquibus exiguis renidet."[2]

[1] Watson, The Ante-Nicene Apologies, p. 36. The Christians did not entirely refuse military service (Tertullian, Apol., xlii), but their attitude toward war in the first two centuries was almost like that of the Quakers. See Brace, Gesta Christi, chap. viii.

[2] Th' offended gods, in horrors dire,
On sad Italia poured their ire;
The Parthian squadrons twice repelled
Our inauspicious powers, and quelled
Our boldest efforts, while they shone
With spoils, from conquered Romans won.—Od., L. iii, vi, 7 ff.

As the long prosperity of the Roman commonwealth was held to be due to the religion of the people, and that religion had proven its right to existence by its achievements, the Christian religion ought not to be allowed to take its place, for it was only a new faith, a thing of a few days.[1] A fundamental reason why the Christians held aloof from political life is to be found in the close relationship between the civil and religious structure of the Roman life. No man could hold office without at the same time engaging in the national religion and declaring fidelity to its priesthood and taking the oaths, or sacramenta, which were enjoined by the religion. The citizen, to bear office, must declare himself a pagan. If he refused office he practically renounced paganism.[2] Trajan had them in mind as enemies to his rule when he issued an edict against all associations, and even forbade the existence of a fire company in Nicomedia. To the charge of disloyalty there was added that of the uselessness of the Christians to society. They bought no images, paid nothing but the State tax toward sustaining the temple service, did not encourage the arts which throve from the manufacture of images to the gods, and hence were declared a burden to society. For this reason they should be treated as aliens, whose conduct merits only opposition. Tertullian puts in the mouth of the pagans a single sentence against the Christians, which sums up their entire opposition on the ground of disloyalty and uselessness, "You have no right to exist."[3]

REASON OF THE ABSENCE OF THE CHRISTIANS FROM POLITICAL LIFE.

As the three leading writers against Christianity claimed to be philosophers, and belonged to the Neoplatonic school, it was natural that they should make philosophy an important factor in their attack. The Christian writers made but little use of philosophy in their argument, for their conception of Christianity was that both the pagan mythology and philosophy, however much they might differ at times, were essential parts of that one whole with which Christianity had nothing in common. Porphyry conceded that there were points of analogy between Christianity and the pagan religion, but claimed that all the great moral ideas in the faith of the Christians were borrowed from the better pagan thinkers. Christianity was declared by him, and by each of the other antagonists, to have no philosophical basis, and to be but a mere outgrowth of superstition and an unskilled imagination. The Christian Scriptures were held to

ALLEGATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL ABSURDITY.

[1] Novella religio et ante dies nata prope modum paucos.

[2] Tzschirner, Geschichte der Apologetik, p. 194.

[3] Non licet esse vos. Apol., iv.

be untrue because of their unphilosophical accounting for the creation of the world and the relation of man to Deity. The Book of Genesis was held by Celsus to be a poor travesty of the story of Deucalion.[1] Christianity, whether examined in its Old Testament origin or in its New Testament development, had no element of philosophical symmetry and calm speculation, and must therefore be relegated to a place among those faiths which appear for a time as an unaccountable permission of the gods for the misguidance of men. The place of faith in the Christian scheme was really only a recognition of an imaginary force, whose basis was ignorance. Of the Christians Celsus said: "Their universal cry is, 'Why do we need to inquire and examine? Only believe.'"[2]

The attack on Christianity dealt largely with the Scriptures. When Celsus wrote the New Testament canon had not been collected in its complete state, or at least was not current; but Porphyry and Hierocles, who wrote later, had the full benefit of examining the whole New Testament. No fundamental Christian doctrine escaped the hostility of these writers. Their charges were on this wise: The God of the Christians, so far as he was rightly conceived, has long been known to the pagan mind. All Christian additions to that conception are false notions. The images to the gods are only poor reminders of their presence and majesty.[3] The offerings only show the proper human reverence toward them.[4] The Christians have their angels and subordinate spirits; so have the pagans; the Christians have a superintending Deity; so have the pagans.

CHARGE OF FALSE THEOLOGY.

Wherein, then, is the Christian theology better than the pagan? Where is the history of a great empire to which the Christians can appeal as the fruit of their theology? Look at the absurd stories of their sacred writings. They claim that the world was created in six days, and yet they number several days before the present days were created. They speak of a flood, and a ridiculous box, in which all things sailed and were saved. Their prophecies are not comparable to our own prophetic writings. Daniel was not even written by a man of that name, but by a later deceiver. The Old Testament abounds in contradictions, barbarisms, and solecisms. Your whole doctrine is an "idiotic speech."[5] Your gospel history begins with legends about Jesus. If you had a God, then what was the use of Jesus being taken to Egypt? Could he not have been

THE CHARGE THAT THE CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IS NO BETTER THAN THE PAGAN.

[1] Origen, Contra Celsum, L. iv.
[2] Origen, Contra Celsum, L. i.
[3] Origen, Contra Celsum, L. vii.
[4] Arnobius, L. vii, c. 18.
[5] λόγος ἰδιωτικός, Origen, Contra Celsum, L. vi.

protected at home? Jesus grew up with the idea of imposture. He devoted himself to witchcraft and deceived the multitude. Even his own countrymen banished him, when he collected a band of ninety men and lived by highway robbery.[1] Why did Jesus weep, and cry, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me?" If you want to find a good character, why did you not take one of ours, such as Hercules, Orpheus, or Anaxarchus.[2] Your apostles were both deceived and deceivers. "You give us nothing but stories," says the Jew in Celsus. "Your apostles were divided in opinion, as one can see in the dispute between Paul and Peter in Antioch. Your whole New Testament, like your Old, is only a tissue of contradictions, which must disappear beneath the blaze of the world's more advanced intelligence."

THE CHARGE OF IMMORALITY.

We now come to the most unaccountable of all the pagan grounds of objection to Christianity. Even Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, gives only faint encouragement to this charge. But the three champions of paganism did not hesitate to charge the Christians with an immoral life. When they came to prove it, however, they failed completely. Cæcelius attempts to show that the secret meetings of the Christians were scenes of revelry and infamy, while their public life had the show of decorum; that they were a secretive and darksome people, silent in public and garrulous in the corners.[3] The most malicious slanders were circulated as to their proceedings in secret. It was claimed that they ate their victims—a desperate and vile abuse, most likely, of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It was urged that they engaged in a species of personal communism—no doubt a slander derived from the peaceful life of the Christians in their homes and their fraternal spirit in their religious meetings.

How such false reports could be circulated is, to this day, one of the mysteries of this remarkable period. Some suppose that they had their origin, in large measure, from the intense hostility of the Jews, who gave the pagan writers the benefit of their reports. Others hold that apostates from Christianity did commit these very

[1] Lactantius, Instit. div., L. v, c. 3, p. 530, ed. Walch.

[2] Origen, Contra Celsum, L. vii. To the honor of Porphyry it must be said that he did not share with his associates, Celsus and Hierocles, in their aspersions on the character of Jesus, but attributed to him a pure life, which was rewarded by immortality. Comp. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, L. xix, c. 23, § 2.

[3] Cur etenim occultare et abscondere, quidquid illud est, quod colunt, magnopere nituntur, quum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint? nunquam palam loqui, nunquam libere congregari sustinent, nisi illud, quod colunt et interprimunt, aut puniendum est aut pudendum. Minucius Felix, c. 10.—Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publico muta et in angulis garrula.

offenses, and then declared that they were Christian practices, and so misled the pagan writers.[1]

We do not believe in the correctness of either theory, but that the pagan writers, knowing well the nameless license practiced in their own Eleusinian mysteries, and even within the temple inclosures at the celebration of the festivities of Venus and other deities, attributed the same deeds to the Christians, knowing that what was not visible could not be readily denied. It might be supposed that the pagan writers, in charging the Christians with immorality, were making such an absurd issue as could be readily refuted. This must be remembered, however: they wrote for pagans, people who were glad to believe the most malicious assertions. They pandered to the popular prejudice and told their readers what the latter were glad to believe. Such an argument, however, could only avail for a short time. The life of the Christians was soon before the world, and beneath its broad and beautiful blaze all slanders must soon disappear. It was part of the penalty which Christians had to pay for an approving conscience and a successful religion.

THE CHARGE OF IMMORALITY MADE BECAUSE OF THE PAGAN READINESS TO BELIEVE ANY ASSERTION.

Such was the method of argument against Christianity on the ground of its scriptural theology. The people for whom the pagans wrote had no acquaintance with the Scriptures, and hence were compelled to accept what was written as a true account of their faith. The arguments had no effect on the Christians themselves, who had at hand their own inspired refutation of them. There is no evidence that any of them were alienated from their faith by any or all the pagan misrepresentations. Little was hoped by even the writers themselves in the way of convincing the Christians. The most they expected was to prevent an increase in the number of Christians. Happily, in this hope they were disappointed.

THE PAGAN ATTACK WITHOUT EFFECT ON THE CHRISTIANS.

[1] Tzschirner allows these suppositions. See Geschichte der Apologetik, p. 217.

LITERATURE: THE APOLOGISTS.

1. Schroeckh, J. M. Ausführliche Geschichte d. christl. Kirche, Leipz., 1768–1812. 45 vols., vols. iii, iv, with copious extracts.
2. Lardner, N. Works, Lond., 1838. 10 vols., vol. ii.
3. Otto, J. C. T. E. de. Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Seculi Secundi, Jena, 1842–81, 9 vols.
4. Watson, F. The Antenicene Apologies, Cambridge, 1870. Defenders of the Faith, Lond., 1878.
5. Harnack, A. Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, Leipz., 1882.
6. Cruttwell, C. T. Literary Hist. of Early Christianity, Lond., 1893, gives a long and most satisfactory treatment; Addis, Christianity and the Roman Empire, chap. iv; Sheldon, Hist. of the Church, N. Y., 1894, 5 vols., vol. i, pp. 121–192, a useful and instructive chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS.

TWO CLASSES OF APOLOGISTS.

We now come to the more welcome task of considering the method and spirit with which Christian writers met the pagan assault. There were two classes of apologists, the Greek and the Latin, so named according to the territory in which they lived and the language in which they wrote.

GREEK APOLOGISTS.

The following are the Greek apologists: Aristo, Quadratus, Aristides Justin, Melito, Miltiades, Claudius Apollinaris, Apollonius, Bardesanes, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Theophilus, of Antioch, Tatian, Hermias, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen. The Latin apologists were: Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, and Arnobius. The two classes differed in many important respects. The Greek writers belonged, for the most part, to the second century, and in their writings exhibit a knowledge of the Greek schools of philosophy, which was of great service to them in their work of defense. Some of them had been taught in the schools of pagan learning, and adopted Christianity only in mature years.

THE LATIN APOLOGISTS.

The Latin apologists, not one of whom lived in Rome, belonged to the third century, and had been educated as rhetoricians. They made a more careful use of style in both the framework and development of their writings. Lactantius represents his Latin associates not less than himself when he says that he had cultivated eloquence with great diligence because of its utility in defending true religion.[1]

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GREEK AND THE LATIN APOLOGISTS.

The Greek apologists endeavored to prove, against their antagonists, that Christianity was the culmination of all the great religious movements of the world, and that it was a satisfaction of the great aspiration of humanity for the truth and the life. The Latins, on the other hand, presented Christianity in its independent claims, as having no parallels in the ethnic faiths, and fulfilling in itself all that was unsatisfactory in other religions.[2] The Greek apologists were more purely defensive, because of the novelty and force of the attack.

[1] Div. Instit., I. 1.

[2] Comp. Westcott, Canon, p. 56.

The Latins, coming later, and viewing the assault more in the perspective, were more composed in their method, and often carried the war within the lines of the enemy. The apologies began purely on the defensive, but closed with a triumphant assault upon the whole pagan position.[1]

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF THE GREEK AND THE LATIN APOLOGISTS.

The work at which all the apologists wrought seemed to them only fragmentary, but as we look back upon it we see a singular unity in their labor. As the Cologne Cathedral has been long in building, one generation of architects and artisans succeeding another during the six centuries of toil and incompleteness, until at last we see the complete Gothic structure, in its breadth of plan, massiveness of walls, delicacy of finish, and perfect unity, from the foundation to the highest spires, so do we observe in the building of the first apologetic structure of Christianity a scope in design and unity of execution which, despite the variety of laborers, constitute it still one of the strongest, as it is almost the first, of the theological structures of the Christian ages. Those writers wrought for all times, and in every later period of attack on Christianity the mind of the Church has turned reverently toward its first apologies for encouragement in disturbed theological periods and for weapons of defense against the enemies of the word and the kingdom of God.

Many of the works of these first defenders of the faith have disappeared. In some instances we have only the titles; in others mere fragments, preserved by Eusebius, Jerome, and other writers; while in still others there is strong ground for supposing that the very names of the authors, with their writings, have disappeared from all human records. But no such oblivion has befallen the apologists as has overtaken their opponents. Only a small share of the attacks of the latter have survived, and this only in such fragmentary form as has been incorporated by the apologists in their writings for the purpose of refutation. To the stupendous Christian literature of the apologist, therefore, the first assailants of Christianity are chiefly indebted for their rescue from total oblivion.

OBLIVION OF THE PAGAN ATTACKS.

We shall content ourselves, so far as the personal life of the apologists is concerned, with the main facts of their history and with their principal contributions to apologetical literature.

[1] Ritter, Geschichte d. christ. Philosophie, I, p. 290. Cruttwell gives an excellent analysis of the different classes of apologists in his Literary Hist. of Early Christianity, Lond., 1893, vol. i, pp. 277-287; an admirable work, indispensable to every student of historical theology.

The Greek writers come first into view. Aristo, born in Pella, east of the Jordan, was originally a Jew. His Dialogue Between Papiskos and Jason was an attempt to prove from the Old Testament and the exact fulfillment of prophecy the truth of Christianity and the Messiahship of Jesus.[1] Quadratus, Bishop of Athens at the time when Hadrian spent a winter in that city, A. D. 131, addressed an apology to that emperor to cease the persecution of the Christians. According to Jerome his work had great influence in securing milder measures.[2] ARISTO AND QUADRATUS.

Aristides was a philosopher of Athens, and, on accepting Christianity, became a defender of it. He retained his philosophical method of argumentation, and endeavored to show the resemblance of Christianity to all of worth in paganism. The discovery of the Apology of Aristides is one of the most interesting literary events in recent times. Several valuable monuments of early Christian literature have been brought to light by the researches of Armenian monks among their ancient manuscripts and versions. These include an Armenian version of Tatian and the Apologies and Acts.[3] In 1878 the Mechitarist monks of the Armenian convent of San Lazaro, at Venice, published an Armenian translation of the long lost Apology of Aristides. Scholars were doubtful, however, of the authenticity of this work, and waited further confirmations. These were furnished unexpectedly by the discovery, in 1889, by the masterful J. Rendel Harris, in the convent of Saint Catherine, on Mount Sinai, of a Syriac manuscript containing a complete translation of the whole of the Apology. This was in sufficient accord with the Armenian fragment to vindicate the substantial genuineness of the latter. Still stranger than all, when Harris showed the proofs of his Syriac manuscript to J. Armitage Robinson, the editor of the Cambridge Texts and Studies, the latter scholar at once discovered a remarkable similarity to a portion of the History of Barlaam and Josaphat (Joasaph), attributed by some to Saint John of Damascus, and published in Migne's edition of the works of that father. The writer or editor of this romance had transferred bodily into his History the Apology of Aristides, as a defense of Christianity, delivered by Barlaam before APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

[1] Celsus had a contemptuous opinion of this Dialogue. He says that it is "worthy not so much of laughter as of pity and indignation" (Origen, Contra Cels., iv, 52). It was translated into Latin by another Celsus, whose Preface is still extant. See Eusebius, H. E., iv, 6; Routh, Rel. Sac., i, 96; Jerome, Com. Gal., II, iii, 13; Jerome, Quest. Heb. in Gen., II, p. 507; Cruttwell, *l. c.*, I, 295.

[2] See Eusebius, H. E., iv, 3; Jerome, De Vir. Illustr., 19, Ep. 70.

[3] Translated by F. C. Conybeare. See above, p. 172.

the Indian monarch Abenner and his son Josaph. We have, then, this old Apology in three forms, the Armenian, Syriac, and Greek, with various versions of this last, so that the work of criticism in restoring the real text is not difficult.

HARRIS ON THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

Of this Apology Harris well says: "The language and thought of the writer are simple and straightforward; in fact, he is more a child than a philosopher, a child well trained in creed and well practiced in ethics, rather than either a dogmatist defending a new system or an iconoclast destroying an old one; but this simplicity of treatment, so far from being a weakness, adds often greatly to the natural impressiveness of the subject, and gives the work a place by the side of the best Christian writings of his age."[1]

The date is 125 (Eusebius) or 138 (Harris). This is the most interesting discovery in Christian literature made since the publication of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.[2]

JUSTIN MARTYR.

Justin, of Flavia Neapolis, near Shechem, the capital of Samaria, went from one school of philosophy to another in a vain search for the truth. Meeting at last with an aged Christian he embraced Christianity, and remained an ardent defender of its doctrines until his martyrdom in Rome about A. D. 165. He wrote two formal apologies against paganism, one about A. D. 147, and addressed to Antoninus Pius; the other about A. D. 148–159, and addressed to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. His object was to show that the Christians were not responsible for the public calamities; that they were not hostile to the State; that the pagan philosophy and mythology abound in falsehood, and that the Scriptures are the only source of truth. His Trypho was a discussion, modeled after the dialogues of Plato, designed to prove the truth of Christianity against Judaism.

The works of Justin Martyr are the most important productions of the second century, and go a large way toward filling the void between the apostolic fathers and the great work on Heresies, by Irenæus, in the latter part of the century.[3]

[1] Cruttwell, *l. c.*, ii, 288–292; Mrs. Helen B. Harris, The Apology of Aristides: its Doctrine and Ethics, with translations by J. Rendel Harris, Lond., 1891; edited by J. R. Harris, from Syriac, with Greek text, translations, notes, and appendix, Cambridge, 1892; Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 687; iii, 578.

[2] Isaac H. Hall, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1891, p. 688.

[3] The best book on Justin Martyr is Purves, The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity, N. Y., 1889; a noble monument to American patristic study. See also Semisch, Justin der Märtyrer, Breslau, 1840–42, 2 vols; Engelhardt, Das Christenthum Justins des Märt., Erlangen, 1878; the same in Herzog and Plitt; the elaborate article by Holland, in Smith and Wace (27 pp.);

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century, wrote two apologies, addressed to Antoninus Verus, Marcus, and Commodus. He employed an analytical method, and was called by Tertullian the "Sophist of the Church."[1] Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, about A. D. 170, addressed an apology to Antoninus Verus, and wrote five books against the Greeks, two against the Jews, and two on The Truth.[2] MELITO AND APOLLINARIS.

Apollonius, though a Roman, and supposed by some to have been a senator, takes rank as a Greek apologist, because his apologetic work was translated early by Eusebius, and the author was classified by that historian among the Greek martyrs.

The defense of Apollonius was published by Eusebius, in his last collection of martyrdoms. Fortunately, a translation was made in the ancient Armenian Church, and this was recovered and given to the world in 1874, by the learned Armenian monks of San Lazaro, in Venice, and was first published in a European tongue by Conybeare, in 1894. This work is a fresh and living memorial of Christian testimony and heroism, and one of the most interesting of all the remains of antiquity. The creed of Apollonius is simple. What chiefly impresses him is the moral grandeur of Christianity.[3] APOLLONIUS.

Bardesanes wrote an apology and addressed it to the Greeks. Athenagoras, a native of Athens, was a philosopher, and, on accepting Christianity, applied his philosophical method in its defense. His principal contribution BARDESANES, ATHENAGORAS, AND THEOPHILUS.

Harnack, Dogmengeschichte, i, 372–422; Cruttwell, ii, 317–337; and the prolegomena to Otto's edition of his works, and to Harnack and Gebhardt's Texte and Untersuchungen. Krüger has given the text of the apologies in handy form for students, Die Apologien Justin des Märt., Freiburg, 1891, and Gildersleeve has done the same, with valuable notes, in the Douglass Series of Ancient Christian Writers, N. Y., 1877. On his use of the Gospels, see Edwin A. Abbott, in Modern Rev., 1882, pp. 559, 716; and Harman, in Meth. Rev., 1895, p. 81.

[1] See Eusebius, H. E., iv, 26, with notes of McGiffert; Harnack, Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchrist. Lit., Leipz., 1882, Bnd. i, pp. 240–278.

[2] Eusebius, *l. c.*, iv, 27.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., v, 21; Jerome, De Vir. Illustr., xlii. The Armenian Publication of 1874 was not noticed by any European scholar until Conybeare printed a rendering into English in the Guardian (Lond., June 18, 1898). A copy of this important translation was sent to Harnack, who at once saw the transcendent interest of this primitive fragment, and contributed a learned monograph upon it to the Royal Prussian Academy. The Acts of Apollonius form the real basis of Conybeare's invaluable collection, The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity, Lond., 1894, which he has made from the Armenian.

to apologetical theology was his Embassy of the Christians (A. D. 176–178).[1] Theophilus, of Antioch, was an educated pagan. He became a Christian through the study of the Scriptures, and wrote apologetical works (A. D. 180), with special reference to the errors prevailing in the Church in his times.[2]

TATIAN AND HERMIAS.

Tatian was a native of Assyria. He was at first a pagan philosopher, but was converted to Christianity by reading the prophecies, and removed to Rome. In his Address to the Greeks, written before 166, he proved that Greek science was only the growth of the more barbarous nations, and that the truths and exemplars of the Bible are superior to all produced by paganism in its best days. It was a powerful attack, and made a sensation in Rome. He returned to his native country, and died about A. D. 176.[3] Hermias wrote in the latter half of the second century. In his Ridicule of Outside Philosophers he showed the contradictions of pagan thinkers.[4]

CLEMENT, HIPPOLYTUS, AND ORIGEN.

Clement of Alexandria, born probably in Athens, wrote three important works, the Protreptikos, or Hortatory Address of the Greeks, the Pedagogue, and the Stromata, in all of which he exposed the emptiness of paganism.[5] Hippolytus's great work, Refutation of All Heresies, written after 222, is in the nature of an apologetic, as it is a powerful analysis, from a hostile standpoint, of all the heathen systems of theology and philosophy. It was discovered in 1842, in the convent at Mount Athos, by Minoides Minas, who was sent out by M. Abel Villemain, minister of public instruction under Louis Philippe, to search for lost manuscripts. It was carried through the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1851, by a learned Frenchman, M. Emmanuel Miller, who, however, erroneously ascribed it to Origen, misled by the survival of the first book among the genuine works of Origen.[6]

Origen was born A. D. 185, in an unknown place in Egypt, and

[1] Best ed. by Schwartz, Leipz., 1891. Comp. Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 364; Hefele, Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, 1864, i, 60–81.

[2] Best ed. by Otto, Jena, 1861. Comp. Cruttwell, *l. c.*, ii, 313, f. Schaff, rev. ed., ii, 732, f.

[3] Best ed. by Schwartz, Leipz., 1888. Heft ii contains the commentary. See McGiffert, in the Presb. Rev., x (1889), 142; Schaff, ii, 726–729.

[4] Tzschirner endeavors to show that this is only a part of a larger work. Comp. Geschichte der Apologetik, pp. 259, 260. Best ed. by Otto, Jena, 1872. Singularly enough no translation of this witty, though superficial, caricature of paganism appears in the Antenicene Library. It was, however, translated by J. A. Giles, Lond., 1857.

[5] Best ed. by Dindorf, Oxf., 1869, 4 vols.

[6] Best ed., Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1859, or Cruice, Paris, 1860.

was first instructed by his father, Leonides, and afterward by Clement of Alexandria and Ammonius. In his eight books, written about A. D. 250 against Celsus, he examined paganism with the greatest care and minuteness, and exposed its weakness and failure.[1]

TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian stands at the head of the Latin apologists. He was born in Carthage, had a careful Christian training, and entered upon the work of Christian defense with a zeal which was never interrupted until death. His Apology Against the Pagans, which was written about A. D. 197, is the most brilliant achievement of defensive writing in the early Church. In unity and skill it is a masterpiece. He shows both the futility and injustice of persecution, and proves the error of the charge of atheism made against the Christians. In his Proof of the Soul and Against the Heathen Mythology he proves the unity of God. About A. D. 211 he wrote his book to Scapula, who was a proconsul in Africa, and was very cruel toward the Christians. His book against the Jews was a reply to Jewish arguments, and his book on the Resurrection was a triumphant vindication of the immortality of man.[2] Minucius Felix, a native of Africa, wrote a work, Octavius, in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a pagan. He is the first Latin apologist, writes with enthusiasm and elegance, modeling his work on Cicero's De Natura Deorum, and sometimes turns a point with the precision of Tacitus. His Octavius was written between 177 and 180, probably at the latter date.[3]

CYPRIAN.

Cyprian, born in Carthage about A. D. 200, became a Christian about A. D. 244; was bishop of Carthage A. D. 248, and suffered martyrdom A. D. 258. His principal apologetic works were: Book to Donatus, The Grace of God, Vanity of Idols, Testimony Against the Jews, and Book to Demetrianus. In these works Cyprian was indebted to the more powerful genius of

[1] Best ed. by Koetschau, Leipz., 1889. See Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 151. On the controversy with Celsus, see Schaff, ii, 89–93, 795; Möller, in Herzog and Plitt, *s. v.* Origen; John Patrick, The Apology of Origen in Reply to Celsus, Edinb., 1892, a careful and scholarly historical study (v. Critical Review, ii, 321); Cruttwell, *l. c.*, ii, pp. 498–502. See below, pp. 303–308.

[2] Best ed., Reifferscheid and Wissowa, Vienna, 1890, ff. Comp. Noeldecken, Tertullian dargestellt, Gotha, 1890; the same author in Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie, 1886, H. ii; and in Hist. Zeitschrift, 1885, H. 5; W. von Hartel, Tertullian, Vienna, 1890. Maurice gives a fine estimate of his character, books, and influence in his Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries, pp. 278–288.

[3] Best ed., Dombart, Erlangen, 1882. See also Halm's ed., Vienna, 1867; Chambers, in Presb. Rev., iii (1882), 420; Salmond, in Smith and Wace, *s. v.*, whose views as to the date must be corrected by Keim and Dombart and Ebert. See below, pp. 312–314.

Tertullian. The Address to Demetrian is one of his most interesting writings. Demetrian, a professor of rhetoric, had pressed the oft-used point that the calamities of the world in its age and decrepitude were to be attributed to the Christian "atheists." In this remarkable passage Cyprian acknowledges that the world is indeed in its decrepitude:

CYPRIAN ON THE DECREPITUDE OF THE WORLD.

"You have said that all these things are caused by us, and that to us ought to be attributed the misfortunes wherewith the world is now shaken and distressed, because your gods are not worshiped by us. And in this behalf, since you are ignorant of divine knowledge, and a stranger to the truth, you must in the first place know this, that the world has now grown old, and does not abide in that strength in which it formerly stood; nor has it that vigor and force which it formerly possessed. This, even were we silent, and if we alleged no proof from the sacred Scriptures and from the divine declarations, the world itself is now announcing and bearing witness to its decline by the testimony of its failing estate. In the winter there is not such an abundance of showers for nourishing the seeds; in the summer the sun has not so much heat for cherishing the harvest; nor in the spring season are the cornfields so joyous; nor are the autumnal seasons so fruitful in their leafy products. The layers of marble are dug out in less quantity from the disemboweled and wearied mountains; the diminished quantities of gold and silver suggest the early exhaustion of the metals, and the impoverished veins are straitened and decreased day by day; the husbandman is failing in the fields, the sailor at sea, the soldier in the camp, innocence in the market, justice in the tribunal, concord in friendships, skillfulness in the arts, discipline in morals. Think you that the substantial character of a thing that is growing old remains so robust as that wherewith it might previously flourish in its youth while still new and vigorous? Whatever is tending downwards to decay, with its end nearly approaching, must of necessity be weakened. Thus the sun at his setting darts his rays with a less bright and fiery splendor; thus, in her declining course, the moon wanes with exhausted horns; and the tree, which before had been green and fertile, as its branches dry up, becomes by and by misshapen in a barren old age; and the fountain which once gushed forth liberally from its overflowing veins, as old age causes it to fail, scarcely trickles with a sparing moisture. This is the sentence passed on the world, this is God's law, that everything that has had a beginning should perish, and things that have grown should become old, and that strong things should become weak, and great things become small, and

that, when they have become weakened and diminished they should come to an end."[1]

Cyprian then turns the tables on his opponent with great force, and argues that the pagans, by their idolatry and vice, have sinned away their day, and have brought the world to this pass.[2]

Arnobius taught rhetoric in his native place, Sicca, Africa, from A. D. 297 to A. D. 310. In his Seven Books of Discussion Against the Pagans he represents the Christians as not responsible for public calamities. He excels all the apologists in the use of the miracles of Jesus as an element of successful Christian attack upon paganism. The circumstances under which this work was written were peculiar. Arnobius had been a bitter opponent of the Christians. When he was converted the Bishop of Sicca would not admit him to the Church until he had proved the reality of his conversion by writing a strong defense of his new religion. This he did in this famous book, Against the Nations,[3] in which the author discloses various erroneous and partial views about Christianity, but at the same time deals heathenism some telling blows.[4] Lactantius was, probably, an Italian by birth, and a student under Arnobius. He lived in Nicomedia, and wrote his Divine Institutions, according to Ebert,[5] during the persecution of Diocletian, between 307 and 310, and issued a second edition between 318 and 323, and dedicated it to Constantine the Great. He was early called the "Christian Cicero," and excelled all the writers of the early Church in the beauty and skill of his style. It was written for educated readers, and contains not only a strong defense of Christianity, but a luminous exposition of it.[6] His book on the Deaths of the Persecutors, written in Nicomedia in 314, is of inestimable value as an historical source for the most trying period of the Church's history.[7]

ARNOBIUS AND LACTANTIUS.

The titles of the works of the apologetic writers will indicate, in the main, the nature of the strong defense which they made. From their works, as a whole, the following may be regarded as their general line of defense and attack:

The apologists answered the charge of treachery by showing that

[1] Ad Demetrian., 3.

[2] Best ed. of Cyprian, by Hartel, Vienna, 1868–71, 3 vols.

[3] Adversus Gentes, Libri VII (about 303).

[4] Best ed. by Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1875.

[5] In Herzog and Plitt, *s. v.* See also his Ueber d. Verfasser d. Buches de Mort. Pers., Dresden, 1870.

[6] Best ed., Fritzsche, Leipz., 1842.

[7] Best ed., Dübner, Paris, 1879.

the Christians did not evade the taxes, that they rigidly observed all the civil laws of the country, and that, where they refused compliance, it was on the ground of civil compulsion to acknowledge the truth of paganism. The rule of the emperor was respected, but not his divine authority. "You charge us with bringing calamity upon the country by invoking the wrath of your gods," was the Christian retort to the allegation of disloyalty. "You mistake. Your own crimes have brought these calamities from our God. You persecute us, and must suffer for it.[1] Your religion was declining before our Messiah was born in Bethlehem. It had outworn itself."[2]

LOYALTY TO THE STATE PROVEN.

The apologists continue: "We never take your law in our hands. True, we do decline the military service where we can, for in doing so we must take your oath (*sacramentum*), and that does not agree with our loyalty to Christ. There is no agreement between the divine and human oath; the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil; the camp of light and the camp of darkness.[3] The Christian soldier must quit the service of the State, or his soul must suffer.[4] When our Lord disarmed Peter he disarmed every soldier.[5] Why do you not punish people of other faiths as well as us? We are positively the only ones you do persecute for their religion. You have nothing to say against the Trojans, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, or even the grossly idolatrous Egyptians.[6] You give liberty to worship everything but the one and true God.[7] You are unjust in the extreme. The Christian citizen is the only man who is not permitted to defend himself or have another speak for him. The mere declaration of his name shuts him out of all mercy. Your motto for us is: '*Confessio nominis, non examinatio criminis.*'[8] Why do you not change your laws so as to favor us with equality? Other nations have done it. Sparta changed the laws of Lycurgus, and your emperors have often canceled the edicts of their predecessors.[9] Nero is the first emperor who persecuted us; and certainly you despise his memory, and yet allow his laws against us to stand. Make us equal with all other citizens before your laws. Why not? We are the only class of citizens who are really free from disloyalty. When have we conspired against your government? Your own idolatrous people are your robbers and assassins and traitors. These dangerous classes never come from Christian homes. You furnish all the criminals."[10]

THE CHRISTIANS THE ONLY DISSENTERS WHO ARE PUNISHED.

[1] Cyp. ad Demet., c. 3–5. [2] Tertul., Apol., c. 40; Cyp. ad Demet.
[3] Tertul., De Idol., c. 19. [4] Idem, De Coron., c. 11. [5] Idem, De Idol., c. 19.
[6] Just., Apol. i, c. 32; Legat., pp. 1, 2, ed. Col. [7] Tertul., Apol., c. 4.
[8] Idem, c. 2. [9] Tertul., Apol., c. 4. [10] Idem, c. 44, 45.

The appeal to the pagan mind on the ground of elevated Christian morals was earnest and strong. The Christians had nothing to conceal. Their method of argument was chiefly on the line of a pure life being the outgrowth of pure doctrine. They said: "The precepts of Christianity are pure. We counsel charity and peace; we never teach theft or violence; hence our life must answer to our faith.[1] We live a life free from crime and reproach.[2] We live among you; you can see us every day; we eat the same food with yourselves; we wear the same kind of clothing; we are under the same necessities; we shun not the forum, or shambles, or booth, or workshop, or inn, or market, or any place of commerce.[3] Christ taught us peace and good will.[4] No man can charge us honestly with immorality. If you have the allegation to make we demand the proof.[5] You persecute us, but we never take the law in our hands; we do not avenge ourselves. Our religion teaches us to be quiet and orderly.[6] You say we meet with misfortunes; that we are a poor people; that we lead a lowly and despised life. True, we are a lowly people. But you make the complaint that the whole people suffer calamities. Why do you suffer too? Why do your gods let you have these trials? You have about as many trials according to your own confession as we do.[7] We do not complain. You do, and well you may."

PURITY OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER AND LIFE.

"Here," say the apologists, "is a department of Christianity where you make bold to attack us; but you have no ground to stand upon. We admit that we use no idols, and we do stay away from your temples.[8] Your Celsus brings it against us as a crime that we cannot endure the sight of your temples, altars, and statues to the gods.[9] To this we plead guilty. We cannot do otherwise. We have but one God, and him only will we serve.[10] Your charge of corrupt, secret worship is puerile and false. Why do you not prove it, at least in some one case? Until you do this the world must see that your allegation has no basis. Our private worship is like our public life. Let the laws grant us liberty of worship and we shall not be compelled to worship in the obscure places."

EXCELLENCE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

The apologists made large use of the Scriptures as a divine authority. They placed them beside the pagan systems of philosophy,

[1] Just., Apol., 14–17; Theoph. ad Autol., iii, 9–15.
[2] Lactant., Div. Inst., v, 9. [3] Tertul., Apol., c. 42.
[4] Just., Apol., c. 13. [5] Athenag., c. 11, 12. [6] Just., Apol., i, c. 12.
[7] Arnob., Advers. Gentes., L. ii, c. 76, 77.
[8] Lactant., Div. Inst., ii, 2, 4. [9] Orig., Contra Celsum, vii, 62.
[10] Idem, viii, 21; Lactant., Div. Inst., ii, 2; Min. Felix, Octavius, c. 6.

and were confirmed in their full faith in the excellence of their own inspired writings. Justin, Origen, Theophilus, and Lactantius were the only apologists who made extensive use of the Old Testament; but nearly all the Christian writers touched upon prophecy as a proof of the divine origin of the Old Testament. The Old Testament is harmonious throughout. Even where immorality in God's erring children is mentioned, it is only with condemnation of wrongdoing. "You charge us," say the apologists, "with familiar and homely language. We admit the justice of it. But God instructed his scribes to write for the uneducated as well as the learned.[1] None but the educated can fathom the speculations of your thinkers; and even they have all they can do. You have no writings with which to feed the poor millions. You object to our Hebrew tongue. It is the oldest tongue; your Greek is a novelty. Besides, we have the Greek as well in our New Testament. We have both tongues, and hence suit all classes. We have put our Hebrew into Greek, the Septuagint, and hence everybody can read our history and doctrines. Our doctrine of God is that he is a pure being, the Creator of all things, the Preserver, the Judge of nations and men. Your gods, the highest and the lowest, are corrupt, poor exemplars for men.[2] Our God is immanent in our life; he knows all things, and all things reveal him.[3] You teach corrupt views of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Your Plato has vague imaginings of these sublime truths; but our Bible presents them in clearness and gives examples of their truth.[4] We shall be rewarded after death.[5] We live happily here, knowing that our reward is certain in the next life.[6] Our doctrines are not presented vaguely and in the mist of speculation. We state them all clearly; every reader can know what we believe."

INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES AND PURITY OF DOCTRINE.

The apologists were nowhere more successful in argument than in their Christology. The character of Jesus was the chief point of pagan attack, and the defenders of the Christian faith saw very early that here they must be more full and careful than in any other department. The incarnation of Christ was a necessity—for pure doctrine, for a spotless example, and for the salvation of the soul. He is the only begotten of the Father, the Logos in flesh.[7] He revealed in himself the di-

DIVINE CHARACTER OF JESUS.

[1] Orig., Contra Celsum, L. viii.
[2] Tertul., Apol., c. 17.
[3] Minucius Felix, Octavius, c. 32, 33.
[4] Lactant., Div. Instit., vii, 8–18.
[5] Tertul., Apol., iii, c. 45.
[6] Minucius Felix, Octavius, c. 38.
[7] Just., Apol., i, c. 13; Tertul., Apol., c. 20; Lactant., c. 20; Lactant., Div. Instit., iv, 24, 29; Athenag., Apol., c. 10; Tat., Orat., 6, 5.

vine and eternal Wisdom. Jesus is the Christ; the Son of God; the God.[1] His miracles are the true works of God. To the pagan objection that Jesus only pretended to work miracles, the apologist replied that the pagan mythology claimed that their invisible gods were constantly performing miracles.[2] "Do you not say that your Æsculapius restores the lame and the halt? Do not your Orpheus and Zeno and Kleanthes say that they know the Logos?[3] Does not Plato, in a letter to Hermeas and Koriskus, speak of a Son of God? The life of Jesus is free from taint of every kind. In his death he was a model of patience and wisdom. He rose from the grave by virtue of his own omnipotence. You claim that his death was disgraceful. We reply, that it was no suicide. He was not responsible for his death. Two things must be remembered: The death of Jesus did not alter the character of his life or the purity of his doctrines. His death was what his enemies committed.[4] You cannot allege the violent death of a pure character as a charge against purity. Did not your Socrates, the highest type of morality produced by paganism, suffer death at the hands of his enemies? Nay, did not the sons of your Zeus suffer a violent death? The Holy Spirit is a divine effluence, a flowing from God and a return to him.[5] You complain of our doctrine of God. But do not your pagan philosophers speak of one God, of the resurrection of the dead, and of Gehenna?[6] Away with your charges against our Christology and all our doctrines! There is not a doctrine which we possess of which you do not have shadows in your own best truths. Our Jesus is pure; you have no pure character to place beside him."

The apologists grew stronger as they progressed in their argument. They began with only a defense in mind, but as they advanced they became defiant. They made no concessions, but became the attacking party. "The abominations of your temple service are extreme and without apology," they said. "Your best gods have no purity of thought. Your Zeus is an ungovernable libertine. Your whole mythology is a species of devil worship.[7] There is no mercy in your theocracy. Your deities, being corrupt, are tyrants. For every vice you have a special god, until your deities are as numerous as the stars in the heavens.[8] Your miracles are only fables. You cannot produce one which admits of comparison with any of Christ's.[9]

CHRISTIANITY AND THE PAGAN MYTHOLOGY IN CONTRAST.

[1] Just., Dial., c. 27. [2] Tertul., Apol., c. 30. [3] Orig., Contra Celsum, L. vi.
[4] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. i, c. 40, 41. [5] Athenag., Apol., c. 10.
[6] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. ii, c. 13, 14. Comp. Tzschirner, Gesch. der Apologetik, p. 317.
[7] Tertul., Apol., c. 23, 24.
[8] Lactant., Div. Instit., ii, 9. [9] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, i, 43–58.

Your Bacchus, Bellerophon, and Hercules are poor borrowings from our Bible. You have no real deities; they were only original human characters, elevated by your fancy into divinities,[1] or they are demons. You complain that our religion is new. Such was yours once. But ours is really older than yours.[2] Your Celsus declares that he found our prophets in Phrygia, who, on being driven into a corner, confessed their deception. Not so. Our books of prophecy were complete long before he was born."

"Your gods are mortal. Your Juno produced other gods," continue the apologists. "What has become of her, that she does not produce more?[3] Your gods are all too young to be truly divine. Your Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod lived when they were produced or soon afterward.[4] Herodotus says that Hesiod and Homer, who were the first to tell the Greeks they had gods, lived only four centuries before his day. Saturn was only a man, who came to Italy, was received by Janus, and founded a city, Saturnia, which still exists.[5] Your gods are ridiculous when you come to put them before us in images. What is your Hercules but a great serpent?[6] The daughter whom Rhea bore to Zeus had, in addition to two regular eyes, two others on her forehead, a long bill on the back of her neck, and horns on her head. All your gods are born.[7] They abound in passion; some are drunkards, others are murderers, and multitudes are licentious.[8] You explain your gods allegorically. Janus, you say, is either the world, or the year, or the sun. Then you admit he is not a god, only a figure of speech.[9] Allegory is the last resort of people who cannot prove the divinity of their gods.[10] You worship only stone and wooden images. But these are shaped after human models. Did not the Athenians make their statues of Mercury, after the form of Alcibiades? Did not Praxiteles carve his Gnidian Venus after the form of Gratina, the actress whom he loved? Was not Phryne the original of the statues of Venus in the Greek cities? When Phidias finished his statue of the Olympian Jove did he not write on the finger of his god 'The Beautiful Pantarkis,' the name of a boy whom he loved? How can your gods be in the clay or mar-

DEPRAVITY OF THE HEATHEN GODS.

[1] Just., Apol., c. 54; Min. Felix, Octavius, c. 25, 26; Tertul., Apol., c. 10.

[2] Lactant., Div. Instit., v, 10; Just., Apol., i, c. 24; Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. ii, c. 72: Non ergo quod sequimur, novum est; sed nos sero addidicimus, quidnam sequi oporteat et colere.

[3] Tat., Orat., p. 160, ed. Col.

[4] Athenag., Legat., p. 16, ed. Col.

[5] Tertul., Apol., c. 10.

[6] Athenag., Legat., p. 19.

[7] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. iii, c. 9.

[8] Id., L. iv.

[9] Id., c. 32.

[10] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. v, c. 42.

ble or brass? If Zeus had been in his statue how could Dionysius have robbed him of his golden robe and left only a woolen one in its stead? Besides, Zeus would have been burnt up in his temple."[1]

IMPURITY OF THE PAGAN PHILOSOPHY.

"Your philosophers are poor teachers," said the apologists to the pagan world. "Their morals almost without exception were impure. Aristippus loved luxury; Plato was given to the luxury of the table; Aristotle corrupted Alexander; and Heraclitus was so egotistic as to say that he owed everything to himself.[2] There is not a single doctrine which your best men agree to be correct. You are hopelessly divided. Look only at the contradiction between Thales, Anaximander, Heraclitus, Anaxarchus, Epicurus, and Empedocles.[3] The best you have was borrowed from our Moses by Plato and by Pythagoras, in their travels in the Orient. Your Epicurus, coming late, as an improvement on your severer thinkers, declared that the world was only a great accident and that providence had no existence. The ethics which he taught was only a practical illustration of the license that pervades your whole mythology."[4]

PERMANENCE OF THE FIRST APOLOGETIC CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

This conflict between the pagan and Christian writers embraced every issue that involved the truth and worth of Christianity. It was conducted on both sides with a full consciousness of its importance at the time and of its bearing on the future. It was not a drawn battle. The apologists, compelled to defend their faith because of the fury of the attack, were driven to the study of the groundwork of Christianity, and their work has proved a permanent treasury of defensive arguments for all subsequent crises of skeptical attack.

INFIRMITY OF THE METHOD OF THE APOLOGISTS.

They were not free from infirmities of method. Their mode of dogmatic exposition exhibited the crudeness of beginners. They gave too large a place to belief in demoniacal possession and to exorcisms. Their interpretation of prophecy was often strained, and they gave too ready a credence to rumor that pervaded the Christian atmosphere. But these shortcomings are easily accounted for when we remember that theological authorship was as yet in its infancy, and that the measures employed by their assailants were unfair enough to disturb the equipoise of Christian writers in a crisis less momentous and in an age more free from prejudice and passion. The wonder is that their writings were as broad and candid as they prove to have been. Their aim was a universal Christianity and an all-conquer-

[1] Arnob., Advers. Gentes, L. vi. [2] Tat., Orat., pp. 142, 143.
[3] Clement, Protreptik., p. 42, Tat., Orat., p. 162.
[4] Comp. Tzschirner, Geschichte der Apologetik, pp. 304, ff.

ing Church.[1] Their assailants charged them with many crimes, and accepted any witness against them. What wonder that the apologists, writing with the sting of gross injustice, should sometimes employ arguments that would not endure the test of a calmer period? Their success is the best test of their real achievement and their place in history. The last of the apologists occupied the field alone. After Tertullian no important reply was made to their arguments, and by the end of the fifth century apologetic writings were no longer necessary, because the occasion which should call them forth no longer existed. The Christians now lived in a larger place. The words of one of the most heroic apologists, written in the heat of a conflict which lasted two centuries, became an evident fact: "Every country is the Christian's fatherland, and every fatherland is the Christian's country."[2]

[1] Tzschirner, Fall des Heidenthums, p. 221. [2] Ep. ad Diognetum, v.

CHAPTER VI.

EBIONISM AND KINDRED OVERTURES FOR COMPROMISE—THE CLEMENTINES.

THIS age, abundant as it was in sharp and bitter antagonisms, was not without its serious and persistent attempts at compromise. We turn from the picture of intense hostility to Christians, and shall not find another like it until the eleven centuries shall have elapsed, when Roman Catholicism shall have kindled those inquisitorial fires which blazed from eastern Bohemia to the British Islands, and from the Alps to the shores of the Mediterranean. The persecution of the Roman emperors found its natural and first reproduction in the martyrdom of Protestants. The overtures for compromise in the patristic period came to Christianity from Judaism on the one hand, and the Hellenistic philosophy on the other. The Christians proposed no concessions. It remains to be seen whether in listening to propositions for pacification they were willing to yield in peace any of the ground which they had gained alike by the pen and their long sufferings.

THE TWO SOURCES OF THE OVERTURES FOR COMPROMISE.

The Ebionites and Nazaræans represented the attempt to accommodate Judaism to Christianity, while the Gnostic schools embodied the effort to adapt paganism to Christianity.

EBIONITES AND NAZARÆANS.

There existed in Jerusalem, after the memorable apostolic council which settled the Pauline principle of the freedom of Christian converts from obligation to the Mosaic ceremonial law, a body of Christians who would not accept the conclusion. They constituted a separate society, with Jerusalem as the center. There was no unity among them. Many differed but little from the general body of Christians. They shared their liberal and progressive views, and saw in Christianity a complete fulfillment of all of worth in Judaism. The other party was more conservative. It adhered to the ceremonial law, and refused to regard Christianity as the culmination of the Mosaic law. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and the erection of Ælia Capitolina on its ruins, A. D. 137, that emperor forbade all Jews to enter its gates, but gave the Christians

THE RISE OF THE EBIONITE CHRISTIANS.

full liberty to dwell within them.[1] This measure brought on a crisis in the Judaizing Christian society. There was no bond which now held them together. The more liberal members, differing but little from the Gentile Christians, and seeing no need of longer alienation from the general Church, united with it, and became fully identified with its life and interests.[2] Others, the extreme Jewish members, renounced all their Christian affinities, and returned to Judaism. The remaining portion, unwilling to surrender a measure of their faith in both Judaism and Christianity, organized a separate body, and became the Ebionite Christians. In desiring to be both Jews and Christians the result was that they were neither the one nor the other.[3]

DOCTRINES OF THE EBIONITES.

The Ebionites derived their name from the Hebrew word meaning poor, or needy, probably given by their enemies as a term of reproach.[4] They held that the Mosaic law was still in force; that its observance was a condition for the salvation of every soul; that Christianity was the fulfillment of this law, but in no sense its abrogation; that Christ was the prophet for the deliverance of Israel; that he was a mere man, like Moses and David; that his generation was natural; that the divine Spirit entered him first at the baptism by John; that Jesus was a good Jew, distinguished beyond all men for piety, and yet having the germ of sin; that this piety constituted his claim to Messiahship, and that he performed miracles and supplemented the law by his own commands. The Ebionites observed the Jewish Sabbath, and retained the rite of circumcision, the synagogue service, and all ceremonial usages. Jerusalem was regarded by them as the center of the Church, and they expected that Jesus would come again and establish his kingdom of millennial glory and power in the city of their fathers. They rejected all of Paul's writings, regarding him as a false teacher, because of his moderate estimate of the Jewish law. The work which they possessed, as

[1] Schliemann places the separation of Ebionites from the Nazarseans, A. D. 136. Clementinen, pp. 488, f.

[2] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iv, 5, 6. Ritschl, Alt-Katholische Kirche, i, p. 258. Thomasius, Die christliche Dogmengeschichte, i, p. 57. Herzog, Abriss d. gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 76, ff.

[3] Jerome: Dum volunt Judæi et Christiani esse, nec Judæi sunt, nec Christiani.

[4] אֶבְיוֹן. Gieseler, following Eusebius, iii, 27, supposes the poverty to refer to the low conception the Jews had of a crucified Christ. Baur refers it to the poverty resulting from ascetic practices; Origen, De Prin., iv, i, 22, to the poverty of their understanding. No doubt the name was given on account of their poverty in worldly goods, and was originally applied to all Christians.

the basis of their faith, was the Gospel to the Hebrews, which was a Hebrew translation of Matthew's gospel, with corruptions and additions.[1] They had communities in eastern Palestine, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and even in Rome, and continued to exist down to the end of the fourth century.[2]

The Ebionites were at no time a thoroughly united body. Those who did not share their extreme Judaism withdrew from them in course of time, and became known as the Nazaræans. They regarded the ceremonial law as binding on themselves, but differed from the Ebionites in holding that it was not obligatory on Gentile Christians. Their Christology was more nearly Christian, their view being that Christ was the Son of God; that his generation was divine; that his death on the cross was the culmination of his Messiahship; and that Judaism was in large measure superseded by Christianity. They did not reject the writings of Paul, and revered him as the great apostle to the nations. They used a less distorted Hebrew translation of Matthew's gospel than that of the Ebionites as their basis of faith in Christianity. Their principal societies, according to Jerome, who met with them in his travels, existed in Bercea and elsewhere in eastern Syria, but disappeared during the fourth century.[3]

WANT OF UNITY AMONG THE EBIONITES.

The Elkesaites, or Sampsæans, differed but little from the Ebionites and Nazaræans except in the larger place they gave to the oriental or theosophic element.[4] They kept the Jewish Sabbath and retained circumcision and other observances of primitive Ju-

[1] There is some difficulty in deciding the exact nature of the Gospel to the Hebrews and its relation to our Matthew. See Staudmann, Das Hebräer-Evangelium, Leipz., 1888, who denies that that Gospel had any relation to the traditional Hebrew Matthew. On the other hand, see McGiffert, Presb. Rev., x (1889), 495–497, and his note in his ed. of Eusebius, pp. 159, 160.

[2] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, pp. 25, f.; Eusebius, H. E., iii, 27; Origen, c. Cels., v, 61; Justin Martyr, Dial. c. Trypho., xlvii; Epiphanius, Hær., xxix, xxx.

[3] The distinction between the Nazaræans and the Ebionites is first drawn by Epiphanius, Hær., xxix. But it has been shown by Nitzsch that these are not two sects, but names of the one Judaistic heretical party, sometimes called by the one name, sometimes by the other (Dogmengesch., p. 37, ff.). The Ebionites differed widely among themselves in the degree of their variation from historical Christianity. See McGiffert, Eus., H. E., iii, 27, note 1.

[4] Some suppose them to have taken their name from Elxai, a reformer of Trajan's time; others, from Elkesi, a Galilean town. Both theories are rejected by the best authorities. The most probable origin is to be found in the Hebrew חֵילְבַּסִי, *δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη*; the Holy Spirit, the nonfleshly spirit of the Clementine Homilies. Comp. Herzog, Abriss, etc., p. 77.

daism, though they repudiated sacrifices and, with them, parts of the Old Testament. Their faith in astrology and a mild type of magic gives proof of their sympathy with oriental vagaries. They swore by oil and salt, which were to them the emblems of spiritual communication.[1] They were also called Sampseans, probably from their habit of praying with their faces toward the sun.[2] They lived in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, and derived what little strength they enjoyed from the disintegrating Essenism which had long existed in that region.[3]

THE ELKESAITES.

It is a proof of the broad territory which was comprised by this attempt to combine Judaism with Christianity that we find the same spirit in Rome which was manifesting itself in Palestine in the form of these heretical sects. Judaism is everywhere alike. The controversies and societies of the Jews in one region have always reproduced themselves in the farthest abodes of their brethren. It was in perfect harmony with their character and associations that among the Jews of the metropolis, who were in constant communication with their coreligionists in Palestine, there should arise a class who should also see possible points of affinity between Christianity and their own faith, and employ some positive measure to find a basis for agreement. They, like their brethren in the East, saw in some such accommodation as this not only an adaptation to the requirements of a new age, but the best possible means of overthrowing paganism.[4]

THE WESTERN JEWS.

This Roman disposition to accommodate Judaism to Christianity, and also to resist the new Gnosticism as a common pagan foe, took form in a theological romance, bearing the name of The Clementines.[5] That fiction should be resorted to in order to solve existing problems shows how firm a hold the questions at issue between the great contending parties had upon the popular mind. The writer of The Clementines, calling himself Clement of Rome, goes abroad in quest of the truth. He has his doubts on all the fundamental questions of faith, grows weary in his fruitless search in the great schools of philosophy, and at last

THE CLEMENTINES.

[1] Matter, Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme, ii, p. 328. [2] שמש.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., vi, 38; Epiph., who in chap. 19 classes them with the Essenes, in chap. 30 among the Ebionites, and in chap. 53 among the Sampseans; Hippolytus, Phil., ix, 8–12. See McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 280, note 1.

[4] Besides the authorities already mentioned the best recent discussions of Ebionitism are Lightfoot, Ep. to the Galatians, 306, ff.; Uhlhorn, in Herzog and Plitt and on the Clementine writings, and Schliemann and Ritschl on the same; Schaff, Ch. Hist., ii, 211, ff.; Shedd, Hist. of Doctrine, i, 106; Cruttwell, *l. c.*, i, 131–135; especially Harnack, Dogmengeschichte, i, 215–240; Fuller, in Smith and Wace, *s. v.* (excellent).

[5] Τὰ Κλημέντια, or Κλημέντινα.

reaches Palestine, where the apostle Peter becomes his instructor. Clement the seeker, Peter the teacher, and Simon the Magian, the representative of the false gnosis—these are the three characters in this deftly woven theological Odyssey.

The Clementines consist of three parts: the Homilies of Clemens Romanus, the Recognitions, and the Epitome, which is a scanty selection from the narrative part of the Homilies.[1] It is exceedingly difficult to tell the relation of these parts to each other. The probability is that all of them rest on one original, which was worked over independently into these three forms. Harnack thinks that they were composed largely for edification, without any doctrinal intent. Langen, on the other hand, finds the animus in the proposed transfer of the primacy of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome, about the middle of the second century. The epistles of Peter and Clement to James sprung from the Roman clergy, under Bishop Anicetus. The Homilies were Jewish-Christian Palestinian products, written in the interest of Cæsarea. After that came the Recognitions, opposing the Judaism of the Homilies and making Antioch the see of Peter.[2] Lipsius finds the basis of the whole literature in the Acta Pilati, with their strong anti-Pauline tinge.[3]

PROBABILITY OF ONE ORIGINAL OF THE THREE CLEMENTINES.

It is not possible at present to decide positively what was the root of this remarkable romance nor for what purpose its various parts were composed. All we know is that the most widely divergent currents of doctrine—Gnostic and Christian, pantheistic and theistic—find a meeting place here. Langen places these writings, in their original form at least, in the middle of the second century, in which he is followed by most scholars. Harnack makes the date in the former half of the third century. The Germans generally affirm their Roman origin; Lightfoot thinks that they originated in Syria, very likely at Cæsa-

UNCERTAIN ROOT OF THE ROMANCE.

[1] The first edition was published by Cotelerius, in his collection of the Patres Apostolici (Paris, 1672), from a Colbert Codex of the Paris Library. A new edition from a complete manuscript discovered by Dressel in the Ottobonian Library, in Rome, was published in Göttingen in 1853. De Lagarde published a critical edition, the best, in 1865. The Recognitions are in a Latin translation of Rufinus. It was edited by Cotelerius and Gallandi, and latterly by Gersdorf, Biblioth. Patr. Eccl. Lat., vol. i (Leipz., 1838). The Ante-Nicene Library (Edinb., 1867) gives a translation by T. Smith, with an introduction on the literature. The Epitome was first published by Turnebus (Paris, 1555), and afterward by Cotelerius.

[2] Langen, Die Klemensromane, Gotha, 1890. V. Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 164 (by H. M. Scott).

[3] Die Quellen der römischen Petrussage, Kiel, 1872.

rea.[1] The three works, though each by a different hand, bear the name of The Clementines in the literature of the Church.[2]

STRANGE MIXTURE OF THEOLOGY IN THE CLEMENTINES.

The opinions advocated in the Homilies are a curious mixture of the many varieties of truth and error which floated in the atmosphere of that day. God existed from eternity, and is a living, personal, and pure being. He has form and soul. He reveals himself by the expansion and contraction of his Spirit, whose image is reflected in the hearts of men. He expresses himself by ecstasy. All matter is an emanation, and the world was made under the influence of the divine wisdom. The earthly kingdom, ruled over by its lord, the devil, is related to the heavenly kingdom, which is ruled over by the one God, the original being. The two constitute a pair. The system of pairs obtains throughout the universe—man and woman, Abel and Cain, Christ and antichrist. Christ's mission was to preach a purified Mosaism and elevate it to universality. Baptism takes the place of circumcision, and, when understood, carries with it the pardon of sin.

In this curious romance prophetic inspiration is continued steadily among the children of God as an emanation of the Sophia, or Holy Spirit. Peter is the great apostle, and he alone is the safe teacher of Christians. Christ will come a second time and establish his kingdom among men. Those who serve God here will be rewarded after death, and the wicked here will be punished hereafter. All sacrifices are to be discountenanced as done away by Christianity. No general effect was produced by the Clementines. The work created a momentary impression, like the realistic romances of our own century, but there was no disposition on the part of the Christians to accept its opinions or in anywise modify their attitude toward Judaism. It gave a momentary prominence to the heretical Christian sects in Palestine, and served to lengthen somewhat their feeble existence. There was one service which the Clementines rendered, and only one. They aided the Christians toward a

[1] Ep. to Galatians, Dissertation iii; Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, Lond., 1892, pp. 88, 89. Hilgenfeld, who made an elaborate investigation in his Die clementinischen Rekognitionen und Homilien, Jena, 1848, thought that the Recognitions came first; that the Homilies were based on these, and that earlier still was a Judæo-Christian tract of Roman origin, of which an actual remnant is found in Recogn. i, 27–72, and a general outline in iii, 75. Uhlhorn was not satisfied with this, but held in Die Homilien und Rekognitionen des Clemens Romanus, Göttingen, 1854, that the Homilies were the earlier, and that the true nucleus was Hom. xvi–xix. Lehmann, in Die clement. Schriften, Gotha, 1869, dissolved the Recognitions into two parts, i–iii, and iv–x, each with a different author.

[2] See also Kurtz, Ch. Hist., i, pp. 123–126; Giesseler, Ch. Hist., i, pp. 192, 193.

clearer understanding of the shrewd and dangerous foe which confronted them in Gnosticism.

Recently an attempt has been made, with good success, to trace the influence of the Clementine romance on the Faust legend. The outlandish adventures of that hero find several parallels in certain features of the Simon Magus story in the Homilies. There are considerations which "afford an historical probability amounting to proof" that Faustus Junior derived his name from the Faustus of the Recognitions. Richardson has given the best account of this strange connection of the everlasting Faust.[1]

[1] Faust and the Clementine Recognitions, in Papers of the American Society of Church History, vi (1894), 133–145. Lagarde was the first to trace the legend to the Clementine literature, in the prolegomena to his edition of the Clementines, 1865. Steitz, in Studien und Kritiken, 1867, carried it still farther. Several writers have given in their adhesion to this view. See Richardson, p. 139. Faust appears in the Recognitions, ii, 5; vii, 31, 33; ix, 35, 36, *et al.* On the Clementines in general, see also the excellent article by Professor Salmon, in Smith and Wace; Cruttwell, i, 136–150; Uhlhorn, in Herzog and Plitt; and prolegomena and notes of Riddle, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, N.Y., 1886, vol. viii.

LITERATURE: GNOSTICISM.

1. Arnold, G. Unparteische Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie. Best edition, Schaffhausen, 1740–42, 3 vols. The first Church History written in German, and the first to treat the heretics with fairness and sympathy.
2. Lipsius, R. A. Gnosticismus, Leipz., 1860. Die Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, Kiel, 1875.
3. Harnack, A. Zur Quellen Kritik d. Geschichte d. Gnosticismus, Leipz., 1873. See also his History of Dogma, vol. i, trans., Lond. and Bost., 1895.
4. Mansel, H. L. The Gnostic Heresies, edited by J. B. Lightfoot, Lond., 1875. The best book on the subject in English. The editor could find nothing to improve.
5. Lightfoot, J. B. The Colossian Heresy: in Commentary on Colossians, Lond., 1875; 8th ed., 1886. Excellent for the earliest development of Gnosticism.
6. King, C. W. The Gnostics and their Remains, Lond., rev. ed., 1887. Invaluable for Gnostic art.
7. Hilgenfeld, A. Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, Leipz., 1884.
8. Amelineau, Essai sur le gnosticisme Egyptien, Paris, 1887.
9. Bright, W. Gnosticism and Irenæus: In Waymarks of Church History, Lond. and N. Y., 1894.

Of the Church historians Neander was the first to treat the subject with philosophic breadth. Weingarten, Zeittafeln und Uebersicht zur Kirchengeschichte, 3d enl. ed., Rudolstadt, 1888, and Moeller, of Kiel, Church History, pp. 129–155, are valuable. Schaff, ii, 442–508, gives a valuable introduction on the literature, as well as a clear, instructive, and profound analysis. The articles in Smith and Wace, and Harnack's and Tulloch's articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica, give recent conclusions. Harman's De Groot on the Gnostic Testimonials to the Gospels, in Meth. Quar. Rev., N. Y., 1870, 485, ff., and Scott in Current Discussions in Theology, vi, 167–172, are excellent.

CHAPTER VII.

GNOSTICISM.

BETWEEN Asia and Europe there has always been an ebb and flow of leadership and conquest. The armies which followed Xerxes and the other Eastern rulers westward into Europe, and those led by Alexander and his successors from Europe into Asia, were only parts of that general historical action and reaction which have pervaded all ages. The Asiatic, as he stood on his side of the Bosporus, has looked to the Europe in front of him as only a field for conquest and not for friendship. The European, as he gazed from his side of the narrow stream which divides the two continents, has seen in Asia only a glittering prize that might add to the splendor of his European throne. The story of the duel constitutes a large part of the earlier and later history of the Old World. The present hold of Turkey upon European territory, and of Great Britain upon India, proves that the old antagonistic aspirations of the Orient and Occident have come down to our times. As with the ambitions which have crystallized in the march of armies back and forth, so in the domain of religious ideas the East and the West have each sought a wider field than their own home as the empire of their faith. Here we find the historical place of Gnosticism. It was the stepping forth of the Asiatic mind after its long wandering in theosophic and mystical mazes, and proposing to combine with Christianity for the mastery of all ages. It was the first great intellectual endeavor of the Orient to impress its thought upon the Occident. It was the combined effort of the Eastern faiths to come to such compromise with Christianity, by each surrendering a large measure of its individuality, that out of the union a religion might be reared which should advance both eastward and westward and conquer the world.

PERPETUAL CONFLICT OF ASIA AND EUROPE.

HISTORICAL PLACE OF GNOSTICISM.

There was little unity in Gnosticism. It was the Joseph's coat of theological and theosophical opinion. No historian has ever been able to identify it with any one country or people to the exclusion of others. Until the time of Mosheim it was supposed to be predominantly of Platonic origin, but he drew aside the veil which had hidden its Eastern sources, and proved it to be in large measure a child of

oriental intuition and rhapsody. Yet, so soon as we begin to limit Gnosticism entirely to the East, we find that it is not without its minor Hellenistic origin. But even this was itself originally oriental. The Neoplatonism which flourished in Alexandria, and which some of the Gnostics found it convenient to absorb, in order to make its proposal to Christianity more probable of acceptance, was only the oriental element in the Platonic system which the master had long ago imbibed during his wanderings along the Nile. How diverse was the patchwork which has taken its place in history as Gnosticism may be seen in both the varied nationality and faith of its adherents. With the map of the ancient Eastern world in hand, one can find almost every land sending forth its wise men to find the Messiah of this new faith, and to lay their offerings at his feet. The sacrifice, however, was not complete. They wished both to take and to give.

NO UNITY IN GNOSTICISM.

The western half of Asia was a seething caldron of conflicting mythologies. The cults were as grotesque as the provincial costumes. Every valley abounded in a new faith, and each faith was the kindly mother of numerous legends. From every hill there looked down a different protecting divinity, and beneath every chief divinity was an endless chain of conscious eons. The legends of creation and the source of evil were beyond all count. The religions of Baal, Moloch, and Astarte could number their votaries by the million. Even Buddhism was aroused from its dreamy ecstasy in Bactria, where it had established itself, and joined the westward column of oriental faiths, and on reaching Alexandria made its overtures for compromise with Christianity.[1] If in Gnosticism we can see that dualism which pervades Parseeism and all kindred Eastern religions, we also discover with equal ease that pantheistic monism whose source was to be found in Buddhism. No such effort was ever made before to combine opposite and conflicting systems from every region embraced by both the pantheon and the geography of the East.

CONFLICTING MYTHOLOGY IN WESTERN ASIA.

The most natural place where this compromise should be proposed to Christianity was Alexandria. The declared design of the Macedonian conqueror, when he built this city and gave it his name, was that it should be a promoter of commerce between the East and the West; it should be a servant, by whom each should give to the other of its plenty. But Alexander had other thoughts in mind, far broader than mere commercial advantage. He strove to dig deeper the channels of thought, and have both the East and the West overspread with a

ALEXANDER'S PURPOSE IN BUILDING ALEXANDRIA.

[1] Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, iii, pp. 388, f., 405.

silver network of intellectual currents. His highest idea of national unity was that only by the community of mind can a nation be really homogeneous. His new city, whose location came to him by dream, should not only be a commercial center, but a Pharos of intellectual life for three great continents. He took speedy measures to welcome exiles, to organize learning, and to make the city which bore his name the patroness of all that was best to teach and learn from all lands.

PURPOSE OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

Alexander's successors were aflame with the same passion. They would make Alexandria the light of the world, and combine in it the sanctity of Jerusalem, the learning of Athens, and the power of Rome. To the Ptolemies it was the "Venus that arose out of all that idle foam of Alexander's conquest." They built up a varied population. All nations jostled each other as they passed along that wondrous street which extended through the city's length, from the gate of Canopus to that of Necropolis. Buyers and copyists were sent abroad to bring home the richest treasures of human thought from every land and any temple or library. Even valuable books were seized by the government and copied, and the transcript sent back to the owners, with compensation for their loss of the originals.[1] The divinities from all lands found a home in Alexandria. No stranger in the street could be long without cheering reminders of his own far-away altar.

PHILO.

The point of affiliation between Gnosticism and the Platonic philosophy was prepared by the speculations of Philo. There was a gnosis before Gnosticism, and Philo was its chief author.[2] He was a learned Hebrew, born about B. C. 20, and a citizen of Alexandria. He regarded Plato as the "Attic Moses," and aimed to find a place where Judaism and Platonism could safely harmonize. He saw in God and the world a dualism both finite and infinite. God exists in and for himself; he is independent and original. His theophanies in the Old Testament did not occur; God cannot, without violence to his own nature, assume visible form. Still, he can reveal himself to the soul. The world is produced and sustained and ruled by him. But God is not Creator of the world; he has only given it form, out of the original matter, or Hyle. Man was not created by God, but by demiurgies, because man is himself the abode of sin.

Philo held that between God and the world there is a chasm which is bridged by intermediate forces. These forces are the

[1] Origen, in Essays and Remains of R. A. Vaughan, i, p. 3.
[2] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 26, 27.

divine attributes. The Logos is a divine emanation, an intermediate power. It has ideas, and God impresses them upon matter, as the figure made by a seal. The Logos is the biblical and original word of God, by whom the world is sustained. To the Logos he joins the Reason. The Holy Spirit, the divine Wisdom, imparted itself to the first men, and to all later ones who, like Moses, have striven after likeness to God. The angels are divine forces whose office it is to protect God's creatures. The ideal world was created by these forces. All good comes from God. Sin lies in matter. The human soul has been preexistent in a spiritual and immaterial form. Through woman sin entered the world. The paradise of the Scriptures was only an allegory to represent a general fact. Man has a heavenly nature, and hence is immortal, if good. His is the eternal life of goodness. Because of the dualism of spirit and matter in Philo's system he finds no place in the future for punishment, hell, or devil. This material earth is the only needful place of punishment.

PHILO'S VIEW OF THE DIVINE LOGOS.

Of a Messiah, or Christ, Philo makes no mention; Moses is a sufficient mediator, but says that in the future there will come a chief who will stand at the head of his people and conquer many nations. Philo explains the Messianic hopes, however, as a general aspiration. He has no place for the incarnation of the Logos, for the evil inherent in matter precludes the possibility. Philo's work was to set up a compound of Judaism and paganism. Like the amalgam of which was made that image of Serapis which had been taken from the shores of the Euxine and set up in cosmopolitan Alexandria for the varied worship of its people, the system of Philo was drawn from various quarters, and held up as a thing of unity and charm. But he could not harmonize Jerusalem and Athens, Moses and Plato. He surrendered all that was of value in Judaism. Its firm historical foundation, its ordinances, history, and great prophetic and pedagogic significance disappeared before his Platonic ideology.[1]

PHILO'S EXPLANATION OF THE MESSIANIC HOPES.

Philo was the first to imagine that the solution of the questions of faith, as he saw them in the first century, lay in compromise and surrender. His followers in this view were numerous, but theirs was a much wider horizon. Christianity, which was to him only a shadowy possibility, had, by the third century, come to be a formidable claimant upon the confidence and thought of the world.

PHILO'S EMPHASIS ON COMPROMISE.

The capricious character of Gnostic speculation, and the great

[1] Keim, Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, pp. 228, ff.

national diversity in its representatives, make its classification very difficult. The most natural method is according to the preponderating element. In many instances the boundary lines were transgressed. Faustus never underwent more complete transformations in the imagination of Goethe, or was more difficult to detect than the typical Gnostic. Whether he was pagan or Jew, Christian or fire worshiper, magian or Buddhist, must have often been a question even to himself. So free was the lance that many of them wielded that it is not easy to tell from which cause they came or which lists they were entering for combat. Our only proper plan is to locate according to the larger influence.[1]

CAPRICES OF GNOSTICISM.

[1] Niedner and Fricke classify Gnosticism into systems in which Christianity is the culmination of all pre-Christian revelations; and those in which it is sundered from these, and presented in contrast; and those in which true Christianity is identified with paganism. Gieseler divides into Alexandrian and Syrian Gnostics; and Hase, into Syrian, Hellenistic, Christian, and Judaistic Gnostics. Baur groups Christianity with Judaism and paganism; Christianity against Judaism and paganism; and Judaism identified with Christianity. Ritter divides into dualistic and idealistic Gnostics. Guericke, Jacobi, and Neander arrange according to sympathy with Judaism, hostility to it, and independence of all earlier systems. This classification is the most philosophical, and we adopt it in the main.

CHAPTER VIII.

GNOSTICISM WITH JEWISH BACKGROUND.

CERINTHUS forms the connecting link between the gnosis of John's time and the fully developed system of the following century. Like John, he lived in Asia Minor, and had good opportunity to study the Christian system from observation of the Christian societies in that region. His views approach very closely to those of the Ebionites, and in some instances are identical with them. He regarded Judaism as a preparation for Christianity. The world, he held, was not created by the supreme God, but by a subordinate spirit, or angel, who also gave the law to the Jews. This spirit did not know the supreme God, so far beneath him was his order of existence. Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, and he, too, did not know the supreme God, but, by virtue of his good life and pure will, he arrived at a knowledge of him, and at the baptism of John was endowed with the Holy Spirit or heavenly wisdom. This spiritual endowment completed the divine character of Christ as the Logos, and opened the full communication between him and the supreme God. Cerinthus would not admit that Christ performed any mediatorial service, but claimed that his death was only a misadventure, without saving significance, and that Christ would come again at the general resurrection and establish an earthly kingdom of great power and splendor.[1]

CERINTHUS.

Basilides was of Syrian origin, but taught in Alexandria about A. D. 130. He saw in the universe a dualism—the highest deity and matter. Between these there communicated an abundant company of eons, emanations from God, who revealed his glory and made it fruitful. There are seven chief eons who establish themselves in matter. Each nation has its own spiritual ruler, and is guided by him.[2] The ruler over the Jews taught them by means of Moses and the prophets. But truth was not confined to the Jews; it went abroad; even the Greeks

BASILIDES.

[1] Iren., i, 26, 1; iii, 3, 4, and 11, 1; Hippol., vii, 21; Eus., vii, 28; iv, 14. See Dorner, System of Doctrine, iii, 48, 213, 302, 331, 355, 376; McGiffert, Notes to Eusebius, *loc. cit.*

[2] Beausobre, Hist. du Manichæisme, ii, p. 16.

and Persians shared largely in it, and longed for that full revelation which came when the highest eon, Νοῦς, was revealed to Jesus at his baptism. Basilides advised, but did not enjoin, celibacy as the best way to avoid the cares of life. He observed only one festival, that of the Epiphany, in memory of Christ's baptism by John. The Basilidean system is distinguished for its caution toward all extreme views, of either Judaism or paganism. It does not declare asceticism the only relief for the soul, but counsels Christian society and prayer as full of comfort.[1] It holds that man cannot bear his burdens and work out his destiny alone, but needs, and can possess, the divine power, and may attain to a strong spiritual life. Man has a sinful inclination, and can attain to freedom from it by the force of will and by application to God for relief. There is a providence which watches over the individual life. The pseudo-Basilideans of the Western Church perverted these opinions of the master and gave themselves up to a life of license, on the ground of the freedom of the perfect from the restraints of the law.[2]

We now come to Valentine, the most important Gnostic in whom the Jewish element prevailed. He was a Jewish Christian, educated in Alexandria, and a resident in that city until A. D. 138. He afterward removed to Rome, where he taught a number of years. He withdrew from the Church on account of his heretical opinions. He died A. D. 160. VALENTINE.

In wealth of fancy and depth of thought Valentine occupies the first place among the Gnostics. He derived more help from Plato than any other man of his group. The Platonic ideology is everywhere apparent in his system, though his frequent use of numbers, and the relations in which he places them, show his literal dependence on Pythagoras. His fundamental doctrine is emanation. The supreme God lives in silence and solitude. Nothing has come from his creative or emanating nature. But he must love, and he cannot love without an object. The object must come from himself. Hence he begins to emanate. The eons are personalities who proceed from him, and communicate with that gross world which now comes into existence. From the eon truth, the Word and the Life proceed. From these latter, again, man OPINIONS OF VALENTINE.

[1] Isidore says: ὅταν δὲ ἡ εὐχαριστία σου εἰς αἴτησιν ὑποπέσῃ.

[2] Hippolytus, vii, 20–27; Clem. Alex., Strom., vii; Eus., iv, 7. Uhlhorn gave an acute analysis, Das Basilidianische System, Göttingen, 1855, and Hort wrote an elaborate monograph in Smith and Wace, *s. v.* See literature further in Schaff, Ch. Hist., ii, 466, and Hilgenfeld in Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie, 1878 (xxi), 228–250.

and the Church emanate. Man was placed in the third of the seven heavens, where he disobeyed, and was thrust down to the earth and joined to a corrupt and sinful body. The demiurge chose the Jews in whom to reveal himself; he awoke prophets among them who should awaken the hope of a Messiah. After the fullness of the time the Logos, or Christ, appeared. Through him alone, divinely endowed at baptism, there has come full redemption to humanity. The crucifixion represented that divine might by which the world is purified from sin. By doing and suffering we reach our highest excellence. Only by the culture of the spiritual forces within us can we fill out the measure of our mission.[1]

THE SCHOOL OF VALENTINE.

Valentine was the founder of the largest Gnostic school. His chief disciples were Heracleon, Ptolemæus, and Bardesanes. Heracleon was an earnest and thoughtful man, and was best known as a commentator on John's gospel. He was sincere in his study of John, but, giving large liberty to the Gnostic love of typology, he distorted every plain truth into something foreign to the mind of John.[2] Ptolemæus is known to us by an epistle to Flora, a writing designed to attract a lady of his time to the adoption of the Valentinian opinions. The work is occupied chiefly with a discussion on the doctrine of inspiration and on the relation of the Old and New Testaments.[3] Bardesanes lived about A.D. 170, at the court of Prince Abgar, of Edessa. He was distinguished for his combination of profound learning with the poetic spirit. He wrote a poem combating the fatalism of the stars, an error very common among the Syrian Gnostics. His son, Harmonius, was also distinguished for poetic productions. Markos flourished in the second half of the second century, and to Valentine's system he joined a Pythagorean and cabalistic mysticism of figures. He pretended to practice magical arts by which to attract wealthy and noble women into the toils of his system. He also laid claim to a knowledge of astrology.[4]

The Valentinian school extended into many parts of the East and West. It numbered more disciples than any other Gnostic body.

[1] Irenæus, i, 1–21, Hippolytus, vi, 29–37, Tertullian, adv. Valentinianos, and Epiphanius, xxxi, furnish expositions and refutations of Valentine. The best modern account is Mansel, The Gnostic Heresies, Lond., 1875, pp. 166–202. Baur has some pregnant observations in his Kirchengeschichte, i, 195–204, and Schaff, as usual, an illuminating treatment, ii, 472–478.

[2] Neander furnishes an excellent illustration of Heracleon's figurative method by his use of the conversation between Christ and the Samaritan woman. See Gen. Hist., i, pp. 435, 436.

[3] Stieren, De Ptolem. Gnostici Floram Ep., Jena, 1843. [4] Iren., i, 13, 15.

It had representatives in Rome, on the island of Cyprus, and in other places. In time it lost its pure features, and, like other Gnostic bodies, became immoral when deprived of the personal guidance of the founder. Here, as in all new movements, the moral fiber of the system is best proven by the second generation.

THE AREA OF VALENTINE'S SCHOOL.

CHAPTER IX.

GNOSTICISM WITH ORIENTAL AND PAGAN BACKGROUND.

THE OPHITES.

THE Ophites are the first Gnostics we meet with in this field. They existed as a small sect in Egypt before the time of Christ, and afterward adopted a perverted type of Christianity, but retaining a larger measure of oriental theosophy than any other system. Dualism pervaded their doctrines. The Pleroma develops itself in eons, and from the fourth eon there floats a ray of light, which combines with matter and becomes the Achamoth, the Sophia, or world soul. The first production of this union is the Jaldabaoth, the maker of the world, who is a limited and wicked being, but capable of ministering to the great divine plan. He corresponds with the demiurge of other Gnostic speculations. He is inflamed with evil desires, and is a rebel. Ruler of the world of stars, which are themselves principal spirits, he invokes the six stellar angels to create man. Man is then created, or evolved, but receives a spiritual breath, by which he rises above and beyond his creator. To defeat man's destiny the serpent is prepared. The serpent becomes the type of all wisdom, and is worshiped. Hence the term Ophites, applied to the sect.[1] Man, through his fall, arrives at the consciousness of freedom and mastery. The evil spirits contend for supremacy over him, but he defeats their purposes and advances constantly. The heavenly Christ passed through the seven heavens and was united with Jesus at his baptism, but withdrew from him at his death. A vein of pantheism pervades the whole system of the Ophites.[2]

TWO OPHITE SECTS.

There were two minor Ophitic sects—the Cainites and the Sethites. The former took their name from Cain, the son of Adam, who, according to them, was the first to distinguish himself against the God of the Jews. The one who carried this battle to a successful close was Judas Iscariot. Both Cain and Judas were venerated by the Cainites as sons of the Sophia. The Sethites taught that there were originally two races of men, one from Cain and the other from Abel. In their conflict

[1] Ὄφις, serpent.

[2] Hippolytus, v, 1–28; Irenæus, i, 30. Lipsius explains the Ophite system in Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie, 1863, 1864.

Abel was defeated and slain, but, to take his place, the Sophia created the pneumatic Seth, the first of all the Gnostics. The second appearance of Seth was as the Christ, who came as Saviour of the spiritual world.[1]

CARPOCRATES.

Carpocrates built his system out of Buddhism and Neoplatonism. He placed all faiths on the same plane. The better men whom each produced—Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, Christ—occupied the same moral position. The Platonic system was the source of his ideology. He held to a preexistence of the soul, to a rule over the nations by finite spirits, from whom all the religions have come, and to a divine power in Jesus by which he wrought miracles and reached the highest unity. Carpocrates had a son, Epiphanes, who exerted such an influence and gained such a following that divine honors were paid him.[2] The Carpocratians practiced magic and surrendered themselves to wild libertinism.

MANI.

In Mani and the Manichæans we reach the farthest limit of oriental Gnosticism. They represented the intellectual revival of the Persians after their deliverance, under the Sassanides, from the Parthian yoke, A. D. 227. That the religion of Zoroaster should have a new fascination to the now liberated people can excite no surprise. The religious element, the one nearest at hand, and associated with the period of national glory, now came into the foreground. Mani was its representative. But Christianity had appeared in the meantime in the West, and Buddhism in the East was not without its claims.

RELIGION OF ZOROASTER THE BASIS OF MANI'S SYSTEM.

Mani made the religion of Zoroaster the main fiber of his system, but was skillful enough to weave important threads from both Christianity and Buddhism. He announced himself as the Paraclete promised by Christ, and imagined himself the destined deliverer of Christianity from its bondage of Jewish ordinances and superstitions, by incorpo-

[1] Various opinions have been advanced as to the existence of these sects. But Tertullian gives us a distinct account of the Cainites, whom he held to be the Nicolaitans under another name. See Kaye, Tertullian, p. 522. Philastrius and the author of Prædestinatus give an account of the Sethites. The weight of evidence is too strong to be resisted that they did exist and held the opinions attributed to them. If the ridiculous character of the opinions is made a ground of objection, we may reply that they are not more absurd, or more hostile to the Old Testament, than those of many other Gnostics whose existence has never been questioned.

[2] On the island of Cephalonia. See Clement, Strom., L. iii. The alleged Carpocratian inscription found in Cyrene, and brought from there to Malta, and indorsed by Gesenius, proved to be only a shrewd device of the Frenchman, Fortia d'Urban, to further his St. Simonism by an appeal to Carpocratian communism of wives and property.

rating with it the best elements in the religion of Zoroaster. The Eastern account of his personal history is that he attracted many adherents and gained the favor of the Persian king, Sapor I, about A. D. 270. This king soon turned against him, and he fled to Turkistan, where he dwelt in a cave and developed his system. On the death of Sapor, A. D. 271, he returned to Persia and enjoyed the favor of the succeeding king, Hormisdas, who gave him an asylum in the castle of Daskereh, in Susiana. Varanes, the successor of Hormisdas, listened to the representation of the magians against Mani, and he was put to death A. D. 277.

EASTERN TRADITION OF MANI'S HISTORY.

The Western tradition concerning Mani is that his doctrines came first from a Saracen traveling merchant, Scythianus, who had gained precious wisdom in distant lands, and settled in Alexandria. Terebinthus, a disciple of Scythianus, wrote down four books at his master's dictation, the Mysteria, Capitula, Evangelium, and Thesaurus, and after the master's death removed to Babylon. Terebinthus died by falling from the top of a house, and his widow presented his books to a young freedman, Cubricus. He devoted himself to their study, went to Persia, and called himself Mani, or, as the Romans called him, Manichæus. He now came in contact with the sacred books of the Christians, and began his patchwork from all the faiths which he had been learning. After this point in his career the Eastern and Western accounts are, in general, parallel. The rapid increase of his followers, his winning eloquence, his temperate life, his checkered history at the Persian court, and his violent death, A. D. 277, are sustained by both the Eastern and Western historians.

WESTERN TRADITION OF MANI.

There is no trace of the Platonic system in Mani. The father of light rules over the realm of light. He is the original God, and the truth emanates from him. Pure spirits proceed from him; they are only himself in his manifestations. There is a dark kingdom in which all evil dwells. These two kingdoms exist beside each other, and have become mingled. Out of this confusion the visible world has become evolved. Man has a spiritual nature and a corrupt body. The light nature is concentrated in man, but efforts are made to draw him down and obscure the light within him. This is the secret of the trial in paradise. Evil appears in the serpent and represents the evil principle of the universe. Christ, or the spirit of the sun, prevents the final success of the evil principle. Mani represents himself as the Paraclete promised by Christ, and he accordingly appointed twelve masters, or apostles. and, in addition, sixty-two

MANI'S COMBINATION OF DUALISM AND FATALISM.

bishops and a large number of minor officers. The Old Testament was rejected, and Mani reserved the right to say what parts of the New Testament should be accepted.

The followers of Mani, or the Manichæans, spread very rapidly in various parts of the Persian empire, and even in the eastern part of the Roman empire. Its numbers attracted the attention of Diocletian, who issued an edict A. D. 296, declaring death and confiscation of property upon all members of the Manichæan body. There was a special ground of hostility in the fact that Rome was at that time at war with Persia, and the Manichæans were regarded as a powerful ally of the Persian enemy. They regarded themselves, as many as were elect, as holy, and even possessed of power to communicate forgiveness of sins to catechumens. They celebrated the Lord's Supper without wine, but regarded this sacrament as symbolizing only the sufferings of Jesus. They observed Sunday, and had their chief annual festival in March, the Bema, in memory of the martyrdom of Mani.[1] FOLLOWERS OF MANI.

[1] The best book on Manichæism is Beausobre, Hist. Crit. de Manichée et du Manichæisme, Amst., 1734, 1739, 2 vols., 4to. The best of the more recent investigators is Kessler, in his Genesis of Manichæism, Leipz., 1876; in his book on Mani, Leipz., 1882; and in his articles in Herzog and Plitt, ix, 223-259. For the sources, full literature, and an admirable treatment, see Schaff, vol. iii, 6th ed., 1892, pp. 498-508.

CHAPTER X.

INDEPENDENT GNOSTICISM.

SATURNINUS was a resident of Antioch and was a contemporary of Hadrian. He held that there are two kingdoms, light and darkness. They are opposed to each other. The supreme Father has produced orders of being, angels, archangels, powers, and rulers, from whom have come seven angels. These last are the sovereigns over the material world, and among them is the God of the Jews. Man was created, but was not free from infirmity, because of the subordinate character of his creator and his own material body. The supreme God breathed into him a spark of the divine power, and a Saviour came to the world in order to aid him toward his final development. The emphasis placed by Saturninus on the evil inherent in matter led him to enjoin asceticism on his followers. He prohibited matrimony and the use of meats.[1]

SATURNINUS.

Tatian was a native of Assyria, but resided in Rome and taught rhetoric. He was converted to Christianity through the influence of Justin Martyr and became a zealous defender of Christianity, especially against Crescens. After the death of Justin he became fascinated with the Gnostic doctrines and adopted them. Henceforth he was a strong advocate of them, both by the pen and by public addresses. He died about A. D. 174. His views more nearly approached the Syrian type than any other. His chief characteristic was his antagonism to marriage. In his work on Christian Perfection he makes matrimony a subject of special treatment,[2] and declares against it in violent language. He numbered Adam among the lost because he had a wife. The fanatical sects of Encratites and Hydroparastians were followers of Tatian, their distinguishing quality being asceticism. The adherents of Tatian are to be found as late as the fourth century.[3] The name of

TATIAN.

[1] Iren., i, 24, 28; Hip., vii, 3, 28; Tert., Præs. Hær., xlvi; Eusebius, iv, 22, 29; Epiph., Hær., xxiii.

[2] Περὶ τοῦ κατα τὸν σωτῆρα καταρτισμοῦ. Clem., Strom., 3, 12.

[3] Ἐγρατῖται (continent, temperate); Ὑδροπαραστάται (water drinkers, from their use of water instead of wine in the Lord's Supper). On Tatian, see Eusebius, H. E., iv, 16, 28, 29; vi, 13; Iren., i, 28; iii, 23; Epiph., xlvi.

Tatian has acquired vast interest of late because of the discovery of an Arabic translation of his Diatessaron, in 1886—the first harmony of the four gospels. It was prepared while he was a catholic.

The absurdities in doctrine and morals increased steadily, and to such an extent that the more serious Gnostic thinkers became alarmed for the respectability and very existence of their doctrines. Marcion and his school represent the Gnostic effort to reform itself—to eliminate all that was unworthy and false, and to add, from any quarter, whatever might strengthen its general position. Marcion was a native of Pontus, and embraced Christianity as an intellectual movement, but without any thorough spiritual appreciation of it. He was excommunicated by his father, the bishop of Sinope, in the province of Pontus, on account of heretical opinions. About A. D. 150 he went to Rome, where he came in contact with Cerdo, a Syrian Gnostic, by whom he was induced to adopt the Gnostic views. He conceived the idea of removing from Gnosticism all adventitious opinions and presenting it to the world as the only safe faith.

MARCION.

Marcion avoided the extremes of his predecessors. He saw a hopeless antagonism between the Old and New Testament, righteousness and grace, law and gospel, Judaism and Christianity. Corresponding with these was the chasm between the good and evil God, and midway stood the third deity—the righteous God. Marcion recognized Paul as the only veritable apostle, but rejected the pastoral epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews. He admitted only one gospel, probably a distortion of Luke's gospel. He guarded his system very carefully from Judaism on the one hand and paganism on the other. He rejected all faith in tradition and esoteric doctrines, the allegorical interpretation so dear to the Gnostics, and all forms of emanation. He organized his followers into an ecclesiastical body.[1] In the cult which he adopted for his followers he employed only the simplest forms.

MARCION'S OPINIONS.

Marcion divided his followers into the elect and catechumens, but gave the latter the privilege of attending all the services. He required of the elect the strictest asceticism and the withdrawal from all worldly enjoyments.[2] He is said to have repented, late in life, of his Gnostic vagaries, and to have sought readmission into the Church, but died before it could take place.[3] Of all the Gnostics, Marcion was the nearest approach to

MARCION'S FOLLOWERS.

[1] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, p. 88.
[2] Kurtz, Handbuch, pp. 149, ff.
[3] Tertullian, De Præscr. Hær., xxx.

the sincere Christian.[1] His life was correct, and he took great pains to guard his followers from falling into the dangers by which so many other disciples of the Gnostic teachers were ruined. But this very approach to Christianity made him all the more dangerous a foe. Many persons, influenced by the zeal of his followers, could see but little difference between his opinions and the general Christian system, and hence adopted them. His followers were to be met with in Rome in the fifth century, and many were scattered throughout Italy, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, though divided into many small groups. The three most important disciples of Marcion were Markos, Lukanus, and Apelles. The two former adapted his system to Saturninus's opinions, while the latter transmuted the master's views largely into the old traditional Alexandrian Gnosticism. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrho, in North Syria (423–457), brought many of these Marcionites back into the Church. They occupied eight villages in his diocese.[2] "I freed more than a thousand souls from the disease of Marcion," he says.[3]

With all this remarkable diversity in individual adherents there were characteristics by which the Gnostic was easily distinguishable. He adopted the gnosis, the knowledge, as the one great object, above faith and all other desirable things. As to what is knowledge, and who is to test it, he reserved all rights to himself. Whatever the fundamental differences between the various Gnostic schools, the Gnostics as a whole were so united by common affinities that it is not often difficult to distinguish the Gnostic from the Christian. All Gnostics find some place for Christ. Now it is higher and now lower, but always he is somewhere in their faith. But he is never a personality in whom there must be an individual faith that leads to salvation. He is only a principle of general cosmical development, a ruler who brings order out of chaos. He is not the Saviour of men, but the active principle of the world's development.[4] His work was an act of power, not of love. Christ's place was de-

POINTS IN COMMON WITH ALL GNOSTICS.

[1] "Marcion, though grievously erring from the path of Christian believers, was yet full of Christian feeling." Bright, Waymarks of Church History (Lond., 1894, p. 86).

[2] Theod., Ep. lxxxi.

[3] Ep. cxiii. Schroeckh gives authorities for full information on Marcion and his school, ii, pp. 412, ff. See Justin Mar., I Apol., xxvi and lviii; Iren., i, 28; iv, 33; Tertullian, Adv. Marcionem; Hilgenfeld, Cerdon und Marcion, in Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie, Leipz., 1881, pp. 1–37; Salmon, in Smith and Wace; Schaff, ii, 482–487; Neander, i, 458–476, 616–618; Meyborm, in his Marcion en de Marcioniten (Leiden, 1888), has investigated Marcion afresh.

[4] Baur, Kirchengeschichte d. drei ersten Jahrhunderte. 3 Aufl., p. 174.

fined by philosophical speculation, not by revealed truth. Intuition was guide, and not the written word.

THE GNOSTIC REVERSING THE CHRISTIAN ORDER.

Here the Gnostic reversed the Christian order. The Christian begins by confession of his ignorance, and comes to the inspired truth for light. The Gnostic begins by a claim of knowledge.[1] He sets out with a knowledge of the divine, and goes into all spaces with his wisdom, and defines the bounds of the universe with bold speech. His is such knowledge as he has spun, spider-like, out of himself. The Christian comes from his darkness to the sanctuary, where he hopes for illumination and comfort. The Gnostic, with some appreciation of need, wanders amid the luxuriant garden of the world's faiths, and plucks a flower here and another there, as may suit his fancy at the hour. Gnosticism suits only the bold and fearless, the self-conscious dreamer of a new faith. Christianity was the hope of the poor and timid. Gnosticism was the Pharisee, who stood with bold front and boasted of his holiness; Christianity was the sorrowing woman, who had only the courage to touch the edge of the robe of the Physician. The Gnostic selected and had a system without unity and achieving force. The Christian remains steadily in guard of his religion, hopeful, but often in the storm, and triumphs in the end. Only few of the Gnostics established societies which they dignified with the name of a church. Marcion is probably the only one who gathered about him a church in the strict sense as a substitute for the Christian Church.

THE GNOSTIC GROUPS WERE NOT CHURCHES BUT PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS.

The Gnostic groups were simply philosophical schools, with some superiors as teachers. There was no cohesive power in any one of them. The gnosis was a good basis, just shadowy enough for speculation on the infinite eons, but was not masterful in mundane guidance. It was without conserving power. It lacked intuition of the good by which to see its own evils and to return to the Christian fold. Who hears of any important school coming back to Christ? The gnosis unfitted its adherents for all steady thought, the crowning evil of the whole system of Gnostic theories. One after another the schools disappeared. From Rome to the Tigris and from Syene to the western shore of the Euxine the Gnostic groups passed into a corrupt existence, or, what was better, ceased to exist.

But Gnosticism, with all its native weakness, was the most dangerous foe thus far encountered. Christianity had proven its power by the conquest of Judaism and paganism, each in its individuality. But it now achieved a greater victory. It con-

[1] Ritter, Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, i, pp. 288, ff.

quered them both in their fusion, not only with each other, but with the fantastic and nebulous fancies that had floated into Syria, Alexandria, and Asia Minor from the East. There was never an indication of sympathy with Gnosticism, in any form, on the part of the Church. There was no Gnostic from Cerinthus down to the last of the Marcionite school who was so near an approach to the real Christian as Marcion. Yet he had no friends in the Church. He was regarded with special aversion, perhaps because of the great danger that his views might be mistaken for pure Christianity. The interview alleged to have taken place between him and the pure Polycarp one day in a street in Rome represents fairly the attitude of Christianity toward Gnosticism as a whole. Polycarp was stopped by Marcion, who asked him the question, "Do you not recognize me?" The father, bending beneath his many years, and yet with a quick eye to discover an enemy of the truth anywhere, quickly replied, "Certainly, I know the firstborn of Satan."[1]

GNOSTICISM THE MOST DANGEROUS FOE TO CHRISTIANITY.

[1] Irenæus, iii, 8; Eusebius, H. E., iv, 14; Jerome, Cat., 171.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MONTANISTIC REFORM.

THAT peculiar and mysterious development of ecclesiastical life which bears the name of Montanism, from its founder, was a reaction against that worldly spirit and lax ecclesiastical discipline which came into the foreground during the intervals of tolerance. No religious phenomenon has been subjected to keener criticism or made the subject of more unguarded panegyric. The historian, who sees in every extravagant phenomenon only the creation of a morbid imagination, relegates it to the department of wild and unwholesome fanaticism; while he who, like the early Mystics and Gottfried Arnold of a later day, looks upon such movements as the only conserving forces in critical times, mistakenly elevates it into a special providential agency of the real Church and the embodiment of the divine Spirit in a period of general decline and danger. Both views are wrong. Real justice lies midway between the extremes. Montanism was propagated with pure, but often mistaken, motives. It saw evils of serious character, and proposed to remove them by its severer teaching and self-denying example. The authorities of the Church were just in repudiating the extravagancies, but were far out of the way in attributing improper motives to the Montanists, and lacked that high order of wisdom which could select the good element from any new movement and assimilate it for its own greater firmness and enhanced purity. Montanism was in its last analysis a reaction in favor of primitive Christianity, though, like most movements of Christian Puritanism, it went to an extreme.[1]

EXTREME VIEWS ON MONTANISM.

Montanus was a native of Phrygia, and possessed that warm temperament and love of the marvelous and ecstatic which had been peculiar to his countrymen from the time when they emerged from mythical darkness and took their place among the settled peoples of Asia Minor. Phrygia had a civilization of its own.[2] It was a

[1] Bonwetsch, Die Geschichte des Montanismus, Erlangen, 1881, the best book on the subject. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire Before A. D. 170, p. 437, agrees with this view.

[2] Neander showed the influence of Phrygia on Montanism, and he has been followed by Renan, Marcus Aurelius (in Origins of Christianity), chap. xiii. Ramsay (*l. c.*, p. 438) calls Montanism the "Church-according-to-the-Phrygians."

fragrant garden, inclosed one very side by high mountains, whose cool breath mingled with the warm air of the valley, and developed a people at once gifted with a tropical sensibility, a luxuriant imagination, and a love of the marvelous, and yet endowed with a strong physical organization, which made them hardy and valiant soldiers in the most distant campaigns and the most fiercely contested fields of war. Their spirit was proud, and glowed with ecstasy as their minstrels sang of the deeds of their forefathers in the heroic age. They claimed for their mountains the high antiquity of having first appeared above the declining flood when Deucalion and his sons stepped out of their boat and went forth to repeople and subdue the earth.

THE PHRYGIAN HOME OF MONTANUS.

The worship of the Phrygians was of the coarse kind, in which there was no element of sensual enjoyment, but only a rigorous dealing with themselves. The holiest worshiper reached his highest development through self-mutilation. The great nature Mother, or Cybele, who was also worshiped in Bithynia and Lydia, was here honored with a wildness of devotion as nowhere else. Her minister, Attis, or the mutilated Adonis, was honored with a worship of his own, in which the hoarse kettledrum and the plaintive Phrygian cymbal made music to the wild Sycinnis, the spiral dance of the rhapsodical devotees.[1] Divination and clairvoyance, heightened by contemplation, were claimed as special endowments of the priesthood. The people were firm believers in vision and all similar preternatural possessions, and no claim of priestly gifts was too extravagant for the blind devotion of the average Phrygian worshiper. The stress of political disaster only fanned the flame of his national worship. He had been trampled and ground by many masters—the Lydian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman—but his temperament was all the warmer and his love for his native faith suffered no loss. His cities grew into wealth and power. Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis preserved the memory of ancient glory when Phrygia was a powerful and independent kingdom, but still the primitive worship was preserved. Even the Greek tongue, which had made the Phrygian only the dialect of rustics and slaves, had not blotted out the old faith.

THE PHRYGIAN CULT.

Christianity now came, and the communities which Paul founded were the first to arrest the old worship of Cybele and Attis. In due time Phrygian Christianity took its place in the great network of the Church, and, though isolated from the great outlying world, claimed equal love for all the in-

THE OLD WORSHIP ARRESTED BY CHRISTIANITY.

[1] Döllinger, Jew and Gentile, i, pp. 376, 377.

stitutions and its full share in shaping the policy and life of the general Church. But there was no uprooting of the natural temperament. The temples of the old faith had shared in the general neglect of other parts of the Roman empire, but beneath the new religion there still lay that love of the marvelous and the invisible, that general faith in special spiritual endowments, and, most of all, that implicit confidence in a perpetual prophecy of the divinely inspired.

Out of this element Montanism emerged. It was a Christian figure, vital and glowing with all the peculiarities of the undisturbed Phrygian character, yet ardent with a love of Christianity as given by Christ and organized by his first apostles. Montanus, of Ardaban, appeared upon the scene of ecclesiastical life about the middle of the second century. He had been a priest in the still lingering, but rapidly declining, worship of Cybele. When he accepted Christianity he parted with all the essential elements of his former faith. There was not a trace of the idolater left. But the scars which his old religion had made he bore upon him into the new battlefield. He was still the prophet and the visionary. Without much culture, and with a profound contempt of pagan learning, because of its supposed hostility to Christianity, he proposed the regeneration of Christianity by the practical life. In no character do we find such a remarkable blending of these two diverse elements—the practical and the visionary. He claimed that there are three persons in the Godhead—Father, Son, and Spirit—and that through himself the third person, the Paraclete, prophesied to the world. He never declared that he was himself the Paraclete, but only the organ of his operation. Two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, claimed similar inspiration, and these three, with their followers, called themselves Pneumatics. The fact that Montanus tolerated prophetesses had its anticipation in the old worship of Cybele and in the example of other pagan faiths. Asia Minor had its sibyls, Delphi its Pythonesses, and Corinth its female temple-slaves of Venus. This female accompaniment of Montanism proved a great disadvantage, and was constantly appealed to by its enemies as a certain proof of its pagan relationship. This was unfair on their part, however, as in this respect Montanus stood simply on the ground of the primitive Church.

MONTANUS A COMBINATION OF THE PRACTICAL AND THE VISIONARY.

The doctrines of Montanus constitute an incongruous system. He avowed a special mission for the improvement of the Church. To bring about this great result there were certain truths which must be accepted, and he was the instru-

THE MONTANISTIC SYSTEM.

ment for their communication. The Church must accept them as a condition of its salvation. There will be a speedy end of the world, after which the millennial reign of Christ will begin. The economy of salvation consists of three stages, or successive movements —the period of primeval revelation until the incarnation; that of the Christian revelation, which closes with the person of Christ, and the apostolical group; and that of the revelation of the Paraclete, which will continue through all remaining Christian history. The Father and the Son are of one substance, equal in rank, and omnipotence. But the Son emanates from the Father, and the Paraclete emanates from the Son. They are all one. The Church is pure and true, and can tolerate no impure element in its fold—"*ecclesia vera, pudica, sancta, ecclesia virgo.*" There is a universal priesthood of believers. Every real believer is a Pneumatic, and hence a priest. Asceticism is a proper and even necessary mode of cultivating purity. Second marriage is sinful, a forfeiture of pneumatic purity. Martyrdom is the necessary sacrifice which the Christian must render, if the exigency is sufficient, for the attainment of salvation. Penitence, in all its stages, must take place after sin. But a total lapse, by sacrificing to idols, excludes from restoration to the Church, though not necessarily from divine forgiveness.[1]

MONTANISM REGARDED A SERIOUS DANGER TO THE CHURCH.

When the system of Montanus was fully developed the Church took note of it as a most dangerous element. Montanistic communities sprang up throughout Phrygia and began to spread into the neighboring regions. The bishop Julianus, of Apamea, took pains to win them back into harmony with the Church. They did not constitute a schism, but *ecclesiolæ* in *ecclesia*, similar to the societies organized by Spener within the bosom of the German Protestant Church in the seventeenth century. The mild measures of Julianus failed of their end. More heroic treatment was now adopted. Two synods were held, one in Hierapolis, presided over by Apollinaris, the bishop of that city, and a second in Anchialus, in the year 170, under the charge of the bishop Sotas. At both of these councils the Montanists were condemned and excommunicated, and their doctrines pronounced heretical. Phrygian Montanism now suffered a serious check. The communities declined, and gradually lost their popular support, in the very place of their origin. In addition to synodical proscription a strong literary activity was developed against them in Asia Minor. The most prominent writers were

[1] Schwegler, Der Montanismus und die Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts, pp. 34–76.

Miltiades, Claudius Apollinaris, Apollonius, Serapion, and an anonymous author[1]—all of whose works have disappeared.

WESTERN SUPPORT OF MONTANISM.

Just at the time when it would seem that Montanism was nearly conquered, and was about to take its place among the many spent phenomena of the imaginative East, it acquired a remarkable support in the West. The Church which had produced it had now disowned it, but there were acute minds, far removed from the local prejudices and personal animosities, who saw in it an element of good for the general cause of Christianity. Very often a movement needs to be seen from the distance in order to be measured with judicial fairness. The men who have no friendships to foster or grievances to settle, and can calmly form an opinion of a cause without regard to the contestants on either side, are the best judges of every great reform. This was precisely the case with Montanism. Its nearest critics saw in it only a modified worship of Cybele, with execrable Christian variations. But those were days when the leaders of the Church learned quickly what was going on in distant parts, and were capable of recognizing the good in any corner of Christendom. To them Montanism was something more than a dreamy pagan faith beneath a thin Christian drapery.

BOTH EAST AND WEST UNITED IN CONDEMNATION.

These friends of Montanism induced a bishop of Rome, of whom history makes no mention, to send "letters of peace,"[2] as Tertullian calls them, to the catholic bishops of Phrygia, presumably advising a conciliatory dealing. But through the evil representations of Praxeas and Caius, the narrower policy was restored, and the catholic Church, East and West, united in putting down the unfortunate Phrygian Puritans. It was formerly the opinion of Church historians that the persecuted churches of Gaul sent letters to the Roman bishop, in which they pleaded strongly for the Montanists. But this opinion is now abandoned, as it rests on no ancient testimony whatever. On the contrary, Eusebius, who regarded the Montanists as incorrigible heretics, and stood squarely with the catholic Church in condemning them, expressly says that the letter sent by the churches of Lyons was

[1] Probably Rhodon, Jerome, Cat., 37.

[2] Adv. Prax., i: "For after the bishop of Rome [perhaps Victor, A. D. 190] had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and in consequence of the acknowledgment had bestowed his peace on the churches of Asia and Phrygia, he [Praxeas], by importunately urging false accusations against the prophets themselves and their churches, and insisting on the authority of the bishop's predecessors in the see, compelled him to recall the letters of peace which he had issued, as well as to desist from his purpose of acknowledging the gifts" [*charismata*].

"prudent and most orthodox,"[1] a commendation which he would not have given had that letter been favorable to the Phrygians. It is likely, indeed, that it was the support of the bishops of Gaul to the condemnation of the Montanists on the part of the bishops of Asia Minor which prompted the pliable bishop at Rome to recall his previous note, not being able to resist the united voice of Gaul and Asia.

NORTH AFRICA SUPPORTING MONTANISM.

But with the opposition of Rome the Montanism of the West did not die. There were many Christians, and not a few bishops among them, who regarded their treatment as unjust in the extreme, and believed that their cause was at this juncture a necessary agency for the purification and preservation of the Church. The Church of North Africa now became the most powerful advocate of Montanism. This was brought about in large measure by the example of the presbyter Tertullian, of Carthage. He was at this time the most learned and powerful theologian in the Western Church. His writings had gained him a hearing in the extreme parts of the Church, both Eastern and Western. His treatises on Martyrs, Idolatry, and the Soldier's Crown had endeared him to the heart of universal Christendom, while his Apologeticus had proven him apt to resist the most invidious and learned attacks of pagan writers. In his practical works on Patience, Prayer, Baptism, Repentance, and the Husband he had already expressed profound sympathy with the needful development of the practical piety of believers, and with a strict view of Christians in the presence of the lax tendencies of his times. His acceptance of Montanism was, therefore, not the work of a day; nor did it come about through personal grievance, or ambition, or a love of schism, or a visionary state of mind. It was a course which he adopted after a calm reflection and from the purest motives. He made allowance for the grosser features of Montanism, and accepted its better part with clear conscience, a warm love of the Church, and an intense desire for purity in its members. He wrote much after he became a Montanist, and emphasized the points which Montanism made prominent as vital to the Church.[2]

TERTULLIAN AN ADVOCATE.

[1] Eusebius, H. E., v, 3. Salmon, in Dictionary of Christian Biography, Sects, by Smith and Wace, iii, 987, has set this matter in its true light. He is followed by McGiffert, on Eusebius, as above (p. 219).

[2] Neander gives an excellent grouping of Tertullian's works, classified according to both topics and periods in his literary activity. Comp. Antignostikus, in History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, vol. ii, pp. 208, ff.

But with all the new splendor which gathered about Montanism through the defense of Tertullian and the strong support of the North African Church, the system was doomed. The councils had condemned it, and its first objectionable accompaniments, such as ecstasy, vision, chiliasm, and prophetesses, were perpetually hurled against it as unfit for confidence and an enemy to the peace and development of the Church. Its stronger qualities were overlooked in the vigorous warfare upon it. Even its best declarations, and, above all, the moral purity of its advocates, counted for nothing in such a bitter strife. The defenders of episcopal prerogative found it, at best, an inconvenient thing. In their steady policy, even now taking shape, of building up an irresistible central authority, they could expect no support from such independent minds.

THE DOOM OF MONTANISM.

The emperors saw no hope of softening its moral strictness and its hostility to political interference in the administration of the Church. All the Christian emperors after Constantine pursued, therefore, the same repressive policy. In North Africa it continued to live, however, but under the name of a sect of Tertullianists. Its last appearance above the surface was in the reign of Justinian. He issued two edicts against it, one in the year 530, and the other in 532, after which it sank out of sight, to reappear, as Schaff well says, under various names and forms and in new combinations—in Novatianism, Donatism, the Spiritualism of the Franciscans, Anabaptism, the Camisard Enthusiasm, Puritanism, Quakerism, Quietism, Pietism, Second Adventism, Irvingism, and so on, by way of protest and wholesome reaction against various evils in the Church.[1]

HOSTILITY OF THE EMPERORS.

One of the chief reasons for the zeal of the bishops against Montanism was its earnest insistence on the priesthood of all believers, and its opposition to all hierarchical assumptions. In this it anticipated Puritanism and Methodism, with both of which it had many points in common. Wesley was one of the first moderns to speak a strong word for Montanism. He says: "By the best information we can procure at this distance of time it seems that Montanus was

[1] Church History, ii, 426, 7. Harnack, in the first volume of his History of Doctrine, has treated Montanus in an independent spirit. He shows how he stood by the old paths as against the Catholic and hierarchical tendency. F. De Soyres, Montanism and the Primitive Church, Camb., 1878. See the voluminous notes of McGiffert in his Eusebius, pp. 229–237. Of importance are Belck, Geschichte des Montanismus, Leipz., 1883, and Hilgenfeld's great work, D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums, Leipz., 1884, pp. 560–600; Salmon, in Smith and Wace, s. v.; Newman, in Baptist Rev., 1884, 527–530.

WESLEY IN ADVOCACY OF MONTANISM.

not only a truly good man, but one of the best men then upon earth; and that his real crime was the severely reproving those who professed themselves Christians while they neither had the mind that was in Christ nor walked as Christ walked, but were conformable, both in their temper and practice, to the present evil world."[1] Here, as well as elsewhere, Wesley anticipates the verdict of the most recent historians, like Harnack and McGiffert, who have completely reversed the judgment of the old writers.[2]

[1] Tract on "The Real Character of Montanus," in Works, 5th ed., Lond., 14 vols., vol. xi, pp. 485, 486.

[2] In his sermon on the Wisdom of God, Wesley calls Montanus "one of the holiest men of the second century," vol. vi, 328. See also ii, 206 (Journal, Aug. 15, 1750); x, 47, 50, 51 (Letter to Middleton).

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS.

THE general tendency of the political and theological pressure upon the Church from without was toward internal consolidation and organic unity. This, indeed, has been the wholesome effect of opposition in all later periods. Christianity is no tropical plant, adapted only to the bright sunshine, balmy air, and sweet repose of long summer days, but is destined for all seasons through all the centuries. The very storms that have beaten about it have been strong forces toward making its roots deeper and of farther reach, and its fiber of finer and more resisting quality. During the whole period from its founding down to its liberation by Constantine from the bondage of pagan rulers a constant internal solidification was taking place. The subtle moral agencies were steadily at work by which Christianity might grow into a symmetrical and organic unity. But while this was the general character of its development, the opposition to Christianity had its secondary effect upon the corporate life of the Church. How shall the opposition be met? What shall be the method of resistance? How must the Church deal with those who have surrendered during the stress of storm? and, now that the storm is spent, how shall the lapsed be dealt with? Must these apostates be considered as erring only in an evil hour, to come back again with cordial welcome, or be regarded as having forever lost their Christian birthright here and their hope of salvation hereafter?

SOLIDIFICATION OF CHRISTIANITY.

These were serious questions—far more, even, than that more public one of encountering enemies. How to deal with friends has always been to the Church a more difficult problem than how to oppose its adversaries. It has been an immeasurably greater task to manage with a care that can lead back the erring into harmony of spirit and preserve them against harm, and the Church against harm from them, than to march forth with heroic soul against defiant foes. For this new issue the Church was well prepared. It had triumphed in warfare against pronounced enemies, and the sequel will show that it possessed equal power to deal with those of its own household.

PROBLEM OF THE CHURCH IN DEALING WITH FRIENDS.

The persecutions of the Christians were not met with uniform firmness. The general attitude was that of chivalrous sacrifice and a readiness to meet death sooner than renounce faith in Christ; but there were others who yielded and returned to their former idols. When the opposition ceased the lapsed, in numerous cases, proposed to return to the Christian fold. The ordeal which the Church laid down for their restoration was severe, and extended over a series of lengthy stages of penitence. For a time it seemed as if this course would satisfy all the demands of the crisis, but other questions were involved, and especially the final and most serious of all—whether a lapsed Christian who had once been baptized, and in temptation had forsworn his faith and committed his example and word to the accursed paganism, should ever be fully restored to the Christian communion and be regarded as though he had never fallen.

THE MANNER OF DEALING WITH PENITENTS.

On this grave question the most important issues depended, and out of it grew not less than five serious schisms, covering an entire century, or from the middle of the third to the middle of the fourth century. Indeed, we find clear traces of some of these schisms not less than four centuries after the death of the men who had organized them. The schisms were confined to no particular locality. Their broad geographical scope is a strong witness to the gravity of the danger with which they threatened the Church and the serious nature of the questions which produced them. The Christians of Spain, in the West, were hardly less disturbed than those of Syria in the East; while their brethren up the Nile and on the borders of the great desert were in similar convulsion with those on the shores of the Black Sea. The threat of internal division within was equally extensive with the fires of martyrdom which hostile hands had kindled.

FIVE SCHISMS ARISING FROM THE TREATMENT OF PENITENTS.

First in order was the schism of Felicissimus, which arose in Carthage, but extended its force as far westward as the shore of the Atlantic. No unanimity has been reached as to the prime motive of Felicissimus. There was, no doubt, some jealousy of Cyprian's episcopal office, but the ostensible ground of offense was the method of his election as bishop and his subsequent lenient dealing with the lapsed. Cyprian was an accomplished scholar and a skillful rhetorician. He was led by the presbyter Cæcilius to accept Christianity. His accession was regarded as a great triumph for the African Church, and all the greater because of the frequent alternations of persecution through which the Church was passing and the supreme need of able confessors. Cyprian was baptized in the year 247, and in 248 was elected

FELICISSIMUS AND CYPRIAN.

Bishop of Carthage. The process was too rapid for the strict law of the Church, and furnished a very plausible pretext for opposition to the election. Five presbyters, who were in charge of communities in Carthage and the surrounding country, declared the election illegal, and took measures for governing their own churches without regard to Cyprian's authority. The most defiant of the number was Novatus, who assumed episcopal functions himself, and ordained Felicissimus to the diaconate.

This was a bold invasion of Cyprian's prerogatives, but he was calm and conciliatory, and even permitted Felicissimus to administer his new office, to which he had been ordained by other hands. Felicissimus was a strong partisan, and had a singular power in organizing men into a firm and united body. His adherents, with the powerful aid of Novatus, multiplied rapidly. Cyprian, meanwhile, was careful, for he had the rare quality of accommodating himself to the needs of the hour. So far did he pursue this counsel that the charge of inconsistency can be justly made against him. At one time, before the Decian persecution, he was firm in refusing to grant absolution to any who had lapsed after baptism. He was then the representative, in the African Church, of vigorous dealing with apostasy. But during the Decian persecution there was an alarming increase of the lapsed. So great was their number that they threatened the very integrity of the Church; they stood at the entrance of the Christian fold with demands. The evil had grown into alarming proportions. When Christians announced their readiness, in the hour of danger, to renounce their religion, they were furnished by the imperial officers with letters of release, and were therefore called Libellatics. A certificate of this kind (a libellus) was discovered for the first time in 1894 among the papyrus manuscripts in the Berlin Museum. In the same year another was discovered among the papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna, a specimen of the rich treasures Egypt has unearthed for us of late. The following is a translation of the Rainer libellus:

INVASION OF CYPRIAN'S OFFICE.

INCREASE OF THE LAPSED.

"To the Commissioners of sacrifices of the village of Philadelphia: from Aurelii, Syrus and Pasbeius his brother, and Demerbria and Serapias our wives, dwellers without the gate. We always continued in sacrificing to the gods, and now in your presence according to the [emperor's] orders, both offered a libation, and tasted of the sacrifices, and [we desire you] to attest [this] for us.

THE LIBELLUS.

"May you continue prosperous.

"We, Aurelii, Syrus and Pasbes, have presented [this]. I, Isidorus, wrote, as they are unable to write."

Sometimes the officers were bribed to issue certificates to those who had not complied with the conditions.

CYPRIAN DEVOTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH.

Others, who likewise lapsed, made application to those about to die for their faith that they might be commended to the Church for lenient measures, and the persons so commended made use of the high favor in which the memory of the martyrs was held to secure confidence from the Church and ease in reentering its communion. Many arts were practiced by the lapsed to gain restoration. Cyprian saw danger on either hand. Pure himself, he would not countenance impurity in others. But he was intent, above all things, to preserve the Church, even at the sacrifice of admitting, among the worthy, some who were probably otherwise. He claimed the right to revise his methods and administer his office in such way as to conserve the Church. He now took a milder course, and resolved to grant absolution to the lapsed who would pass through the prescribed stages of penitence.

CYPRIAN'S COMMISSION.

During the Decian persecution Cyprian, whose life was in danger, withdrew for fourteen months into voluntary exile. During this time his enemies gained the additional prestige of large numbers. While Cyprian was in exile he sent a commission of two bishops and two presbyters to Carthage to make a thorough visitation and administer to the poor out of the funds of the Church. Again Felicissimus protested against him; the Church funds could not be so used, by Cyprian's order, as he was an illegal bishop. It was this visitation by Cyprian's commission which was the chief rock of offense to Felicissimus. He regarded it as a direct usurpation of power. No doubt, also, Cyprian's extravagant pretensions for the monarchial episcopate, of which he was the great advocate, was also a principal cause of the disaffection of the presbyterial party under Novatus.[1] At Easter, 251, however, Cyprian appeared in person in Carthage, and met the annual synod of bishops of North Africa. He was supported by the synod, and Felicissimus and his party were formally excommunicated from the Church.[2]

In studying the history of the Church one seldom knows when

[1] In this we agree with Neander (i, 238) and Moeller (p. 262), as against Schaff (ii, 194).

[2] The Epistles of Cyprian, 38–40, 42, 55, are the only authority for the schism of Felicissimus. We have, therefore, only the enemy's testimony. Neander's is the best modern account, ii, 222–237.

he will finally lose sight of a disquieting mind. The map of the operations of the schismatic is generally very broad. Novatus, no longer able to cope with the strong arm of authority in Carthage, next appeared in Rome. The attitude of the Roman Church had always been one of leniency toward the lapsed, and Novatus now found a fitting field to carry on the warfare which he had conducted vigorously, but finally in vain, in Carthage. This field opened before him by a juncture, brought about by the following events. Fabian, Bishop of Rome, ordained to the priesthood a certain highly gifted man, Novatian. He had been baptized on a sick bed. Everywhere throughout the Church there was serious objection to clinical baptism, because of the doubt as to the motive of the one seeking it. Novatian's case was the more serious because, on his recovery, Fabian had failed to carry out the order of the Church to consummate the baptism by the imposition of his hands.

NOVATUS IN ROME.

There were, therefore, two difficulties: one, Novatian's clinical baptism, and the other the bishop's neglect to complete the act. Fabian suffered martyrdom in 250, and in the following year Cornelius was elected bishop in his place. This interval of a year was a time of serious disturbance. It is not clear that Novatian was desirous of the episcopal office, but the event proved that he was ready to accept it. He represented the vigorous method of dealing with the lapsed, or, at least, he came to represent the harsher method, though at the first, as Harnack shows,[1] the controversy was a personal one purely, and all who shared this view rallied to his standard.

TWO DIFFICULTIES AS TO BAPTISM.

Novatus now appeared upon the scene. He was determined to secure the election of Novatian as bishop, in rivalry against Cornelius. Three bishops, living at a distance from Rome, were induced to repair thither, and they ordained Novatian to the bishopric. The latter immediately communicated the fact of his consecration to Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage. But no recognition of his election was returned, though efforts were made in those great centers to raise up strong parties in the interest of Novatian. Many of the Roman clergy and laity, who had disapproved of the measures by which Novatian was admitted into the Church, took side with the party of which he was the head. In due time their inconsistency became apparent to themselves. How could they favor a man as bishop whose baptism they had disapproved? They gradually ceased opposition, withdrew all fellowship with the schism of Novatian, and returned to the Church. No-

RETURN OF THE ROMAN CLERGY TO THE CHURCH.

[1] In Herzog and Plitt, Encyclopædia, *s. v.*

vatian and his entire party were excommunicated, and the movement lost all formidable character.

THE COUNCIL OF NICE AND THE NOVATIANS.

Novatian and his followers did not depart materially from the received doctrines of the Church, and differed only in their severe treatment of the lapsed in rebaptizing those entering their communion from the Church, and, in some cases, in condemning second marriages. The Council of Nice adopted a mild course toward them, but they refused to return to the Church. The Roman Church finally adopted its ordinary policy of repression. In Rome Innocent I (402–417) closed their churches, and Celestine I (422–432) forbade them to worship in public. They constituted a party in the Church, especially in the East, as late as the end of the sixth century, and bore the name of Cathari, or The Pure.[1]

DISPUTE BETWEEN CARTHAGE AND ROME ON THE PRIMACY OF ROME.

Thus far there had been only minor and occasional differences between the Churches of Rome and North Africa. But now there arose a fundamental divergence of opinion, which was without question one of the chief initial causes for that later division into the Eastern and Western Churches which has descended to the present time, having steadily resisted all measures toward restoration. But as we survey the whole field of the dispute which now arose between Carthage and Rome, it becomes clear that the question of rebaptism of heretics was of subordinate importance. The fundamental issue was the primacy of the Roman bishop over all bishops in the East or the West. It is not improbable that the remnants of the Novatian schism became an element of disturbance. Stephen, who became Bishop of Rome in 253, or more likely in 254, favored the validity of baptism by schismatics and heretics, on the ground that baptism, as an objective institution founded by Christ, carried with it its own indorsement when administered with the right intention and in the name of the Trinity or of Christ. In this he seems to have been in accord with the tradition in Rome.

In every part of the territory of the Church baptism had been

[1] "Novatian was the first theologian of the Church of Rome," says Harnack, "who developed a comprehensive literary activity in the Latin language, but of his works only his De Sabbato, De Circumcisione, and De Trinitate have come down to us." In the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Chr. Lit. ed., v, 604–650, will be found a translation of his works on the Trinity and his lay letter on the Jewish meats. The authorities are Cyprian, Epistles, 44, 45, 49, 50, 55, 68; Eusebius, H. E., vi, 43–45; vii, 8; Socrates, H. E., ii, 38; v, 10, 21; vii, 25 (later history). Of modern works, Harnack says that Walch, Ketzerhistorie, ii, 185–288, is the best, though his own works deserve that honor: Herzog and Plitt, x, 652–667, and Dogmengeschichte, i, 339–343. See Neander, i, 222, 237–248, 690.

performed by schismatics, and the voice of the Eastern Churches was against its validity. In Asia Minor, Syria, and throughout North Africa the custom had grown into an order, that such baptisms should not be considered as having any virtue; hence a new baptism was required as a condition of readmission into the Church. The invalidity of schismatic baptism can be definitely traced back to the time of Bishop Agrippinus, of Carthage, about the year 220,[1] and the synod of Carthage accepted it formally. In the year 235 the councils of Iconium and Synnada, in Asia Minor, adopted the same course. This was the point of view occupied by Cyprian of Carthage. He held that there can be but one baptism, one faith, and one hope, and that these alone can be found in the Church and through it. All founders of schisms, such as Felicissimus and Novatian, are only apes, and can do nothing more than imitate a legitimate act. Two Carthaginian synods, of the years 255 and 256, declared in favor of rebaptism —a decision reached through the powerful advocacy of Cyprian. The second synod of Carthage sent its resolution to Rome, where it immediately met with the violent opposition of Stephen, the bishop. The latter replied that this course was new, and that no novelty should be introduced unless it could be supported by tradition.[2]

BAPTISM BY SCHISMATICS.

The controversy now became bitter. Cyprian responded that it was pure obstinacy to confront a divine order with human tradition; that the Roman bishop had nothing to do with the matter further than any other bishop, and that the usage in the Roman diocese was an old error, and devoid of the truth.[3] Stephen could give as well as take, and he replied that Cyprian was a pseudo-Christian, a false apostle, a deceptive servant. The result was, Stephen excommunicated the African Church, and thus all relationship ceased between Rome and the Christians of North Africa. A synod of Carthage which immediately succeeded the excommunication repeated its action requiring a new baptism of heretics on their reception into the Church. The Bishop of Rome was himself charged by Cyprian with being a schismatic and a worse heretic than all others, because he attempted to destroy the unity of the Church. The contest became more bitter still, and violent language passed back and forth, in which Stephen of Rome claimed supreme power over the African Church. Cyprian replied that the assumption of Stephen, that he was a

CYPRIAN AND STEPHEN.

[1] Cyprian, Ep. 73.

[2] Nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum.

[3] Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est. Ep. 74.

"bishop of bishops," was an absurd arrogance, and that Christ alone was supreme.[1]

The conflict ran its due course. Each party seemed to breathe more freely after it had exhausted its vocabulary of invective.[2] Peace was restored by a new outbreak of persecution, in which both contestants gave up their lives for their common Lord, Stephen in 257 and Cyprian in 258. The Roman view gradually gained ground, until all parties came together on the following basis: that when a heretic who proposed to reenter the Church had once been baptized in the name of the Trinity, he should be received by the formality of the laying on of hands, as a sign of reconciliation with the Church. This basis was declared by the Council of Arles in 314 and repeated by the Council of Nicæa in 325. The victory of the Roman tradition, though really in the interest of a more tolerant and catholic view—in fact, the triumph of Cyprian's idea would have been an unspeakable calamity—could not do less than help forward the rising primacy of the Church of the Seven Hills. What Rome gains she keeps, and she never forgets.[3]

THE BASIS OF PEACE.

The Meletian schism likewise arose from a difference of opinion concerning the proper treatment of the lapsed. During the Diocletian persecution, which was more abundant than any other in the number of apostates, Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in the Thebaid, held that no lapsed Christian should

THE MELETIAN SCHISM.

[1] Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. Cyprian, ad Conc. Carth. de Baptismo (Migne, iii, 1054). So bitter were some of the expressions used by Cyprian and his colleagues against the Bishop of Rome that some Roman scholars have thought that the letters in which they occur are spurious. For this suspicion there is not the slightest reason, as is now acknowledged by all scholars. The correspondence reveals the deep gulf between the papacy of the second century and that of the nineteenth.

[2] The letters of Stephen are not preserved. The other party certainly dealt in invective sharp enough.

[3] The modern Roman Catholic practice of rebaptizing Anglicans and other Protestants, using the formula, "If thou hast not been baptized, I baptize thee," on the ground of a possible defect in the first administration, is a grave lapse from the practice vindicated by Stephen. For the authorities, see Eusebius, H. E., vii, 3–5; Cyprian, Epistles, 70–76, and the Acts of the Councils of Carthage, A. D. 255, 256. For modern discussions, see Neander, ii, 317–323; Barmby, art. "Stephanus I," in Smith and Wace; and Benson, art. "Cyprianus," in the same; Steitz, in Herzog and Plitt, vii, 652–661; Grisar, in Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, 1881.

be restored to Church fellowship while the persecution lasted (305). This was his claim, but he had a grievance against his metropolitan, Peter of Alexandria. Peter had withdrawn during the persecution, and not only was the administration of his own office interrupted, but many of the bishops were in prison. Meletius saw the need of proper episcopal service, and proceeded to exercise his office within the jurisdiction of other bishops, and he even assumed metropolitan functions. He was warned by the imprisoned bishops, and also by Peter, against such assumption of authority. The admonitions were without effect upon him, and he, in turn, fulminated severe charges against his absent episcopal associates.

The schism assumed large proportions and extended throughout the Egyptian Church. The Nicene council, whose treatment of all schismatic movements was singularly mild and judicious, sought to accommodate the matter and win back the followers of Meletius by acknowledging the validity of the ordinations by Meletius, but enjoining an enforcement of them by the imposition of hands by regular bishops; by preserving the rank and orders of the twenty-nine Meletian bishops, but withholding the power to discharge their functions until the death of the regular bishops in the same territory; and by continuing to Meletius the episcopal title, but withholding from him perpetually the exercise of his office.[1]

TREATMENT BY THE NICENE COUNCIL.

A shrewder piece of ecclesiastical management cannot be found in the annals of general councils. Those who followed Meletius were dealt with gently, and the author of their troubles was humored with the possession of an empty title. This, however, was not satisfactory to a man of such imperious nature. He continued his revolt, but many of his followers forsook him and returned to the Church. Later he joined the Arian faction. Some of his communities still existed, but led a feeble life, a century and a half after their absorption into the Arian heresy.[2]

ABSORPTION BY THE ARIANS.

The Donatist schism arose from the same general cause as all the preceding separatistic movements, but involved more serious questions, assumed larger proportions, continued longer, and made a deeper encroachment upon the very life and

THE DONATIST SCHISM.

[1] Kurtz, Handb. d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte, vol. i, pp. 259, 260.

[2] The best account of the Meletian schism is found in three manuscripts discovered in the archives of the Cathedral of Verona and published by Maffei in Osservationi Litterarise, Verona, 1738, and by Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii, 381, ff. These must be balanced by Epiphanius, Haer., lxviii, 1–4. Other accounts are Athanasius, Apol. contra Arianos, xi, lix; Socrates, 1, 6, *et al.* See Walch, in his Ketzerhistorie, and Neander, iii, 252–255.

organization of the Church than any previous schism in the annals of Christianity. While it began with the discussion of a question of practical religious life, it soon entered the domain of ecclesiastical discipline, and thence extended to the larger sphere of the relation of the State to the Church. Long before it had reached its full development it was undergoing investigation by the Emperor Constantine himself as head of the Christian state. The Diocletian persecution, fruitful alike of martyrs and schisms, also gave birth to Donatism. The storm of imperial hostility raged most violently in North Africa, and the spirit of readiness to suffer martyrdom became violent and abnormal. We observe not so much a calm and determined heroism, as with the Waldenses and Puritans of later times, but an excessive love of martyrdom—as if a hastening to death were at once the best way to please God, build up his kingdom, and expunge the sins of a lifetime.

The vagary of the crisis was the boast of loss of goods, the courting of imprisonment, the rejoicing in physical pain, and the coveting of martyrdom. The bishops were too wise to look upon this new phenomenon with favor. They saw in it an element of danger, and that the bridge was narrow between the search for martyrdom and the reverence for the bones of those who had hastened, with loud psalms and ready feet, to their death. It was clear that an open issue must soon come between these two elements, the fanatical love of death and the view that martyrdom was a dire necessity. The rupture was brought about by a woman.

LUCILLA, OF CARTHAGE.

Lucilla, a distinguished and wealthy lady of Carthage,[1] carried her reverence for martyrdom so far that one day in the church, just before the administration of the Lord's Supper, she publicly kissed the bones of a martyr.[2]

This one act was the beginning of the great Donatist controversy, which shook the whole Church from the mountains of Lebanon to the Pillars of Hercules. The bishops were not used to it. In fact, so far as we can learn, it was the first overt act of veneration or worship for the remains of saints in the history of the Church.

FIRST ACT OF VENERATION OF THE SAINTS.

Now, the kissing of the bones of all the saints in the Roman Catholic calendar, by every woman present in the public service of all the cathedrals of Christendom, would provoke only words of approval from pope, bishop, and priest. But the archdeacon Cæcilian severely rebuked the too reverent lady before the entire congregation. Not only was her

[1] Augustine says she was a Spaniard by birth. De Unit. Eccles., 8.

[2] Wiseman, Essays, ii, 210, finds a parallel between Lucilla and Anne Boleyn —an unhappy comparison.

pride touched, but the entire party regarded the rebuke as a mortal affront.

The sanctity of martyrdom was regarded as invaded. Mensurius, the bishop of Cæcilian, was of the same general view with his archdeacon, and was already obnoxious to the fanatics for "taking no pleasure in martyrs, and preventing Christians from showing them due honor," and even for prohibiting food from captive Christians. The passions of both parties were greatly excited. Mensurius died in the midst of the storm, and now, to prevent Cæcilian from becoming his successor, the extremists secured the appointment, by Secundus, the Numidian bishop of Tigisis, of a provisional supervisor (visitator, interventor) of the vacant see of Carthage.[1] They wanted time to mature their plans and capture Carthage by a bishop after their own heart. But their adversaries were too quick in their action. They immediately elected Cæcilian, and secured his consecration to the episcopal office by Felix, Bishop of Aptunga.

THE WARFARE OF PASSIONS.

The Numidian bishops, to the number of seventy, hastened to Carthage and protested against the election. The central figure among them was Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ. The ground of their opposition was that Felix had no right to consecrate, because he had been a traditor, having surrendered the Scriptures in the midst of persecution.[2] Hence Cæcilian was, according to their view, not a bishop. Cæcilian, however, was shrewd enough to present himself for ordination. But this did not satisfy the extremists and their principal abettor, the Numidian bishop. They not only refused to consecrate him, but elected as rival bishop the lector Majorinus, a man whom Lucilla had recommended for the office.

LUCILLA'S CANDIDATE, MAJORINUS, ELECTED BISHOP.

The schism was now complete. The entire Church of North Africa was involved in it. All the distant communities were arrayed on the one side or the other, and violent language was employed by both the laity and the clergy.

THE SCHISM COMPLETE.

[1] Ebrard, Kirchen-und Dogmengtschichte, vol. i, pp. 323, 324.

[2] The question of the guilt of Felix, which is the real question of this controversy, was reviewed by official investigators, with the result of declaring him innocent. See Optatus of Mileve, De Schismate Donatistarum, Ed. Dupin, 254, ff.; Walch, iv, 41–52. Voelter, the author of the most thorough investigation of Donatism, Der Ursprung des Donatismus nach den Quellen untersucht und dargestellt, Tübingen, 1883, thinks that Felix was guilty of the charges brought against him. Hopkins, of Auburn Theological Seminary, submitted the evidence to Judge Dwight, of the New York Supreme Court, in order to get the verdict of an unbiased mind. Judge Dwight strongly insisted on Felix's innocence. See Hopkins, in Presbyterian Review, 1884, p. 728.

The party of the extreme view had made it one point of their opposition that the Church was a purely spiritual institution, and had no relation with the State. This was the most reasonable element in their whole catalogue of grievances. But even this they surrendered by appealing to the Emperor Constantine to step in and cause an adjustment of the trouble, or, rather, to declare a justification of their claims.[1]

THE APPEAL TO CONSTANTINE.

The emperor had watched the controversy with that peculiar interest which he exhibited in all the ecclesiastical affairs of his empire, and resolved on the suppression of the schism. He had expressly excluded the Donatists from all his edicts of toleration. But, when it came to a matter of such gravity as to decide between strong parties, he must proceed in a truly imperial manner, and call in the Church as a factor in the settlement. In 313 he summoned to a meeting in Rome a commission consisting of five Gallican and fifteen Italian bishops, under the presidency of Melchiades, Bishop of Rome. The commission decided against Donatus and his party. But they, as a matter of course, were not satisfied with the result, and Constantine caused a legal investigation to be made in Carthage as to the authority of the documents of the pagan city prætor Alfius, which proved that Felix had been a traditor. The writing was pronounced a forgery, and thus the particular charge of the invalidity of Cæcilian's consecration fell to the ground.

THE DONATISTS CONDEMNED BY THE COUNCIL OF ARLES, 314.

Constantine now called a council to meet in Arles, in 314, where the Donatists were again condemned. The following year Majorinus died, and the Donatists elected as his successor Donatus the Great, not Donatus of Casæ Nigræ. They now made another appeal to Constantine. He was unwilling to hear anything further from them, but relented, and held an investigation in Milan, in 316. The result was a final condemnation of the Donatists as a disturbing and dangerous schism in the Church.

FANATICISM OF THE DONATISTS.

The Donatists were now outside the pale of the Church, by both ecclesiastical and civil order. But their spirit was not broken. Their chief bishop was a man of great eloquence, of daring spirit, and capable of deep and far-reaching plans. Throughout North Africa there was a body of vagrant monks, who made it their special mission to excite the people to adopt the severe view in dealing with heretics, to pull down churches, to liberate slaves, to declare in favor of community of goods,

[1] The most plausible theory is that Donatus himself appealed to Constantine. Eusebius, H. E., x, 5. Comp. Jacobi, Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte, p. 236.

to kill those who might resist, and to rush headlong into the joy and crown of martyrdom.[1] Their fanaticism was as much political as religious. They combined the communism of modern France with the Münster fanaticism of German Protestantism in the time of Luther. They were called Circumcellions because they stood about the huts (*cellæ*) of the peasants and demanded bread. They appropriated to themselves the high-sounding epithets of Soldiers of Christ and Agonizers (*Milites Christi, Agonistici*). Some of the Donatists made common cause with the Circumcellions, protected them in their deeds of violence against all who were not Donatists, and, before the world, were regarded as identical with them. But even bitter Donatists soon saw the danger of being responsible for such a wild fanaticism, and repudiated them. Some Donatist bishops even invoked the imperial aid for their suppression. Tanonius, a general of the army, began in 345 a war against them, by which their power was finally broken.

Under the repressive measures of Constantine the Donatists gained in secret, and by gradual expansion, what they lost from political proscription and financial embarrassment. They had the advantage of pleading persecution and martyrdom. The emperor, seeing at last that his policy was a mistaken one, in the year 317 admonished his subjects to cease persecuting them, and in 321 issued a special edict, granting them full religious and civil liberty. They now enjoyed a truce of twenty years, during which time they acquired great strength, built churches, conducted proselyting operations, and organized a vast ecclesiastical system which covered a large part of North Africa. They were even represented by a bishop of their own in the grave deliberations of the Nicene council. Even after the ground of their existence was removed by the death of Cæcil-

CONSTANTINE ORDERING HIS SUBJECTS TO CEASE PERSECUTING THE DONATISTS.

[1] The following, from Augustine, is only one of the many authentic accounts from the time of the violent operation of the Circumcellions: "Quotidie vestrorum incredibilia patimur facta Clericorum et Circumcelliorum, multa pejora quam quorumlibet latronum et prædonum. Namque horrendis armati cujusque generis telis, terrebiliter vagando . . . nocturnis aggressionibus clericorum Catholicorum invasas domos nudas atque inanes derelinquunt ipsos etiam raptos et fustibus tunsos, ferroque concisos, semivivos abjiciunt. Insuper . . . oculis eorum calcem aceto permixto infundentes excruciare amplius eligunt quam citius excecare." De Hær., c. 69. The Circumcellions were very much like the American vagrant ("tramp"), lazy and often vicious, and sometimes tinged with religious fanaticism. Our tramps, like the Circumcellions, will sack a town and hold a whole neighborhood in terror. Gibbon, ii, 546, ed. Smith, compared the Circumcellions to the Camisards, and Robertson, Ch. Hist., i, 195, 8vo, ed. Lond., thinks that they have a counterpart in the marauding Covenanters of the Highlands.

ian they continued their warfare, when his successor, Gratus, was elected, with all their original tact and energy. The Emperor Constantius was impatient of the schism, and was anxious to bring the Church into unity. With no friendly feeling toward the Donatists, he yet pursued the mild policy of treating with them and using money to bring back into fellowship with the general Church such members as were open to such a powerful argument. This was a most unwise measure. No sooner did the Donatists learn it, and see its operation, than their passions were aroused. Donatus the Great hurled defiance at the imperial power with the bold words, "What business has the emperor with the Church?" The charge of bribery was made, and the Circumcellions were summoned to arise from their obscurity, to begin anew their destructive operations. The Donatists, however, were conquered. It was a question of the whole power of the State against a semi-political band of outlaws. Donatus the Great was fortunate in being banished, for the most of the leaders were executed as political offenders.

DEFEAT OF THE DONATISTS BY POWER OF THE STATE.

Just at this juncture Julian came to the throne. He was ready for any measure to divide Christians, and, under the plea of liberty, granted complete restoration of property and religious liberty to the Donatists, and called back their bishops from banishment. Donatus the Great had died in exile, but no sooner was his successor, Parmenianus, elected, than he was brought to Carthage under the protection of an imperial guard. But with Julian's reign all favor shown by the State to the Donatists ceased. Valentinian I, in 373, and Gratian in 375, issued decrees against them, and all privileges granted by Julian were revoked. But their power was still unbroken. They were accustomed to imperial proscription, and it was an element in which they found it almost as convenient to live and expand as though in the sunshine of political favor.

JULIAN REVIVING THE DONATIST SCHISM.

The worst foe of the Donatists appeared from within. There were two parties in their own fold, the conservatives and the extremists. The leaders of the former were Rogatus, Bishop of Cartenna; the followers of Tychonius; and the Bishop Primian, of Carthage. The division went even as far as conflicting Donatist councils and rival bishops elected by them. Maximian, a deacon under Primian, stood at the head of the radical wing, and was excommunicated by Primian. But a synod which met in Carthage in 393 removed Primian and elected his deacon in his place. A counter-synod, however, reversed this order. In all these operations no mild measures were employed. It was a

ROGATUS AND PRIMIAN.

battle of blows as well as words and ballots, and blood was often shed during the heat of controversy—an emphatic way, it must be confessed, of conducting operations for the glory of God and upholding the purity of his Church. But even internal division did not destroy the proud and defiant spirit of Donatism. No opposition, from within or without, seemed strong enough to arrest it. It was the stormy petrel of the early Church, and no tempest seemed wild enough to lessen its venture from the shore or the boldness of its flight.

AUGUSTINE BISHOP OF HIPPO.

Augustine now appeared upon the scene. Elected Bishop of Hippo in 395, he no sooner adjusted himself to his office than he saw the need of uniting the divisions of that part of the Church under his administration. In the year 400 he adopted measures to overcome the Donatists. His policy was one of forbearance and respect. He hoped to win by kindness, generally a safe policy for an ecclesiastical officer to begin with, but not always to continue. He convened one synod after another, in all of which he caused the adoption of conciliatory resolutions concerning the Donatists. They were invited back in kindly terms, the conditions of readmission being of such character that they could be easily accepted by any but the exacting Donatists. Should they return they should come without loss of dignity or office. Some accepted the overtures, but the effect of this was to enrage the general body. The excitement became intense, and even the Circumcellions, who were thought to be well-nigh extinct, were galvanized into new activity, and began their wild proceedings as in former times. Augustine now changed his course. He saw that he was dealing with men who could be conquered only by the arm of power.

THE EMPEROR HONORIUS FIRST ENDEAVORING TO SUPPRESS AND THEN TO REVIVE THE SCHISMATICS.

The African Church had steadily refrained from invoking imperial aid, but even this forbearance must now cease. The synod of Carthage, which met in 405, appealed to the Emperor Honorius to suppress the schismatics. He came to its aid. The clergy were banished and the laity punished with heavy fines, but to those who might return the door was thrown wide open. Four years afterward he revoked this edict, and granted toleration to the Donatists. This he again revoked, in compliance with the request of a synod, and ordered a public discussion in Carthage between the regular clergy and their Donatist adversaries. This was the so-called Collatio cum Donatistis of the year 411. It was one of the most animated and important public disputations in the entire period of the early Church. It possessed no authoritative power

as an ecclesiastical body, but, being presided over by a representative of the imperial power, this officer was empowered to decide as he might see proper. It was the State claiming the right to settle a religious dispute. The Collatio consisted of two hundred and eighty-six regular bishops and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops.

The proceedings lasted three days. The chief disputants were Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, in defense of the Church, and Primian and Petilian in the Donatist interest. The imperial commissioner, Martellinus, decided promptly against the Donatists. They then appealed to the emperor, who confirmed the decision of his representative. They had now been heard at the last court and for the last time. The Church and State were united against them. All previous edicts of suppression were renewed. Their spirit was broken for the first time in the battle of a century. They gradually declined in numbers and wealth. When the Vandals conquered Northern Africa the Donatists hoped to affiliate with them, and, profiting by the devastation, to rebuild their former fortune. But they did not know the temper of those wild men of the North, who made no fine distinctions between the Church and its schismatics, but whose blood was hot against Homoousian Christians of every name. The Donatists, therefore, suffered as severely from the Vandals as they did from the Roman emperors. But they maintained their organization, though they saw their fabric gradually falling to pieces, until as late as the seventh century, when they shared the fate of all the forms of the divided and stagnant Christianity of Northern Africa and were swept from the face of the earth by the fiery besom of the Saracens.

FINAL DECISION AGAINST THE DONATISTS.

These schismatic movements, which arose from questions of discipline and administration, had now fulfilled their destiny. What was their service? or were they only of that class of dark evils which leave no permanent residuum of instruction and strength to the Church? Donatism, like the other secessions, had a large share of human motive in its very organization; but beneath all this it is not difficult to detect an element of good. Many of the schismatics were honest, learned, and pure men, and saw three dangers that threatened both the purity and administration of the Church—an impure membership in the general membership, a centralizing and absolute Church government, and the participation of civil authority in the administration of the Church. Against all these they spoke strong words, and kept aloof from no sacrifice in person or estate. The charge of cor-

THE SERVICE OF THE SCHISMATIC MOVEMENTS.

rupt morals cannot be made against their representatives or any important part of the commonalty of members. When they claimed that a Christian who had renounced his faith and sacrificed to idols was no longer a Christian in any sense, and must again be baptized before reentering the Church, they only maintained a principle which has been advocated even in modern times without bringing upon its champions the charge of being schism.

The schismatics declared for the purity of the Church, and that the Church itself is a body of righteous people who have never forfeited their high royalty of discipleship, or, if they have, must go through all the stages toward restoration required of any unregenerate heart. The formal and public Church had but little place in their system. Theirs was the invisible Church, consisting only of God's believing children in this life and his triumphant saints in the life to come. With tradition they had little to do except to remonstrate against it. They were always jealous of excessive metropolitan and episcopal prerogatives. Bishops they had, and enough, but we nowhere find in these separatistic movements that emphasis placed upon their authority, apart from the strict law of their administration, which was beginning to express itself not only in Rome but even in the whole Eastern Church. What was understood to be the consensus of the body of believers concerning episcopal authority was of less force with them than what was just and in harmony with the needs of the hour. Augustine's reply to their isolation from the general body of believers, that their communities were schisms from the maternal Church of Jerusalem and the whole Eastern Church, had but little force with them, for they held that a fallen Church was no Church at all,[1] and therefore had no bishops.

THE SCHISMATIC VIEW OF THE CHURCH.

But it was in the field of State interference that the Donatists and other schismatics were strongest, more free from error, and of greatest service to the Church in all later periods. For the first time in Christian history there was a Christian ruler. Constantine, like all his pagan predecessors, claimed supreme prerogatives over all religious interests. He was the bishop outside of the bishops. The fundamental position of the later separatists, however frequently they departed from it in order to preserve their existence, was that the State had no more to do with the Church than with any foreign institution. The two realms were independent of each other. This was Augustine's position at the beginning, and he was

DONATIST PROTEST AGAINST STATE INTERFERENCE IN ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

[1] Reuter, Augustinische Studien, in Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte, v, p. 361.

only driven to an acknowledgment of State authority over the Church because of the Donatist opposition.[1] Had the whole Church, at this early day, protested against the imperial participation in matters purely spiritual and ecclesiastical, the whole life of the Church would have been different. There would have been no unholy bondage of the Church to the State which not even Protestantism has been able to destroy except in republican countries. The Donatists held that the State was the representative of a profane institution. This was too low a standard, far beneath that of Paul. But the position which many of the leaders of the general Church held, that the emperor had imperial rights over the Church not less than over civil affairs, was equally far in the other extreme.

SCANTY JUSTICE TO THE SCHISMATICS BY THE GREAT BODY OF BELIEVERS.

The great body of believers were slow to accord any justice, or any element of right view, to these schismatic bodies on this or any question which entered into their separation. But it cannot be questioned that these very men—banished, disfranchised, stripped of home and property, and executed—did perform a service of permanent value to Christianity in all later periods. There was much chaff in their sowing, but in the broad blaze of the latest light it can be clearly seen there was also many a golden grain of truth.[2]

[1] Reuter, Augustinische Studien, in Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte, iv, 540.

[2] The late Heman Lincoln, in an article on the Donatists in the Baptist Review, 1880, pp. 357–376, investigates the supposed similarities between the Donatists and Baptists. He concludes that these resemblances consist in their principle of a holy Church membership and in that of the independence of the Church from the State. In all other matters of the Baptist testimony they did not differ from the ruling Church of the time. In his review of Voelter's Donatismus, Newman agrees with this conclusion of Lincoln. See Baptist Review, 1884, pp. 530–533. Besides the authorities already mentioned, see Ribbeck, Donatus and Augustinus, 1858; Deutsch, Drei Actenstücke z. Gesch. d. Donatismus, Berl., 1875; Fuller, Donatismus (an elaborate treatment), in Smith and Wace; Hartranft, Prolegomena (85 pp.) to the Anti-Donatist Writings of St. Augustine, in the Nicene and Postnicene Fathers, Series i, vol. iv. The sources are Optatus and Augustine. The works of the Donatists are lost.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONTROVERSY ON THE TRINITY—MONARCHIANISM.

To him who sees in the theological disputes which have arisen in different periods of the Church only the play of passion and the strife for ecclesiastical promotion, the trinitarian discussion which now arose under the name of Monarchianism seems only a tangled thread of speculation. At first view it appears to have arisen from insufficient causes, and to have been prosecuted for the most part with petty aims. But a closer inspection reveals a better and larger quality both of the question itself and of the participants in it. There was in the Church of this period a profound need for the thorough and comprehensive examination of all the sublime doctrines of Christianity. At the foundation of the whole system lies that of the Trinity. Even this doctrine did not come to the world as a final and formulated article of faith. Not only was it necessary that the Church cling to its belief in this truth against every hostile attack, but the truth itself was of such quality that those who loved it, and believed in it, and staked their present and future upon it, needed to analyze and weigh it in order to take into their own consciousness the full measure of its worth. It had been given but not appropriated.

THE NEED TO EXAMINE ITS DOCTRINES.

For this reason the doctrine of the Godhead, above all others, required a new examination. Every truth which the Old Testament had handed down in miniature, and which had received its full light in Christ, required an appropriation by the body of believers which constituted the visible Church. But in order to make the appropriation there was need of minute examination. This was the human process, man's dealing with God's truth. What has man ever done with unanimity? What truth was ever gained save as he has seen it in the flashing of the weapons of fearless warfare? The understanding which the early Church reached concerning all its doctrines, by which it was to enter upon its long historical pathway, was a supreme want at this time. Happily for the later Christian generations, some permanent conclusions were reached in this early period. While theology is a progressive science there are finalities all along

TRUTH PROVED BY CONTROVERSY.

its course. Only by its positive possessions can it go forth into new fields.

This principle of the need of the Church to examine and formulate its doctrines for itself, not for apologetic purposes, but for its own consciousness, finds its application now to the Trinity. The apostle John had presented the doctrine of the Logos, both as a truth and a life. Much of the discussion between the Neoplatonic school and the defenders of Christianity had turned upon the nature of the Logos. This one question constantly reappeared in the Gnostic warfare. When Gnosticism had spent its force, and the Church had adjusted itself to its broad and full view of the Logos, as given by John and now appropriated by the body of believers after their heroic battle for its possession, there came on a period of calm. During this interval a new examination arose, not again of the question of the Logos, but of the entire Trinity. This was the Monarchian movement, so called because of the supreme place which its champions assigned to the unity of God. After Monarchianism had done its work, and disappeared from its field of strife, there was a recurrence to the old question of the Logos, but under the new name of Arianism. We have, therefore, these three controversial stages, in all of which the crucial question was the divinity of Christ—the Gnostic, the Monarchian, and the Arian. The roots of the Monarchian lay in the battle with Gnosticism, while the Arian period received both its impulse and authority during the Monarchian discussion.

MONARCHIANISM THE QUESTION OF THE TRINITY.

The Monarchians discussed the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Trinity only incidentally. Sabellius was the only one who gave it prominence, and it must be said for him that, contrary to the received teaching of his day, he gave equal place with Christ to the Holy Spirit as one of the divine triad. The main point of the Monarchians, however, was to determine the relation of the Father to Christ. Wherever they touched upon the Holy Spirit it was only to illustrate and give force to their peculiar view of the Logos. The prevailing view in the Church concerning Christ was based upon the monotheistic idea, somewhat shaped, on the one hand, by a dread of sympathizing with the pantheistic ideas that had floated in from the East, and, on the other, by the idolatrous faith that had prevailed everywhere in the West. Christ was held to be divine, and to have had a prehuman existence, but the peculiar and intense element of original deity was ascribed to the Father in a fuller sense than to the Son.

THE MAIN POINT OF THE MONARCHIANS.

This was subordination, a term which became a party watchword

and played an important part during the Monarchian controversy. Both the Eastern and Western Churches favored it, though in the Western a stronger emphasis was placed upon the unity and identity of natures in the Father and the Son. Until the time of Origen the mode of expressing the difference was such that there was a time when the Logos came to an independent existence.[1] The Monarchian took up this monotheistic view, and, instead of eliminating from it its unfortunate expression, applied it to Christ, and carried it to a dangerous extreme.

SUBORDINATION.

There were three groups of Monarchians. They all proceeded from a spirit of reaction against the subordination of Christ in the Godhead, a doctrine which was strongly intrenched in many parts of Christendom. They recognized no personal difference in the essence or being of God, or, to use their own language, *ἰδία οὐσίας περιγραφή*. Hence there was no personal individuality of the Logos. His divinity was not distinguishable from that of the Father.[2]

The first group of Monarchians claimed for Christ a divine nature, but not a complete one. He was the Logos, but only such by virtue of the power given him by God. The Father would manifest himself, and through Christ he chose that manifestation. Christ was much the same as other men; his chief difference was his miraculous and divine generation. But he towered far above man or angel in that he was the personal organ through whom the divine energy was manifested to men for their salvation.

THE THREE MONARCHIAN GROUPS.

The Alogians were the first Monarchians. They arose in Asia Minor about the year 170. Epiphanius, with a keen stroke of wit, gave them their name, which carries with it both his own opinion of their theological folly and their real rejection of John's gospel and his doctrine of the Logos.[3] They were violent enemies of the whole Montanistic system, especially its prophetic and eschatological departments. They repudiated John's Apocalypse and declared that his gospel was the work of the Gnostic Cerinthus. They constituted a school; there is no proof that they ever became a separate sect.[4]

THE ALOGI.

[1] Jacobi, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, p. 189.

[2] Thomasius, Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche, pp. 168, f.

[3] *Ἄλογος*—unreasonable. Epiph., Hær, li, 3.

[4] The Alogi were the first to apply historical criticism to the gospels. Their criticism, however, was based purely on internal considerations. They alleged no tradition in favor of Cerinthus's authorship. This is acknowledged by Zeller. See Godet, Com. on Gospel of John, 3d ed., vol. i, p. 171. It does not appear that they denied the divine origin of Christ. Their views were a reac-

The Theodotians, who took their name from Theodotus, a tanner, arose in Byzantium. He was excommunicated by Victor, Bishop of Rome. After his death his adherents became a sect and elected Natalis as their bishop. He afterward withdrew from them and returned to the Church. A second Theodotus, a money-changer, now stood at the head of the party. He held that Melchisedek was superior to Christ, as the latter was only mediator between God and man, while the former was mediator between God and angels. For this reason his adherents received the name of Melchisedekians.[1]

THE THEODOTIANS.

In the beginning of the third century Artemon, or Artemas, of Rome, founded the Monarchian party, which bore his name, the Artemonites. They had no relation with either the Alogians or Theodotians, except a general similarity of doctrine. They had mathematical and didactical tastes. Aristotle and the Greek mathematicians were their favorite teachers, whose works they lauded with boundless admiration. Artemon was excommunicated by the Roman bishop, Zephyrinus. But as this summary proceeding probably came from the sympathy of that bishop with the Patripassians, and not in the interest of the Church, the Artemonites could reply, with justice and force, that not they, but Zephyrinus himself, was a traitor to the traditional doctrine.[2]

THE ARTEMONITES.

For the space of forty years it seemed that the Artemonites had been extinct. But Paul of Samosata, who became Bishop of Antioch in the year 260, revived their views, and advocated them with remarkable force. In addition to his office of bishop he also held the civil office of procurator, and conducted each to the strengthening of the other. He was a vain, bold, and violent man. He carried the Artemonite view to its natural extreme, and held that what Christ was, as Son of God, was not so much an affair of his own nature but simply a communication from God, toward whom he advanced and developed.[3] The Logos was, originally, a mere man, and became the Logos by ascension into the

PAUL OF SAMOSATA.

tion from Gnosticism and Montanism. See Kurtz, 9th ed. of C. H., § 33, 2. As Cerinthus was a contemporary of the apostles it is evident that the Alogi knew nothing of a recent origin of John's gospel. If they had they would have used that knowledge with telling effect. See Schaff, in Smith and Wace, i, 87, note. On the Alogi, see Fisher in Papers of the American Soc. of Church History, ii, 1; Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, 272, ff.; Zahn, in Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie, 1875, pp. 72, ff.; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt.

[1] Hip., Phil. vii, 35, 36; x, 23; Eusebius, v, 28; Epiph., liv, lv.

[2] Eusebius, v, 28; vii, 30; Epiph., Hær., lxv, 1–4.

[3] Ὕστερον αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐπανθρώπησιν ἐκ προκοπῆς τεθεοποιῆσθαι αὐτόν. Athanas. de Synodis, c. 4.

divine. The divine did not inhere in him primarily, but he grew up into the divine. The Logos was in this sense the Son of God. He had a superior power, or capacity for divine development, vouchsafed to no other being, and by virtue of this mysterious power he evolved into the divine name and character. Two Syrian synods were held at Antioch with the purpose of condemning Paul and his teaching. But they were without success, owing to his skill in debate, and especially his tact in showing that his views were another form of statement of accepted doctrine.

The third synod, however, which met in Antioch in 269, was so conducted, through the masterly management of the presbyter, Malcheon, that it exposed Paul's sophistries and adopted a synodal circular which gave a formal statement of its grounds of opposition. It failed, however, of its prime end—the dispossession of Paul. He was a friend of the powerful and brilliant queen, Zenobia, whose support he had purchased by his favor of the Jews, and through her influence he was saved from loss of his temporalities. When Zenobia lost her crown through the victory of the Emperor Aurelian, in the year 272, Paul was without a friend in power. He was banished by the emperor at the earnest remonstrance of the Syrian bishops, supported by those of Rome and other parts of Italy. His followers declined in power and numbers, and were only known as late as the fourth century as an obscure sect, bearing a variety of names, such as the Paulians, the Paulianists, and the Samosatians.[1]

PAUL BEFRIENDED BY ZENOBIA.

DECLINE OF THE FIRST CLASS OF MONARCHIANS.

The second class of Monarchians repudiated all sympathy with the subordination of Christ to the Father, and went to the extreme of holding that all we know of the Father is what Christ has revealed. Christ is not only God, but all there is of God. The three persons of the Godhead are one and the same person and substance, and their difference lies solely in the form of existence and manifestation. The Patripassians were the foremost representatives of this new view. They derived their name from the just charge that if all there is of God is what is revealed in Christ then the Father, and not the Son, must have suffered for our salvation.[2] Praxeas was the chief representative of the Patripassian view. He came to Rome near the end of the second century, either during the episcopate of Eleutherus (170–185) or of Victor (185–197). His avowed object was to secure the condemnation of the Montanists, and he not only secured from the Bishop Victor the condemnation of the Montanists, but succeeded in gaining him

PATRIPASSIANS.

[1] Eusebius, H. E., vii, 27-30; Jerome, De Viris III., 71; Epiph., Hær., lxv.

[2] Itaque post tempus Pater natus et Pater passus.

to the Patripassian view.[1] Tertullian combated him in such successful way that his contradictions and absurd positions became patent to his most devoted adherents. He charged the general Church with a belief in tritheism, and based his allegation on three biblical passages, "as if," says Tertullian, with stinging satire, "the whole Bible contained nothing but these three passages."

NOETUS AND PATRIPASSIANS.

Noetus, of Smyrna, adopted the same Patripassian view as Praxeas. He seems to have taught only a short time, and was then excommunicated. But he had a willing and capable disciple in Epigonus, who went to Rome about 215, and propagated the Patripassian view with such success as to gain Cleomenes, a presbyter of the Roman Church. Cleomenes, in turn, became a zealous advocate, and succeeded in winning Callistus. This man was in high favor with the Bishop Zephyrinus, who now became an adherent of the Patripassian school, and favored its adoption among his clergy. Rome was now the center of this school of Monarchians, and they gained favor on every hand.[2]

THE CALLISTIANS.

Callistus, or Calixtus I, succeeded Zephyrinus as Bishop of Rome in the year 218, and became the founder of a school of Monarchians who bore the name of Callistians. According to the Philosophumena, which, until within half a century, has always passed as the work of Origen, but, according to a manuscript brought from Mount Athos in 1842, is clearly the production of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, this Callistus had been a slave, then a money-changer, and later an adventurer in various fields. It was after this checkered life that he returned to Rome, became the favorite of Zephyrinus, and so adroitly laid his plans that he gravitated without trouble into the vacant episcopate on the death of Zephyrinus. But he was ambitious of theological distinction as well as of ecclesiastical authority. In addition to his warm advocacy of the Patripassian doctrine he also favored the lax views of ecclesiastical discipline which had been for some time an important feature in the practical polity of Rome. He used his office to advocate both departments of his activity. The Noetians, through him, controlled the sentiment of the Christians of that great metropolis of the West. Their powerful opponent, who taught subordination in the Godhead, was Hippolytus.

[1] There would be nothing noteworthy in the early bishops of Rome becoming confused in their notions of these profound metaphysical questions were it not for the factitious importance which these lapses have received from the false doctrine of infallibility proclaimed by the Vatican council in 1870. See Barmby, art. "Zephyrinus," in Smith and Wace.

[2] Hippolytus, Refutation of all Heresies, ix.

When Callistus died the party which bore his name came to a speedy dissolution. He was the last of the popes who favored either the Noetian or any other Monarchian school.

UNCERTAINTY OF THE TRUE VIEW OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST BY CALLISTUS.

At this distance it is difficult to tell exactly how far Callistus departed from the true view of the divinity of Christ, especially as we have the testimony only of his bitter personal and theological opponent, Hippolytus. It seems very likely, however, that the Roman bishop failed seriously to apprehend the true significance of Christ's person, even allowing, as we must, with Döllinger, a large element of exaggeration and spite in the charges of Hippolytus. In any event, the picture of an eminent bishop of the Church inveighing against the orthodoxy of a second century pope is not an edifying one for the modern Vaticanist.[1]

THE MEDIATORY SCHOOL.

The third Monarchian group was a mediatory school. It sought to accommodate between those who held that the Logos was, on the one hand, simply an organ for the manifestation of the power of God, and, on the other, that he was the form in which God had revealed himself. Beryll was the foremost representative of this tendency. He was not prompted by any love of theological peace or a disposition to surrender an opinion. His views were drawn from both schools, and were devoid of unity and completeness. Indeed, for his opinions we are indebted entirely to a single sentence of Eusebius.[2] Beryll was of Bostra, in Arabia. He agreed with the Patripassians in holding that Christ was the person in whom the Father was revealed, but held with the first Monarchian school that Christ did not have, before his incarnation, an independent existence and divinity.[3] In the year 244 a synod was summoned in Arabia with a view to suppress Beryll's opinions. Origen was invited to attend, and he succeeded in convincing Beryll of the error of his view by showing him the great importance of the human soul in Christ as a necessity for his work of redemption. He thus led Beryll back into complete harmony with the accepted doctrine of the Logos, and received from him a written expression of his gratitude for his wise instruction.

We now come to Sabellius, the most powerful mind who sym-

[1] On this controversy see Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, Edinb., 1876; Wordsworth, Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, Lond., rev. ed., 1880; Schaff, ii, 578, 579; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt; Erbes, in Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie, 1888, 611, ff. Kurtz, last ed., § 33, 5, and Mœller, Kirchengeschichte (1891), third division, § 6, 3, allow a Monarchian tendency in Callistus and Zephyrinus.

[2] Hist. Eccles., vi, 33. κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφήν.

[3] For an interesting discussion of Beryll's views see Neander, Church History, vol. i, p. 598, note.

pathized with the Monarchian views. He, as Beryll, entertained views which were shared by both wings of the Monarchian tendency. But he had no thought of compromise. His was the most complete and best sustained of all the Monarchian theories, and he was himself the most talented and meritorious of all its adherents. He was born in either Libya or Italy, and went to Rome, no doubt for purposes of observation and study, during the episcopate of Zephyrinus. He soon became interested in Monarchian discussions which agitated the Church. Callistus, before his election to the episcopacy, won him to the adoption of his views, but when he became bishop he secured his excommunication.

THE SABELLIANS.

There is no good ground for supposing that Sabellius had changed his opinions, or that he was another Sabellius who was excommunicated. Callistus had simply become bishop, a transition which sufficiently accounts for his changed course toward Sabellius. For thirty years he seems to have disappeared, and then we find him at Ptolemais, in the Egyptian Pentapolis, as a strong and earnest presbyter of the Church, and surrounded by a powerful body of adherents. Dionysius, of Alexandria, saw the danger of his opinions and urged the African bishops to proceed against him. He and his followers were excommunicated at a synod held in Alexandria, in the year 261, but only after laudable but fruitless efforts on the part of Dionysius to convince him of his error and lead him back into harmony with the views held by the Church in general. How far Dionysius himself was astray may be seen in his extreme expressions in favor of the subordination of the Logos, as opposed to the Monarchian view, for he illustrated the relation of the Father to the Son by saying it was as the gardener to the vine and the master to his vessel. Complaints were made to Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, against these radical statements of his colleague, Dionysius, of Alexandria, against the equality of the Father and the Son. The result was that the Roman bishop held a synod in the year 262, which condemned the opinions of the Alexandrian bishop, and issued a letter condemnatory alike of the opinions of him and his opponent, Sabellius. The result was, that Dionysius, of Alexandria, reconsidered his expressions, and in a special treatise[1] announced his adoption of the views entertained by the Church in general and by his associates in episcopal authority.

SABELLIUS CONDEMNED IN ALEXANDRIA IN 261.

The views of Sabellius constituted the strongest of all the Monarchian statements. He was a man of pure character and strongly analytical mind. He was the evil of the theory of Christ's subordination, and his whole endeavor was to overthrow it, however

[1] Ἀπολογία καὶ ἔλεγχος.

strongly intrenched by the men in highest ecclesiastical authority. The most unfortunate feature of his teaching was his method of expressing Christ's equality with the Father. He held that God constituted in himself a unity, but in order to redeem the world he undertook certain manifestations. These are not subordinations to him, but forms of his appearance, his masks.[1] There are three of them—the gift of the law, the incarnation of the Son, and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. His illustration of the Trinity was the disk of the sun, the light from the sun, and its heat. The original divine essence constituted a monad, but when the monad would come to manifestation it evolves itself into a triad—the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. When the mission of the triad is complete, and man is saved, these three manifestations return into the monad once more. God has appeared, and now disappears. It will be seen that Sabellius does not accept the eternity of the Trinity, or even attribute to it a separate quality as three persons. Between his view, however, and the standard of doctrine in his day, there is not much ground of choice.

VIEWS OF SABELLIUS.

Sabellius carried Monarchianism further than anyone else, and pruned it of much superfluous theory. In him its best elements came out, an equalization of the three members of the Trinity. If he failed to clothe them with that august and eternal personality which belonged to them, to him must, nevertheless, be accorded the high honor of doing the inestimable service of rescuing the Church from the dangerous doctrine of the subordination of Christ and the still lower subordination of the Holy Ghost. His justification came not with his life, but, after his death, when the great Arian heresy, the natural outgrowth of the prevalent subordination, was condemned in the Nicene council, and the equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was forever declared a fundamental article of Christian faith. Sabellius was a teacher of error, but he performed the service of aiding in the great reaction which Athanasius brought to a triumphant close.[2]

THE BEST ELEMENTS OF MONARCHIANISM IN THE VIEWS OF SABELLIUS.

[1] Πρόσωπα.

[2] On Sabellius, see Hip., Phil. ix, 11; Eusebius, Contra Marcellum; Athan., De Syn., De Decr. Nic. Syn., *et al;* Basil, Eps. 207, 210, 214, 235; Greg. Naz., Dis. against Arius and Sabellius. Neander, i, 594–601 (Torrey), gives a very clear exposition of Sabellianism, as does also Baur, Church Hist., ii, 92–99 (Menzies). Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, 183, ff. Stokes, arts. "Sabellianism" and "Sabellius," in Smith and Wace. Monarchianism itself in all its phases is treated with subtle insight and analytical persistency by Dorner in his Hist. of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, first division. Hilgenfeld, Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, Leipz., 1884, is a valuable authority. Harnack has an extensive discussion of Monarchianism in new ed. of Herzog. See the various articles in Smith and Wace; Lipsius, Die Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, Leipz., 1875.

LITERATURE: THE SCRIPTURES AND TRADITION.

1. Westcott, B. F. On the Canon, Lond., 1855; 6th ed., enlarged, 1889. A marvel of candor and patient investigation; one of the monuments of modern scholarship.
2. Westcott, B. F. The Bible in the Church. 2d ed. Lond., 1886.
3. Supernatural Religion. 3 vols. Lond., 1873–77; 6th ed., 1879. An English adaptation of the views of extreme German rationalists. Westcott, On the Canon, pp. xiii–xxxv, gives several instances of bad faith in the use of authorities. The best replies are by Westcott, Sanday, and Lightfoot.
4. Sanday, William. The Gospels in the Second Century, Lond., 1876.
5. Charteris, A. H. Canonicity, Edinb., 1880. Founded on Kirchhofer, Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des N. T. Canons. A valuable collection of testimonials, and indispensable for reference.
6. Overbeck, F. C. Zur Geschichte des Canons, Chemnitz, 1880.
7. Harnack, A. The Muratorian Fragment, etc., in Baptist Review, 1880, pp. 182, ff. Das N. Test. im Jahr 200, Freib., 1889.
8. Ladd, G. T. Doctrine of Sacred Scripture. 2 vols. N. Y., 1883. Vol. i, pp. 627–690. A useful summary, giving the conclusions of recent scholarship. The whole work is the most exhaustive and scientific treatment ever given to the subject. Written from the evangelical standpoint, but in the freest and most candid spirit.
9. Reuss, E. Hist. of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. Trans. Bost. and Edinb. 2 vols., 1884. Hist. of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Trans. N. Y., 1884. Indispensable.
10. Holtzmann, J. H. Hist.-krit. Einleitung in das N. T., Freib., 1885. See C. W. Hodge in the Presb. Rev., 1886, 379–381.
11. Zahn, Theodor. Geschichte d. N. T. Kanons, 1888–90.
12. Lightfoot, J. B. Essays on the work entitled Supernatural Religion, Lond., 1889. See "Bishop Lightfoot on the New Testament in the Second Century" in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., April, 1890, pp. 134–159. On tradition, see Schaff, Ch. Hist., ii, 139; Neander, i, 517–519; Holtzmann, Kanon und Tradition, Ludwigsburg, 1859; Holtzmann on Tradition, in Herzog; Möller (of Kiel), Ch. Hist., i, 217–220 (1891); Princeton Theol. Essays, N. Y., 1846, pp. 1–26; and Newman, Essays, Crit. and Hist., i, 102–137; Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrine, Edinb., 1880, i, 106–114, 127–132.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SCRIPTURES AND TRADITION.

THE search of the Church for its final scriptural canon is one of the most interesting studies in the whole field of patristic history. Here, as with other triumphs of Christianity, the victory was not achieved by a single blow or by a few years of heroic endeavor. There was no general understanding, at the origin of the Church, as to what books should form that sacred collection which was destined to be the permanent rule of faith and final appeal, which should embalm the most precious memories in all the Christian ages, and should gather about its sacred pages that rich and ever-enlarging literature which we see to-day in all the languages of Christendom. The general Church arrived at its canon by a slow and often uncertain process. It learned the necessity of a complete and recognized body of scriptural truth from its foes. In the great conflict between the apologists and their pagan, Ebionitic, and Gnostic adversaries, it was found necessary that the advocates of Christianity should make the Scriptures their great arsenal for argument.

SLOW PROCESS IN DETERMINING THE SCRIPTURAL CANON.

There was no part of the Old Testament, and particularly of the prophets, which they did not use with all that skill which we might expect of disputants trained in the world's greatest rhetorical schools. They charged their opponents with ignorance of the Scriptures, and hurled back with defiance their unfitness to argue the question of the divine origin of Christianity without an intimate acquaintance with its most ancient records. On the other hand, the use of the Scriptures by the apologists led the Church to see, as never before, the supreme need of a common agreement as to what books constituted the Scriptures, and of an early collection of them into a final and established unity. The pagan writers made a strong case when they taunted their Christian opponents with a diversity of opinion as to what books they called their canon, for this diversity did exist, even to an embarrassing degree. The charge was of inestimable value, and the Church was not slow to improve it.

SKILLFUL USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BY THE APOLOGISTS.

With the Old Testament there was less difficulty in reaching an agreement than with the New. The example of Christ and his

apostles, and their constant use of it, were a sufficient indorsement of its inspired character and its proper place of dignity as the sole record of revealed truth. Concerning most of the books of the Old Testament there was never any doubt as to their divine authority. The law and the prophets constituted a body of revelation which the Christians clung to with intense tenacity of purpose and love of heart. But, for a close analysis of the sacred books which should constitute the Old Testament, the Christians were dependent on the Jews. There were at this period two classes of Jews. One body occupied Palestine, and still clustered with abiding love about the places made memorable by the many scenes in their long tragedy of sorrow and joy. These were the first and best authority for appeal concerning every book of the Old Testament; and it is a fact, concerning which there has been no dispute, that the Jews of Palestine regarded as of divine authority precisely the books which the Protestant Church combines in its Old Testament. The other body of Jews were the Egyptian. They were in the excitement of a powerful and exciting literary revival. With no less a love for the traditions of their fathers than was possessed by their less animated brethren in Palestine, they nevertheless possessed other books which gave some thrilling episodes in the national history, supplied links that seemed important, and especially furnished matter concerning the heroic effort of the Maccabean patriots to restore their country to its former glory. These books appeared in the Greek language and, with the Septuagint, were circulated throughout Eastern Christendom and even found their way into the Western Church.

THE JEWS OF PALESTINE.

THE EGYPTIAN JEWS.

The Christians were not skilled in fine distinctions. The Septuagint was the only version of the Old Testament known to the great body of them, and these later books bore the same general characteristics, possessed a similar style, and presented but slight antagonisms. Many Christians thought they saw in the prophets as much variety as between them and these new additions. They were unable as yet to recognize in the uninspired books that proceeded from the Alexandrian Jews a merely human production, inspired by a national love and a taste for literary achievement. Some of the teachers of the Church, whose very names were a tower of strength in every little Christian community from Syria to Spain, appealed to these uninspired books as of equal authority with the books of the revered Moses, and David and the prophets. Barnabas referred to the four books of Ezra as inspired. Tertullian clothed the Book of Enoch with the same dignity, and taunted the Jews with reject-

THE SEPTUAGINT.

THE BOOKS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN JEWS.

ing it.[1] Hermas elevated to equal honor with the law and the prophets the book Eldam and Modal, two men who were alleged to have written a prophecy in the wilderness. Origen vigorously defended the narrative of Susanna against the attack of Julian Africanus by saying that Providence would certainly have taken care that no spurious books should come into use in his Church.[2] On the same ground Origen defended the books of Tobit and Judith, and said that the Jews had good reason for rejecting from their canon many things that were not complimentary to their national character and history.

Some of these books, never fully believed by the general body of even Egyptian Jews to be of equal weight with their long-recognized writers of inspired truth, furnished helpful arguments to the Christians. It is no wonder that some of the Christians should see in the Book of Wisdom some useful hints to support them in their conception of the Logos, or, as they wept over the Maccabees, that they should find some encouragement in their own tempest of persecution. Some of these books, it is easy to suppose, found their way into the Christian communities with those which had never been disputed, and were read with them for the edification of the congregation. The uncertainty as to the few books which circulated among the Christians as possibly inspired led Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about the year 170, to go to Palestine and learn by contact with the Jews what books they regarded as constituting their canon.[3] His service was great, but not immediate. The process of examination and analysis went on steadily. Some spurious book that the writer would defend was exposed by another of equal weight, and in due time went down into oblivion. The Christians were infinitely more interested in reaching a safe conclusion as to the Old Testament canon than were their pagan adversaries. They no sooner reached a conclusion as to the spurious character of a book which had been held to be inspired, and forming a part of the Old Testament canon, than they cheerfully bade it farewell. They were intent on the truth, and only the truth. Their pathway was long, but they adhered strictly to it.

MELITO'S JOURNEY TO PALESTINE TO AID IN DETERMINING THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON.

STEADY ADVANCE TOWARD CONCLUSION ON OLD TESTAMENT.

It was only in the fourth century that they reached an agree-

[1] De Habitu Muliebri, c. 3.

[2] Epist. ad Jul. African. Comp. Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, Lond. and N. Y., 1889, ii, 312, 313; Westcott, The Bible in the Church, pp. 134–136.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., iv, 26, where Melito's list is given. It omits Esther, also omitted by Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen. On Melito, see Harnack, Texte und Unters. I, 1, 240–278.

ment. Origen, with all his mistakes as to certain spurious books, performed the one great service of saying that there were spurious books, and that the Church needed to get rid of them. He accordingly made prominent a difference between the true and the false, and earnestly pleaded for the elimination of the superfluous books. The noblest word was spoken by Julius Africanus in his controversy with Origen on the Book of Susanna when he said: "May such a principle never prevail in the Church of Christ, that falsehood is framed for his praise and glory." To the Greek fathers of the fourth century belongs the honor of having sifted out the false books and presenting the Church the complete Old Testament canon. It had been well if Melito's advice had been sooner followed. But his collection served as a safe light for all subsequent endeavor.

ORIGEN'S SERVICE.

The difficulties in reaching a conclusion as to the New Testament canon were still greater. But the process was very similar to that of the Old Testament. There was no unity of opinion at the beginning. The great body of books, such as the gospels, the Acts, and nearly all of Paul's epistles, had never been questioned. About the middle of the second century we discover efforts, particularly in Asia Minor, toward completing a collection of the canonical writings. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian furnish evidence of this early date when the mind of the Church was turned toward this great need. Some books had found their way into favor with Christians, and were used in worship, which had no claim to such honor. Some of them were probably as edifying as many of the homilies of that, or even the present, time, so that it is not likely that any intellectual or spiritual loss came to the auditor through the public reading of the Epistle of Barnabas, the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Shepherd of Hermas, or the Gospel to the Hebrews, or the Apocalypse of Peter. These innocent uncertainties had only a short day, and then passed forever out of sight.

THE GREATER DIFFICULTY OF DETERMINING THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

The first division of the New Testament books was into The Gospel and The Apostle,[1] the former containing the four gospels, and the latter the Acts, thirteen Pauline epistles, the First of John, and the First Epistle of Peter. This is, with the exception of the last named epistle, the list of the Muratori Fragment,[2] which proceeded probably from the

FIRST DIVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT— THE MURATORI FRAGMENT.

[1] Τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον and Ὁ Ἀπόστολος.

[2] This ancient MS., which is of inestimable value in reflecting light on the settlement of the early canon, was discovered by Muratori at the beginning of the

Roman Church. The Fragment, however, includes also Second John, Jude, and the Revelation of John, but omits Hebrews, James, First and Second Peter, and Third John. These books were accepted as of divine authority and forming the canon as early as the year 170. But not all Christian communities were agreed as to the remaining books. The Second and Third Epistles of John and the Apocalypse were in general, but not universal, use, for the Peshito is the only collection which omits them, and that omits also Second Peter and Jude. The Epistle of Jude was accepted by the great body of the Church, while the Epistle of James was admitted by only the Syrian Church. The Epistle to the Hebrews was rejected by the Western Church, but admitted by the entire Greek and Syrian Churches. The Second Epistle of Peter was longer in dispute than any other book in our present canon. Both Origen and Eusebius expressly place it among the disputed books. But other teachers in the Church were equally warm advocates for its reception, although Irenæus, Tertullian, and Chrysostom never quote it or mention it. In the Muratori Fragment there is a doubtful list of canonical books, which mentions the Apocalypse of Peter and the Shepherd of Hermas, but rejects as not authentic the Epistles to the Laodiceans and the Alexandrians.

This period of uncertainty as to some of the books properly forming the New Testament canon continued to the end of the fourth century. The synod of Hippo, in North Africa, which met in the year 393, under the leadership of Augustine, is the first which took definite action on the New Testament canon. Its list of the inspired books was the final one, namely, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament as we now have them. The Council of Carthage, in 397, adopted the same resolution. The only difference in their action was that the Council of Hippo mentioned Paul as the author of thirteen epistles, and left his authorship of the fourteenth, the Epistle to the Hebrews, an open question, while the Council of Carthage makes no reservation, but recognizes Paul as the author of fourteen epistles,[1] although it makes its recognition in a suspicious manner, namely, "thirteen epistles of St. Paul, the epistle of the same to the Hebrews." From that time, though there were individual cases of rejection,

ACTION OF THE SYNOD OF HIPPO, A. D. 393.

eighteenth century in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and published by him in his Antiquitates italicæ Medii Ævi. Tom. iii, p. 854. See Westcott, The Canon of the New Testament, 6th ed., 1889, pp. 211–220, with the literature cited in the notes, and pp. 521–538 for text and critical remarks. For translation by Salmond, see Ante-Nicene Fathers, Chr. Literature ed., v, 603.

[1] Credner, Geschichte d. Kanon., 8, 149, ff.

the New Testament canon may be said to have remained untouched. About 495 or 500 a decree of Pope Gelasius fixed the biblical books substantially in the order in which we have them to-day.[1]

ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTION OF TERMS FOR THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

The terms by which the two parts of the Bible came to be distinguished—the Old and the New Testaments—have their origin in the Hebrew name for their sacred writings. The Jewish religion had not only the form, but the name, of a covenant[2] of God with his chosen people; for it consisted of pledges on the part of the people and promises on God's part. The Septuagint translates the word covenant by a much broader word,[3] which not only means a treaty, a covenant, but also a testament, or will, although it has this latter meaning in only one place in the New Testament.[4] In one sense it was a testament; it was God's will and legacy to his people forever. Paul used the word "covenant," by metonymy, in reference to the sacred writings of the old economy,[5] because in them, as Grimm says, the "conditions and principles of the older covenant[6] were recorded." And the uniform translation of the New Testament term for covenant *testamentum*, on the part of the Latin Vulgate, was in all probability a strong force toward the final name which the Old Testament Scriptures received in the early Church. Then, by way of expressing the difference in both time and character, the words "New Testament" came to be used for the later collection of sacred books. Tertullian is the first writer who employed the term *testamentum*,[7] and Lactantius defended its use on the ground that, as a will first becomes known and valid after the death of the testator, so through the death of Christ are all the mysteries of the Old Testament known and completely fulfilled.[8] Tertullian also applied the words *vetus instrumentum* to the Old Testament, but in this he was less happy.[9] The Church accepted the word testament, not because it meant all that was desired, but because it came nearest to expressing a father's good pleasure and final testament to his children.

[1] For the text of this decree, see Westcott, On the Canon, pp. 571–573, p. 453. Innocent I (405) is said to have promulgated our official list (for text, see Westcott, p. 570); but grave doubts are entertained as to the authenticity of his decretal. In 419 a new synod of Carthage reproduced its old list, and again sent it to the Roman bishop for his confirmation, which they would hardly have done if they had known of Innocent's letter. See Reuss, Hist. of the Canon of Holy Scripture, tr. Hunter, N. Y., 1884, p. 207.

[2] בְּרִית. [3] διαθήκη. [4] Heb. ix, 16. [5] 2 Cor. iii, 14.

[6] Thayer's Grimm, Lexicon of the New Testament, *s. v.* διαθήκη.

[7] Adv. Marc., iv, i. [8] Instit., iv, 20.

[9] Gieseler, Dogmengeschichte, pp. 90, ff.

With the final adjustment of the canon the idea of tradition is intimately related. In the apostolic period there was no mention of this term, in the unfortunate sense into which it grew in the later days, when terms were expanded into supports for false theories. There was, at first, a laudable and natural reverence for the example and words of the apostles. What could have been more innocent than the reverential respecting, by the immediate disciples of the apostles, of recitals of instruction and memories from those who had seen our Lord, and from whose hearts his image had never departed? In the midst of persecution, and far out upon the new and inhospitable fields of missionary labor, these memories were a constant source of joy to the toiling apostle whose own eyes had beheld our Lord in the flesh. Should he keep these precious recollections within his own breast? He told them, but with no thought that out of these purely human words there should grow a supposed second revelation, or any approach to an additional rule of doctrine. We find a rich glow and delightful fragrance in the words of Irenæus to Florin, in which he repeats what he had heard, when very young, from the lips of the aged Polycarp, who had been taught by John, and who had told him much of what the beloved disciple had reported concerning the miracles, doctrines, and life of our Lord. Irenæus continues: "This I, Irenæus, too, heard at that time, with all eagerness, and wrote it down, not on paper, but in my heart, and by God's grace I constantly bring it up again to remembrance."[1]

CHAIN OF EARLY TRADITION.

Here, as has too often happened, gross error has been allowed to develop from a thing in itself useful. Tradition as developed in the Church, and conveniently used in every emergency by the Roman bishops, implied three elements—apostolic origin, catholicity, and communication by the bishops. Origen gives large place to it when he says: "Illa sola credenda est veritas, quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastico et apostolico tramite discordat."[2]—"Since the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the apostles and remaining in the churches to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth, which differs in no respect from ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition." And in this Origen exactly defines the ancient idea of the rule of faith. Irenæus, not content with the great joy of drawing upon Polycarp's memory for what John had said concerning our Lord, goes further, and makes tradition very nearly a parallel treasure with the Scriptures themselves. He says the preach-

EXAGGERATION OF TRADITION.

[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., v, 20.

[2] Motto to his book, De Principiis, Pref., 2.

ing or declaration of the Church[1] is contained in our faith, and has come through the Church as a treasure in a precious vessel growing ever young.[2] This divine treasure is committed to the Church, that all may become living who receive it.[3] Irenæus says distinctly, again and again that the rule of faith is the living testimony of the Church concerning God and Christ and the other doctrines, which teaching is everywhere the same, and can be tested and verified by reference to the apostolic sees. This teaching is one and the same with that contained in the Scriptures. The Scriptures are everywhere appealed to as a matter of course as the rule of doctrine; but since the heretics also had the Scriptures and appealed to them and mutilated them, the true doctrine must also be tested by recourse to the catholic bishops.[4]

REAL VALUE OF TRADITION.

The exact value of tradition in the mind of the early patristic Church admits of no doubt. The Church was no loose organization, a merely voluntary society, but a divinely authorized and established organization, which not only consisted of visible members, but was also the depository of the whole source of Christian doctrine. The lives of the apostles had but recently terminated. With them the last visible link between the Church and the incarnate Lord was broken. Nothing could have been more natural than that the Church should place great emphasis on the consensus of the Church concerning the unwritten will of the apostles, as preserved in the local societies, and as taking form in ecclesiastical bodies.

NO EVIDENCE OF EXTREME VALUE PLACED ON TRADITION BY THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.

There is not a particle of evidence to show that the patristic Church attached more importance to oral tradition than to the scriptural canon. This doubt was never raised until the sixteenth century,[5] or assumed form until the syncretistic controversy of the seventeenth century, or was made an argument against the orthodoxy of the early Church until the eighteenth century, when Semler and Lessing made abundant use of it for this purpose.[6] It is a proof of the unhistorical quality of Lessing's mind that he undertakes to prove that the so-called *regula fidei* of the Christians is older than their canon, and that it held a higher place in their thought than the Bible itself—a charge already so trium-

[1] Prædicatio ecclesiæ.
[2] Depositum juvenescens et juvenare faciens ipsum vas, in quo est.
[3] Contra Hær., iii, 24, 1.
[4] Ib., iii, i–v; i, x, 1, 2; iii, xi, 1.
[5] Chemnitz, Examen Concilii Tridentini.
[6] Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 245.

phantly refuted that he must be indeed a bold spirit who can dare to revive it.[1]

RELATION OF SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION.

The precise relation of Scripture and tradition at this period was one of friendly, but not equal, juxtaposition. The supposed doctrine of the apostles was at no time regarded as separate from, or independent of, the scriptural revelation. Clement had said that the ecclesiastical rule of faith was needful to understand the Bible,[2] but he did not say that without it the Church could not interpret the Bible so as to acquire its doctrine from it. This same Clement likewise declared, in almost the same breath, that only that is pure doctrine which can be proved by the Scriptures.[3] The truth is, no tradition in the Church at this time had the confidence of the general body of believers which was not based upon the Scriptures. The rule of faith was the concrete judgment of the Church concerning the scriptural truth. The two were not antagonistic bodies of truth, but the ecclesiastical sense of the truth was simply the oral and general form of that written word which was always the court of final appeal. The Scriptures were the broad and unformulated truth; the ecclesiastical tradition was the same truth in compact form.[4] Cyprian placed the whole authority of tradition upon the one living body of truth as contained in the Scriptures, when he said: that only is divine and sacred tradition which is contained in the Gospel, the epistles of the apostles, and the Acts; and as one must go back to the source of a canal when it ceases to flow, to find out the cause of the evil, so, when error slips into the doctrine of the Church, must the clergy go back to "our original and Lord, and to the evangelical and apostolical tradition," and by them find out their proper course.[5]

[1] The writers who have performed this excellent service are: Walch, Kritische Untersuchungen von dem Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift unter den alten Christen, 1779; and Sack, Lücke, and C. J. Nitzsch in a joint work addressed to Delbrück (the reviver of Lessing's attack), entitled Das Ansehen der heiligen Schrift und ihr Verhältniss zur Glaubensregel in der protestantischen und in der alten Kirche, Bonn, 1827. Comp. also Jacobi, Die kirchliche Lehre von der Tradition und heiligen Schrift in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt. Abth. i, Berl., 1847; and Holtzmann, Kanon und Tradition, Ludwigsburg, 1859.

[2] Stromata, vi. [3] *Ibid.*, vi, vii, 16.

[4] Nitzsch happily says: "The rule of faith was the Holy Scriptures *in nuce*, while the Holy Scriptures were the rule of faith *in extenso*." Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 245.

[5] Ep. lxxiii (Oxf. ed., lxxiv), 2, 10, ad. Pompeium. It is clear that Cyprian is here arguing against Stephen, of Rome, on the baptism of heretics. Stephen appeals, as usual, to the tradition of the Churches. "Out upon your tradition," cries Cyprian, "unless it is in conformity with Scripture. Unless they speak

Tradition, therefore, in this first period of the Church was simply that unwritten construction of doctrine which afterward assumed fixed form in the great symbols of the Church. It was the beginning of the formularization of doctrine, and was never regarded as a substitute for the inspired and written word of God. Its later perversion took place in the Western Church, the Eastern never finding a hierarchical motive strong enough to elevate it into equality with the written word. As Rome found reason to clothe its episcopacy with all possible functions tradition came in for its share of honor. What Tertullian had said, in the earlier and purer days, was easily forgotten, "Truth is older than all things;"[1] and Cyprian had strongly declared, "Custom without truth is the old age of error."[2] But these great teachers of the West were silenced amid the strife for building up Rome into a great ecclesiastical center, which, in due time, held its long mastery over the whole of Western Christendom.

PERVERSION OF TRADITION BY THE WESTERN CHURCH.

according to this word there is no truth in them." Of course, Stephen would have acknowledged this. But the language of Cyprian is a testimony to the undisputed preeminence of Scripture in the early Church.

[1] Apol., xlvii.

[2] Ep., lxxiii, 9. Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est.

CHAPTER XV.

SURVEY OF THEOLOGY BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

THEOLOGY BETWEEN THE APOSTOLIC AND NICENE PERIOD.

THE Council of Nicæa, in the year 325, was the first occasion when an official attempt was made to construct a system of theology for the whole Christian Church. The Church, however, was not without its theology. It was not formulated, but lay in the general consciousness of the Christian mind and waited for that written and firmer form to which the Church might give its sanction in representative session. This Christian theology, which stood midway between the close of the apostolic period and the formulation of the Nicene symbol, was a thing of marvelous variety, for it reflected the temperament, the intellectual endowment, the great schools of theological culture, and that mixed nationality which distinguished the peoples who constituted the Christendom of the age. Its office was of supreme importance. It was the handmaid who should receive from the apostles their precious treasure of fervid but unformulated truth, and adapt it to the world, amid all the hostilities that sprang from the disruption of the old Jewish and pagan life, and hand it over to the Church whenever it had advanced far enough to crystallize its faith in the written symbol. On the use which this intermediate theology might make of the truth, when it came into its hands, depended the quality of the material out of which the Church was to construct its first theological system. The men who represented the Church at this critical time were not contented with answering adversaries, whether Ebionitic, Gnostic, or pagan, or with antagonizing and exposing schismatic measures, or with coming to a general understanding concerning the books which should constitute the scriptural canon.

PURPOSE TO REACH GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS.

Besides all these great purposes there was still another, not less significant and worthy than the rest. This further purpose was to arrive at a general understanding of the fundamental truths which constitute the great body of Christian doctrine, and to so define them that the believer might be able to give a reason for his hope. The same impulse which prompted the Church to eliminate spurious books, and arrive at a complete and permanent

canon of Scripture, also led it to the construction of a theology out of this very canon which should serve the purpose of a general rule of faith. This impulse was a necessity. The Church must know its grounds of faith in every age.

CONFLICT OF LEADING CHRISTIAN TEACHERS.

We must not expect to find perfect unity in this theology. The disturbed conditions, the infiltration of those endless diversities that came of origin and education, the want of an all-pervasive connectional system, and, above all, the total absence of precedents, made the task of arriving at a common theological basis extremely difficult. It should occasion no surprise, then, that the representative teachers should frequently collide in their statements of every one of the fundamental doctrines, and that speculation should too often take the place of argument. These men, though richly endowed by nature, were novices in the art of doctrinal discussion. They had but lately come out of pagan rhetorical schools, and though they left their old creed behind them they yet brought their methods with them into their field of battle for the new truth. Their daring amazes us. They entered boldly into the discussion of the sublime mysteries of union of the persons in the Godhead, and only seldom, as in the case of Irenæus with reference to the generation of Jesus, reached the conclusion that the mystery was too great a strain for the human understanding.

UNITY BEYOND THE APPARENT DIVERSITY.

As we look upon the surface it would seem that there was almost no cardinal doctrine on which they agreed. Their statements of doctrine appear often so fragmentary and confused that it would be useless to expect any firm agreement. But such a conclusion is unjust. It were as safe to say that the fragments of glass scattered about on a nursery floor would never assume forms of harmony and beauty when combined by a careful hand into a kaleidoscope, or that the piles of colored blocks which lay in the studio of the artist could never have made that matchless mosaic portrait of the apostle John which looks down from the dome of St. Peter's, as to conclude from the conflict of speculation in the antenicene period that there was no general harmony of doctrine in the Church. Beneath all the diversity there was a sublime and beautiful unity. The average believer, who lived far away from the war of words, had as clear a conception of all the great truths of revelation, and was as much cheered and exalted by them, as the Protestant Christian in the nineteenth century.

The understanding of the truth is much the same in all ages. Faith is the appropriative faculty, and he who possesses it can com-

prehend the golden truth. Even in this early period the masters in theology knew where to place faith in the Christian system. We have from Augustine some choice declarations, showing that, in order to know the truth, there must be a large measure of willing faith in it.[1] He here struck the very keynote of that knowledge of doctrine which distinguished the whole patristic period, and rose far above the battle cry of the heated contestants. The Scriptures furnished the general knowledge. Out of these the Church constructed its theological rule of faith. The process of construction was long and subject to variations, but it was a progress toward the happy consummation in fixed symbols.

THE SCRIPTURES ACCEPTED AS THE BASIS OF ALL CORRECT THEOLOGY.

We find the harmony by a balancing of tendencies. We do not reach it in the theology of either the Greek or the Latin Church. The Greek theologians, now that Judaistic influences had gone into oblivion, represented the whole Eastern Church. They were inventive, productive, and speculative. They were given to formularizing their dogmatic conclusions. They combined dialectical skill with originality in producing materials. Origen was the representative, and he was surrounded by an ardent group of disciples. The Latin or Western Church, like the Roman mind in all fields, was less able to originate than to profit by the discoveries of others. Its theologians held firmly to the faith of the elders, and organized it into weapons for universal warfare. Its officers excelled in ecclesiastical tact and organization. The Greek would prove all things; the Roman would take them as already proven, and use them as instruments for universal empire. He heard reverently what his Greek brother had to say; after weighing it well rejected what was not useful to his ends, but appropriated and intensified what seemed most helpful.[2] Tertullian was the representative of this Western tendency. He did not carry to conclusions his premises. This was reserved for his theological successor, Augustine, whose career marks the breach between Greek and Latin theology, and who shaped the entire theology of the Western Church for many centuries, and has had his modern disciple in Calvin.

HARMONY TO BE FOUND IN BALANCING EASTERN AND WESTERN TENDENCIES.

Between these two Churches, the Greek and the Latin, we find

[1] Rationalibiter dictum est per prophetam; nisi credidistis, non intelligitis. Credamus, ut id quod credimus intelligere valeamus. Comp. Hopkins, Grounds of Knowledge and Rules for Belief, in Princeton Review, Jan., 1881, art. i.

[2] The best characterization of the Greek and Latin theologies is that of Allen, in Continuity of Christian Thought, new ed., Bost., 1895, chaps. i and ii.

the best field for comprehending and estimating the theology of this whole period. It was the common ground which separated the extreme teachers, and was held by Cyprian and Irenæus. Their views more nearly approached the general doctrinal basis of the Church than those of any other theologians. There was more of catholicity in their statements, and more of that type of permanent doctrine, than we find elsewhere.[1] But while this is the best ground for observation, our vision needs to extend over every part of the theological field. It was a broad territory, and we need to look as far as the horizon on every side.

CYPRIAN AND IRENÆUS.

We are now prepared to examine more minutely the doctrinal system entertained by the ante-Nicene Church. God was the eternal, incorporeal, invisible, unchangeable, all-wise, all-present, and all-loving Creator and Preserver of the universe. No attribute, indeed, which is recognized by the modern Church was denied him by the patristic Christians. Only when they came to consider the relation of the three persons in the Godhead, and God's revelation of himself to the world, do we observe variety and confusion of view. Tertullian varied from the general theology in holding that God must have a body. This he was compelled to do by the misfortune of his philosophy, which taught that corporeity was a necessity to all existence. Such a principle of explaining Deity would answer well enough for the moral platitudes of the pagan Cicero,[2] but was of less service for the Christian theologian in explaining the perfect nature of the God of revelation.[3] The current theology had no sympathy with this relic of paganism, but, with Origen and the entire Alexandrian school as guides, held far aloof from all corporeal representations of Deity. There were two prevailing methods of proving the divine existence, one being our own consciousness, and the other the visible world. But the most prevalent method was to assume the existence of God without the need of argument. Arnobius held that to attempt to prove God's existence was not much better than to deny it.[4] We must not venture upon such forbidden ground. It was too sacred; let us admit, and go on. Origen,[5] Athanasius,[6] and Clement of Alexandria[7] agree in saying that the only possible knowledge we can have of God must be based on grace and the Logos.

DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE NATURE.

The trinity and unity of the divine nature were doctrines which

[1] Niedner, Lehrbuch d. chr. Kirchengeschichte, p. 273; Nitzsch, Grundriss d. chr. Dogmengeschichte, p. 92. [2] De Natura Deorum, 1, 18.
[3] De Carne Christi, c. 11. [4] Adv. Gent., i, c. 33. [5] Cont. Celsum, vii, c. 43.
[6] Ad Serapion, Tom. i, p. 194, ed. Colon., 1686. [7] Strom., v.

employed much thought. The methods of proving them were generally unfortunate. It would have been wiser to take the Scriptures as the only ground of evidence, and leave out all speculations as to the necessity, from the nature of things, that the supreme God must be both one and triune, and that both attributes could be proved by the dialectics of Aristotle. Theology had not as yet learned to take some things for granted, and these two doctrines were of the number. The elder faiths from the far East were not without analogies, such as the Indra, Varuna, and Agni, of the Vedic trinity of India; and the post-Vedic Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; and the Zeruane, Ormuzd and Ahriman of Parseeism. Some of the teachers attempted to show that, as other faiths possessed their trinity, Christianity had also its higher, pure, and triune God. But there was in principle no attempt at parallel or comparison. The trinity of Christianity was the one and only complete unity in trinity of the three persons of the Godhead. The expression *triad* was first used by Theophilus of Antioch,[1] and Tertullian[2] was the first to introduce into theology the word trinity. By all the fathers the doctrine of the Trinity was accepted, but the relation of the three persons to each other, their equality or difference of essence, was the ground of much animated discussion and great variety of opinion. The unity of God was proved from the fact that it could never have grown, that the universe is in harmony with itself, that it reveals a unity of creation, and that the whole material world could not be referred to a higher principle than the one creative Omnipotence. This was the argument of Justin, who held that beneath all the diversity in the visible world there is a unity of operation, and that operation is the administration of the one God.[3]

TRINITY AND UNITY OF THE DIVINE NATURE.

The Christology of this period was the most fully developed department in the entire domain of doctrine. It was the one prism which reflected all the theological and philosophical colors of the age. Every important theory, however remote from this great theme, was treated with such deftness as to touch some side of it. The typical theologian of the time might wander with the very stars in speculative fancy, and descend into depths which only his daring could reach, but he generally set out from some christological thought, and after all his wanderings came back to the same starting point.

CHRISTOLOGY.

The Logos of Alexandria became the Logos of the whole Chris-

[1] Ad. Autol., ii, 15. [2] De Pudic., xxi.

[3] Dial. cum Tryphon., c. 5. Justin says that the doctrine of the "one only God is the first article of all true religion."—Cohort. ad Græcos, xxxvi.

tian world. The point of departure with some to prove a revelation of Deity to man was purely philosophical. There lay in the divine mind, as an essential to its perfection, the necessity of manifestation. We can no more think of a sun without radiation than of God without manifestation. But the prevailing method of accounting for the manifestation of the Logos was on a far higher plane—the divine will, which in a manner included the argument from necessity. God is both all-wise and perfect in goodness. As light must proceed from the sun, and cannot be imprisoned, so divine wisdom must proceed from the divine source; and, as God is perfect, his will must be included, and his will to reveal himself for the salvation of men must occupy a large place in the plan of redemption.[1] It was the Father's good pleasure to reveal himself. His will transcended the necessity.[2] Further, his nature cannot be thought of as inactive and lost in the depths of self-contemplation, but as operating for the blessing of the world. Christ must be thought of in two characters—first, as the personal and preexistent Logos, and, second, as the incarnate Christ. In the former character he shared in the creative work and in the administration of the universe. In the second he was generated by the Holy Ghost, born of Mary, and led a human life. This life among men was not an appearance alone, now an obsolete Ebionitic view, but a really human life, yet sinless.

THE LOGOS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN TEACHERS.

The eternal sonship of Christ was a theme of much controversy. Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, and the pseudo-Ignatius held that the Son existed from all eternity coequally with the Father, but that before the creation he proceeded from the Father and began to lead a separate personal existence. This view places Christ upon a somewhat lower plane than the Father, and yet the advocates, with the exception of Tertullian,[3] would not admit the slightest compromise of his equality with the Father. Others, like Irenæus, taught his coeternal and separate personal existence and sonship with the Father.[4] Tertullian's view of the Trinity was that all the members are of the same substance, but constitute a succession, each depending on the one above. Lactantius and the later Latin teachers entertained a view very nearly identical with this. Origen's notion of preexistence of the Logos was one eternal generation.[5]

ETERNAL SONSHIP OF CHRIST.

In this variety of explaining the worship of Christ there is a

[1] Ritter, Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, vol. i, pp. 491, f.
[2] Iren., i, 10, 1. [3] Lib., ii, 28, 8.
[4] Semper coexistens filius patri olim et ab initio semper revelat patrem.
[5] Com. in Joh., Tom. i, 32.

strong tendency toward subordination, which comes fully into the foreground in Origen. He based his view on Christ's own declaration: "The Father is greater than I." The Son does the work of the Father, and as the Father does, but the impulse comes from the Father. This inconsistency in Origen, who claimed both the divinity and subordination of Christ, was the occasion of animated discussion, and it is no wonder that both Athanasius and Arius could draw with equal relish from the Origenic well.

PERFECT DIVINITY OF CHRIST CLAIMED BY ALL THE RECOGNIZED TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH.

Every writer whom the Church recognized as a teacher, however, claimed the perfect divinity of Christ, notwithstanding the persistent efforts of modern Unitarians to show that the prevailing theory of the Church at this time was to deny his perfect divinity. Those who did deny it were regarded as a separate sect, just as they are in these latest days. There never has been a time when the general Church compromised the divine character of Christ. If there was a prevailing tendency, it was to lessen the humanity, thus sympathizing with the Patripassian extreme. Barnabas feared to say that Christ was Son of man, but boldly declared him the Son of God. Ignatius was slow to accept his perfect humanity, and dwelt much on him as "our God," and his coming as God's coming, and his death as the shedding of "God's blood." Irenæus declared that the incarnation of the Logos was the coming of the whole Deity.[1] The Logos did not become the Son through emanation, but the incarnation was only the outward evidence of an eternally existing sonship.[2] Origen held a similar view. He construed emanation as an involuntary procession, and declared that Christ did not emanate, because his coming was a definite act of the Father's will.[3]

SUBORDINATION OF CHRIST TO THE FATHER.

The confounding of the two persons, Father and Son, was an occasional theological aberration, as with Clement of Rome and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, but was not a distinguishing vagary of the theology of the time. The subordination of Christ to the Father was a more serious matter. Christ's own declarations that he had come from the Father led some theologians to so explain the incarnation as to place the Logos on a lower plane than the Father. Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian spoke in this vein—that the Logos served the Father in creation, and that he came to the world according to the Father's will, to do his will. But there was no compromise, even with the extreme teachers who favored subordination, of the essential divinity

[1] Deus . . . totus existens mens et totus existens Logos.
[2] Iren., ii, 25, 3; iv, 14, 1; iv, 20, 3. [3] Apol., ii.

of Christ. There was an order, they held, but yet a perfect divinity in the person occupying the second place. The very emphasis on the doctrine of subordination was produced by the dread of compromising the divine unity and thus making a concession to polytheistic adversaries.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE LOGOS AFTER THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

After the middle of the second century we can perceive a general agreement on the character of the Logos, while all the representative teachers engaged in speculation on the methods and phenomena of the general question. Christ was held by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen to be truly God and truly man. His divine nature never underwent diminution or compromise by becoming incarnate. The man Jesus suffered, but the Lord Christ did not. It was the latter which triumphed, and bore with it the priceless experience of the sorrow and pain of humanity, to carry out in the great future his will to save the world. Some teachers held that his body was human, though not the ordinary human body. It was believed to be one resembling our body, but elevated above it in some mysterious way, possibly by the reflection of the indwelling divinity.[1] The speculations on the human and divine soul in Christ were innocent enough, and turned upon purely theoretical questions. Tertullian was the first to mention a human soul in Christ. Origen afterward strove to make the matter clear by calling it a rational soul. Origen's view, however, prevailed—that the Logos united with a reasonable soul on account of its perfect purity, and by means of this united with a human body.[2]

The Christology of this period, after eliminating all the speculations, reduces itself to the following: Christ was eternally coexistent with the Father, and in all that the Father wrought he was not only present but cooperative. In the fullness of the time he assumed our humanity, through his love for man and his purpose to save him.

CONSENSUS ON THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THIS PERIOD.

He permitted the full penalty of human sin to be visited upon himself. His death was therefore voluntary, and achieved our redemption. He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and became our High Priest. He continues his work of leading man upward to final salvation. In the fullness of the time he will come to judge the world, when he will reward the righteous and punish the guilty.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit received but little treatment. The discussions on the Logos were so animated, and were of such broad scope, that they precluded a careful examination of the third person in the Trinity. The theologians, it must be carefully borne

[1] Clemens Alex., Strom., vi, 9. [2] De Principiis, ii, c. 6, 3.

in mind, were largely on the defensive during the entire period, and wrote only on those subjects which had been invaded by hostile hands. Singularly enough, the Holy Spirit was not made a subject of frequent or prominent attack, and hence the Church was not impelled to a formal examination of the doctrine. So far as the Christian writers wrote on this theme they dismissed it with such general statements as were productive of but little good. The literature of the whole period down to the Nicene council would suffer but little if every declaration of the writers concerning the Holy Ghost were left out, and nothing permitted to remain except their citations from the Scriptures. There was no emphatic and elaborate teaching on the Holy Spirit until the beginning of the fourth century. This, however, must not be construed, as some critics, with the Tübingen school as exemplar, have been bold enough to do, namely, that because it was an omitted doctrine it was therefore no doctrine.

DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The history of the Church bears frequent witness to silence on some great doctrine even for centuries, and yet it afterward appears that there was a profound belief in it during all the years. No two great theological questions can absorb public thought at the same time. They come singly, like men of genius, and for a great purpose, either to guide or to warn, to construct the good or pull down the wrong. The eye of the whole pagan and Christian world was fixed on Christ for three centuries, and it was no easy or even necessary task to direct it toward the third person in the Trinity.

SILENCE ON A GREAT DOCTRINE NO PROOF OF ITS MINOR IMPORTANCE.

The general teaching of the Church on the Holy Spirit was that he was the divine principle of prophecy, of the generation of Jesus,[1] of the awakening of the sinner, and of the sanctification of believers. His place in the Trinity was the point of greatest variety and unfortunate speculation. Hermas identified the Holy Spirit with the Son. Lactantius spoke of him as the "impersonal power;" others called him the "angel;" and still others denominated him the first "creature." Justin gives him the third place in his theory of the Trinity.[2] The separate and divine personality was most clearly taught by Origen and Tertullian, and their view became the controlling one. The first stage in the theological recognition of his divinity was that he proceeded from Christ, and was of equal divinity with him. The second view was that he proceeded from both the Father and Son. This became the prevailing doctrine of the Church by the beginning of the fourth century, and so remained for a time, until the

GENERAL TEACHING ON THE HOLY SPIRIT.

[1] Justin, Apol., i, 33. [2] Apol., i, 6.

rise of the great filioque controversy, which agitated the entire Christian Church and became one of the forces which caused the final rupture of the Greek and Latin Churches.

The teaching on creation gave a large scope for cosmological speculation. But the view which comes out clearly, amid all the clouds of theory, was that God created the universe from nothing. Justin came nearest to questioning the original divine creation when he said that God formed the universe from already existing, but chaotic, materials. But by following him to the end we find that he made God the original creator of this formless material.[1] No modern theologian has presented in stronger light the divine creation of the universe, and by the free will of God, than Tertullian,[2] who held that God did not need the world for his own glory, but that he created it for man.

CREATION.

The Church had an important office to perform in its construction of anthropology. The pagan view went back to a golden age only in theory; when it came to define man's nature he was placed very low, and yet but little lower than the sinful gods. The Gnostics and Manichæans, on the one hand, taught the sinfulness of the soul from its connection with the body, because of the native evil in matter. The fathers taught, on the other hand, the original perfection of man, and his fall through the abuse of his own liberty. God was in no sense the author of man's sin and consequent guilt, but man, having a free will, chose to do evil. Sin, therefore, passed into universal humanity. But while man is a sinner there is no soul that is without the element and possibility of good.[3] Both Theophilus of Antioch and Tertullian taught that man can arrive at spiritual excellence by the development of the spiritual faculties through his own choice and the quickening power of the Spirit. His free will, which he first abused, still inheres in him, and he can use this liberty toward his restoration. Justin held that if he had no free will he would be like a tree or a beast,[4] and would have neither praise nor blame for his deeds. The process of salvation, as taught at this time, was, that by man's resolution and effort he arrives at faith. But in order to so arrive he must have divine grace, without which he would remain in helpless sinfulness.[5]

ANTHROPOLOGY.

[1] Apol., i, 10; Dialog. cum Tryphon., c. v.

[2] In his work against Hermogenes.

[3] Tertul., Nulla anima sine crimine, quia nulla sine boni semine. De Anima, c. 41.

[4] Apol., i, 43.

[5] Iren., Advers. Hæres., iv, 38, 3; Just., Apol., i, 10; ii, 7; Clem. Alex., Strom., vi; Origen, De Principiis, iii. 1, 8.

The Greek teachers were united in their view of the complete freedom of the will. Tertullian—here, as in many other respects, the predecessor of Augustine—was most inclined to limit it. Three views prevailed as to the time and mode of the soul's existence. The first was its preexistence before union with the body; the second, that it was transmitted from Adam through all generations; and the third, that each soul is created with the body at birth. The first view, which was warmly advocated by Origen,[1] was the first to pass away, and in the fourth century was pronounced heretical. The second, or traducian, warmly advocated by Tertullian, survived it, and was held by many of the fathers, but finally retreated before the third, which became the established theory.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SOUL'S PREEXISTENCE.

Connected with the origin of the soul was the further question of man's physical mortality and the soul's immortality. Tertullian held that mortality was first a result of sin and was propagated by Adam to his entire posterity. Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and the Greek teachers generally taught that our mortality did not take place because of Adam's sin, but because of the nature of the body. It was created a mortal body, and would have remained mortal even if Adam had not sinned. The fathers were divided as to the mode by which the soul became immortal. Justin, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, and Arnobius regarded it as a direct gift of God; while Origen and Tertullian considered it simply a natural attribute of the soul, without which the soul could not exist.

PHYSICAL MORTALITY AND THE SOUL'S IMMORTALITY.

The doctrine of the Church was clearly defined in the consciousness of the Christians of this period. The general social life was seen to be corrupt because of the false faith. It represented organized impurity. The Christian separated himself from it, and in doing so he united himself with another body of different character, which consisted of fellow-believers in all ages. This was no social compact, but a spiritual body, a living temple of faith, in which Christ dwelt in power and love. Hence the Church is the visible and organic form of Christ's present life on earth. The term *ecclesia*, which Ignatius frequently used in reference to the single congregation, was also applied by him to the entire body of believers. The Church, established by Christ, has for its object the culture of the soul until its final release from its human bondage. This office it performs by its dispensation of truth, the symbols of faith, and those subtle joys that come of its social life. The Church is therefore the abode of the truth and

DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

[1] De Principiis, iii, 5, 4.

the way and the life. Tertullian speaks of the original congregations as the depository of true doctrine,[1] "where the pulpits of the apostles still stand, where their original letters are still read, where their voice still echoes, and where their testimony is still preserved as a true and holy legacy."[2] The Church is the mediator between the Holy Spirit and the believer. God has posited in it the universal operation of the Spirit,[3] by whatever name we call it, either the household of God, the body of Christ, the bride of Christ, or the heavenly Jerusalem. There may be unbelievers in the Church, which comes from its location in a sinful world, but this is the mere accident of an unrighteous environment. It is the catholic, or general Church, not alone because it includes all believers and excludes heretics and schismatics, but is destined to cover all lands.[4] It is the formal principle of universal truth, and yet is the one body of believers.

TWO STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH.

There were two stages in the development of the doctrine of the Church. The former extended to the middle of the third century, and was produced by resisting spiritualistic Gnosticism on the one hand and mystical and idealistic Montanism on the other. The latter extended from the middle of the third century to the middle of the fifth, and was shaped, through Cyprian and Augustine, by the opposition to the idealism of the Novatians and Donatists and the Manichæan doctrine of human perfectibility.[5]

THE TWO SACRAMENTS RECOGNIZED BY THE PATRISTIC CHURCH: BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

There were two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper. The theological interpretation of baptism was such as to clothe it with a measure of original power in the administrator of the sacrament. While with some it was emphasized as the symbol of the regeneration of the heart, the justification of the sinner, and the communication of the Holy Ghost, there was a universal belief that there was in part a union of the Holy Spirit with the water, and in part a simultaneous baptism of the Holy Spirit with the baptism by water.

No leading teacher of the Church regarded the sacrament as only a symbol of regeneration.[6] Even Origen, who says that baptism by water is a symbol of the purification of the soul, also affirms that, in and of itself, baptism is the beginning and the source of

[1] Ecclesiæ apostolicæ; ecclesiasticæ matrices.

[2] De Præscrip., p. 36. Comp. 20, 21. [3] Iren., iii, 24, § 1.

[4] Pseudo-Ignatius Smyrn., 8; Iren., i, 10, § 1, 2; Cyp., De Unit. Eccles., 5.

[5] Niedner, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie der christlichen Zeit, p. 69.

[6] Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 387.

the gifts of the Spirit.[1] The terms describing the water indicated that the writers regarded it as possessing regenerating power. Gregory of Nazianzum later called it the sacrament of the new birth:[2] Cyprian, the regenerating water;[3] and Augustine, the sacrament of birth and regeneration.[4] There is a frequent declaration that baptism had the effect of communicating all the gifts of the new spiritual life. Hermas affirmed that those who are baptized in the death of Christ rise to a new life with him;[5] Gregory of Nazianzum, that it is the death of the flesh and the life of the Spirit;[6] and Theodoret, going even further, declares that baptism communicates not only the forgiveness of old sins, but awakens the hope of promised blessings.[7] Justin[8] and Clement of Alexandria[9] denominate baptism as the illumination of the Spirit, so far as a new consciousness arises in the recipient. Some went further still, and claimed for baptism that it was even the communication of immortality. Irenæus positively says that it suffices for incorruption.[10] While there was this tendency to exaggeration of the office and effects of baptism the general view was limited to the forgiveness of sin. The Greek teachers were more pronounced in declaring the simultaneous gift of the Spirit, while the Latins were more cautious, and spoke confidently only of the negative operation, the regeneration of the soul.[11]

VIEWS OF THE FATHERS ON BAPTISM.

But with all the virtue original in the water of baptism no teacher made it a substitute for faith in the adult to be baptized or on the part of sponsors in the case of infant baptism. Baptismal regeneration was dependent upon the Holy Spirit, and was an essential part of the efficacy of the sacrament itself.

The form of baptism was not confined to either immersion or sprinkling, although immersion was ordinarily the universal form of baptism in the ancient Church. Pouring or sprinkling was freely practiced in case of scarcity of water, sickness, and the like.[12] The question of immersion as the

NO ONE FIXED FORM OF BAPTISM.

[1] Τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θειότητι τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος ἐπικλήσεων.—Ἡ χαρισμάτων θείων ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγή. In Joh., Tom. vi, 17.

[2] Orat. Catech., Tom. iii, c. 33. [3] De Grat., c. 4.

[4] In Joh. tr. v, Tom. ix, and De Bapt. c. Donat., iv, 24. [5] Sim., ix, 16.

[6] Comp. Ullmann, Gregor von Nazianzum, p. 461. [7] Hæret. fab., v, 16.

[8] Apolog., i, 61. [9] Pæd., i. [10] iii, 17, § 2.

[11] Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 388. Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, Book xi, chap. iii. Stanley, Christian Institutions, chap. i.

[12] See Teaching of Twelve Apostles, vii, and Schaff, notes on the same, and his dissertations in his edition of the Didache, pp. 29–56; Smyth, in Andover Rev., i, 533, 663.

indispensable form of baptism was not mooted in the Church till the seventeenth century. Even the first Baptist Churches practiced affusion. Tertullian mentioned infant baptism only to disapprove it, while Origen favored it and described it as an existing usage.[1] Cyprian gave a similar indorsement.[2] After the middle of the second century its validity was not seriously questioned, and was universally acknowledged by the middle of the third.[3] The baptismal formula of our Lord, which Justin says was used in baptism,[4] became the type of all the oriental baptismal symbols, and so remained until the councils gave forms for general use.[5]

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The Lord's Supper was an oblation or offering,[6] which was the sign of the death of Christ. The bread was a sign of the body and the wine a sign of the blood of Christ.[7] With some, as Justin and Irenæus, the more conservative view prevailed, that the bread and wine were a mere thank offering in commemoration of our Lord's death. Ordinary bread and wine mixed with water were used at the service.[8] After the second century none but persons already baptized were permitted to participate in the Lord's Supper. During this entire period we find no clear trace of the doctrine of transubstantiation, save in a theory started by Irenæus, that the elements, after consecration, had the effective power of the body and blood of Christ. The universal view was that after the elder offered the prayer of thanks and performed the act of consecration the elements were sacramentally the body and blood of Christ, and brought faith and love into special relation to his death.

NO TRANSFORMATION OF ELEMENTS WAS TAUGHT.

The declaration, after consecration, that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ, was a liturgical accommodation, and did not carry with it the idea of an actual transformation. All the writers who gave character to the theology of the Church down to the close of the fourth century, such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, looked upon the elements solely as symbols of the body and blood of Christ. After the middle of the fourth century the view gained strength that the elements, after consecration, possess the effective power of the body and blood of Christ. From this

[1] In Levit. Hom., Opp., viii, Tom. ii. [2] Epist. lix, ad Fidum.
[3] Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, p. 387.
[4] I Apol., lxi. [5] Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 1879, p. 27.
[6] θυσία, προσφορά—oblatio, sacrificium.
[7] Tertul., Adv. Marc., iv, 40; Origen, In Matt. T. xi, 14; Cyprian, Ep. lxiii, ad Cæcilium. [8] Ἄρτον, κοινὸν ἄρτον. Comp. Iren., v, 2, 3. Cyp., Ep. lxiii.

as a beginning the theory that there is a transformation of elements at consecration, which some find in the words of Justin,[1] was made prominent, and the complete substantial change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ was a highway toward a later recognition in the grosser and more realistic days of the Latin Church. Gregory I was the first to give a fixed and final form to the theory, from which transubstantiation, in all its force, grew, that in the Lord's Supper the sacrifice of the Redeemer on the cross perpetually repeats itself as an offering for sin for both the living and the dead.[2]

ESCHATOLOGY.

We now come to the eschatology of this period. In every age of persecution and conflict the Christian mind has turned toward a speedy coming of Christ as the most open path to security and happiness. The chiliastic hopes of the Church were excited even before the close of the apostolic period, and they were still further quickened as the territory of Christians widened, and the hand of the persecutor was felt in those farther parts which were removed from the sympathy of the Christian centers. The earliest advocacy of the early millennial reign of Christ is to be found in the Epistle of Barnabas,[3] where the theory is advanced that, as the world has been in existence six thousand years, according to the analogy of the six creative days and the standard of the Scriptures, that with God a day is as a thousand years, so the seventh day, or the seventh thousand, is the day of rest, after the Son has conquered all his foes, and his children will be renewed, with pure hands and hearts. Papias also expected the early millennial reign of Jesus, while Irenæus appealed, in proof of it, to the words of scriptural promise.[4] Montanism built a large measure of its theology on the hope of Christ's early coming, and Tertullian, during his Montanistic period, was as warm a defender of it as Montanus himself.[5]

The Alexandrian theologians arose in great vigor against all chiliastic expectations. Origen declared them mere fables, unworthy of a moment's confidence, though the Egyptian Church

[1] I Apol., lxvi.

[2] Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, pp. 390, f.; Schaff, Ch. Hist., ii, 235–247; Phinney, Letters on the Eucharist, Baltimore, 1880—a strongly reasoned treatise, with full quotations from the fathers in the original and translations; Hebert, The Lord's Supper: Uninspired Teachings, Lond., 1879, 2 vols., the best collection of testimonies; Jacob, The Lord's Supper Historically Considered, Lond., 1884—a strong argument against all High Church views; Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, Lond., 1885, one of the best of the High Church statements.

[3] Cap. 15.

[4] Isa. xi, 6; Matt. xxvi, 29; 1 Cor. vii, 31.

[5] Adv. Marc., iii, 24.

was freed from them largely through the strong opposition of Dionysius. The Western Church was not at any time seriously disturbed by them, save by the pronounced friends of Montanism. In neither Clement of Rome nor Ignatius are there any chiliastic traces, and the same may be said of Polycarp, Athenagoras, and Theophilus.[1] As the period of persecution drew toward a close the millennial anticipations receded into the background. The present being attractive and free from pressure, there was a greater willingness to postpone the coming of Christ.[2]

ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGIANS OPPOSED CHILIASTIC EXPECTATIONS.

The condition of the soul after death was the subject of a variety of opinion. Some, as Justin and Tertullian, held that the righteous, after death, enter into an intermediate state of happiness and there await the resurrection to final blessedness. This intermediate state, according to the analogy of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, is Abraham's bosom. Origen looked upon an intermediate state for the righteous as a necessity, that there should be such a school as a preparation for the higher mansions.

THE SOUL AFTER DEATH.

In the Alexandrian theology we find the first traces of a purgatorial fire. Clement of Alexandria applied the Baptist's declaration, that the Messiah would baptize with fire, to an intellectual fire,[3] which should purify all sinning souls. Origen made the final fire, which should destroy the world, as that fire of purification which should purify all souls, even the most righteous—such as even Peter and Paul. He was gentle enough, however, to make it a painless flame, as prophesied by Isaiah,[4] just enough to serve as a second regenerating process.[5] Of all the dead before Christ the theologians of the time declared that they were in this intermediate state, or hades, where the Gospel would be preached to them, or had been preached to them by Christ.[6] During the first three centuries the

FIRST TRACE OF PURGATORIAL FIRE IN THE ALEXANDRIAN TEACHINGS.

[1] Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, pp. 146, f.

[2] For the opinions of the fathers see Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctr., § 75. The best historical summary is Briggs, Origin and History of Premillenarianism, in Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1879. For the premillennial side of the history see Taylor, The Reign of Christ on Earth, or the Voice of the Church in all Ages, rev. ed., Bost., 1882. An excellent section by Schaff, Church. Hist., ii, 613–620.

[3] Πῦρ φρόνιμον.

[4] Isa. xliii, 2: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."

[5] Sacramentum regenerationis.

[6] Huidekoper, Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld, 5th ed., N. Y., 1883.

view was general that all who died would enter the intermediate state.

Augustine advanced the theory that the purifying fire which some had placed at the destruction of the world possibly belongs to the intermediate state,[1] and this view was eagerly caught up and finally culminated in the later purgatory of the Latin Church. The present life was regarded as the only probationary state. Even the purgatorial discipline was simply a preparation for the unclouded glories of heaven. The form of punishment was variously construed, some placing it in material fire and others in mental agony. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa placed hell-fire in the consciousness of the lost. Clement of Rome and Cyprian declared the punishment of the wicked an eternal penalty, while Justin and Irenæus advanced the theory that the souls of the wicked may be destroyed.[2] The strongest defender of the restoration of the wicked after a long purifying process was Origen, who concluded his system by a conversion and general restoration, which included, it was thought by some, even the devil.[3] This view was shared by the Antiochian theology, but was condemned as a heresy under the reign of Justinian.[4]

AUGUSTINE'S TEACHING CRYSTALLIZED IN THE PURGATORY OF THE LATIN CHURCH.

The scope of this first independent theology of the Christian Church was, in the light of our inquiry, very broad, and comprised

[1] Enchirid. ad Laurent., c. 68, serm. 172; De Civitate Dei, xx, 25; xxi, 13. Comp. Nitzsch, Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte, pp. 398, 402; and Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, p. 146.

[2] There is a difference of opinion as to the views of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, growing out of the fact, perhaps, that they had not themselves thought out these questions thoroughly. Both plainly teach eternal punishment; and then, again, there are passages which lean toward annihilation. See Schaff, ii, 608, 609, and notes; Justin M., I Apol., xxi, xxviii, xlv, lii; II Apol., ii, vii, viii, ix; Dial., xlv, cxxx. Ziegler, Irenæus, p. 312, says that Irenæus teaches eternal punishment, and quotes iii, 23, 3; iv, 27, 4, 28, 1; iv, 33, 11, 39, 4, 40, 1 and 2.

[3] Origen nowhere says that the devil will be converted. He expressly states the contrary in Ep. ad Rom. viii, 9 (Op. iv, 634), and his letter, Ad quondam amicum Alex. (Op. i, 5). See Pusey, What Is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment? 3d ed., Lond., 1880, pp. 128–153. Augustine is responsible for this misconception (De Civit. Dei, xxi, 17). See also Plumptre, On Origen's Universalism, in Spirits in Prison, and Other Studies on the Life after Death, Lond. and N. Y., 2d ed., 1886, pp. 134–138.

[4] Pusey (What Is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment? 3d ed., Lond., 1880, pp. 129–153) and Farrar (Mercy and Judgment, Lond. and N. Y., 1881, x, xi, pp. 298–348) have entered largely into the condemnation of Origenism. Farrar shows that it was rather the peculiar views of Origen on other subordinate matters than his ideas of the punishment of the wicked which were condemned. Doubtless, however, this latter element was not wanting.

every fundamental doctrine. The distinction was well sustained between the essential and the theoretical. It was a time of speculation, when the atmosphere was full of clouds still floating aimlessly over the scene of civil opposition and spent faiths. If now and then a misty remnant of this harmless speculation should gather about one of the great heights of Christian faith and obscure its outline for a time, so that even the believer could with difficulty distinguish between the granite and the cloud, it occasioned no surprise or alarm. The Church was well disciplined in the sublime virtue of patience. It would be a harsh criticism to affirm that the general body of the Church was not clear in its view of the truth. The writers wandered into every path where the wary foe might be lurking for a new attack, and if they sometimes went too far from the stronghold of their faith, they always knew how to retrace their steps. If positive doctrine was too often obscured in speculation the general Church knew how to distinguish between them.

BROAD SCOPE OF THE FIRST INDEPENDENT THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH.

There is great danger of forming too low a view of the general intelligence and positive doctrinal convictions of the general body of believers. The writers were few but the Christian membership consisted already of millions. These were not only to be found in the centers of thought and commerce, but in those remoter provincial parts where the Roman rule was in force by a slight tenure and where the conditions were rather tribal than organic. The missionary, then as now, was the herald of civilization, and about him were grouped a few believers who were seldom disturbed by news from the great and distant world. The death of a persecuting emperor or the meeting of a synod, or the condemnation of a schism, or the receipt of a consolatory epistle from Alexandria, Antioch, or Rome, was a piece of intelligence that would agitate the little brotherhood for a twelvemonth.

THE ADVANCED KNOWLEDGE OF THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.

What was the faith of this great community of believers, who never wrote an apology or dared to address a protest to a persecuting Cæsar? They were not seriously disturbed by the war of words or the hairsplitting sophistries of men who had brought much of their paganism with them when they entered the Christian fold. When a schism once burst in upon their calm, and there was strife for a time and the fever ran high, it proved often a wholesome tonic. The excitement soon passed, and the old life of calm and united faith went on as before. Even at this late day, with all the advantage which the experience of ages has brought for the safe judgment of the causes of great

CALM FAITH OF THE GREAT BODY OF BELIEVERS.

results, it is difficult to determine whether the theology of this period was more determined by the writers themselves than by the general body of plodding and fervent members. The writer put on parchment what was in his mind and rested heavily on his conscience, but he was only the creature of his Christian generation. He was not the originator of thought so much as its mouthpiece. Huss in Bohemia, and Savonarola in Italy, and Luther in Germany were only the concrete forms and striking figures which their generations had created. They were representatives of aspirations that were intense long before their birth.

BRIEF COMPASS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF THE AVERAGE CHRISTIAN.

Therefore, if we look beyond the literary productiveness of this antenicene period, and inquire into the great background of the doctrinal belief of the average Christian of the time, we are compelled to conclude that his theology was of brief compass, and consisted only of the fundamental truths, for which he had ample proof in the exact words of the Scriptures. His was not an empty brain. The most of his education was what his Scriptures had given him, and his theology was exact and close-knit. With him the process of the Logos toward manifestation was of no moment. His view was definite concerning the events at Bethlehem and on Calvary, and that satisfied him. As to whether the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, or from both the Father and the Son, he troubled himself nothing. He knew of Pentecost and of his own new birth, and this comprised his whole knowledge of the Paraclete. Whether all souls, or only the wicked, went into hades for an indefinite period never agitated him. He knew that this life was his only probation, and was satisfied that his Lord would not keep him long in suspense, after the persecution was over and the pilgrimage was terminated, before promoting him to behold his face.

NICENE CREED EXPRESSED THE GENERAL FAITH OF CHRISTIANS.

We, therefore, hold that when the Nicene council was held, and began to formulate the approximate theology of the Church, the standard of doctrinal judgment was the general faith of believers far more than the theological treatises of the foremost writers. The men who met in that august body came from every part of the Christian world, and spoke and formulated through the impulse of the faith that prevailed in the whole community of Christian people. It was the first time, but by no means the last, when the will and thought of the vast commonalty of believers expressed themselves firmly and placed on record the conclusions which they had reached after the storms of two centuries. The real master at Nicæa was neither Athanasius nor Constantine, but the humble believer, who was

keeping his flocks beside the Euphrates or cultivating his lentils far up the Nile, on the plain of Memphis, or singing his psalms beneath his thatched roof in Germania.[1]

[1] Of the doctrine-histories, Crippen is the best brief view, Edinb., 1883, and Hagenbach the best of the larger works, 3 vols., Edinb., 1880. Sheldon has given an excellent survey intermediate between Crippen and Hagenbach, 2 vols., N. Y., new and enlarged ed., 1895. An invaluable handbook is Schmid, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 4th ed., by Hauck, Nördlingen, 1887. Harnack has reconceived the development of doctrine, and formed a new epoch in these discussions, vol. i, Lond. and Bost., 1896.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SCHOOLS AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE CHURCH ALWAYS A PATRON OF THE SCHOOL.

THE Church has always been a patron of the school. Even in the remote Jewish period there had been schools of the prophets, where young men grouped themselves about certain great prophetic characters, imbibed their spirit, studied ardently the sacred records, and in due time went forth as teachers of the people. Even as early in the history of the Church as the apostolic ministry of Paul we find the essential elements of ministerial discipline in that group of young men, of whom Timothy and Titus are representatives, who were inducted into Christianity through the labors of that apostle, who accompanied him on his journeys, not merely as attendants, but as inquiring observers of the development of the societies, and whom Paul regarded as the most natural and fit successors of himself and the other apostles. It was a beautiful legend of the patristic period that there had been, even in John's time, a school in Ephesus, of which that aged apostle was the head, whither young men flocked from all directions in order to gather from him his precious memorabilia of our Lord's ministry.

THREE SCHOOLS BY THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

By the middle of the second century there were three great theological centers, two in the Eastern Church and one in the Western, where the foremost Christian theologians gathered about them younger minds, to whom they imparted their knowledge, and whom they prepared for work in the broad field of instruction and evangelization.

I. THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

The first of these schools was that of Alexandria. More than any other of the time, its model may be found in the philosophical schools of Greece. Alexandria had been for two centuries the center of the philosophic thought of the world. In this place, where the currents of the East and West met, the old schools of Attica enjoyed a temporary revival. The Museum had been, since the Ptolemies, the most flourishing school of classic learning, and Plato was as familiar a name within its halls as five centuries before, in the shaded walks of his own garden,

near the Academy of Athens. It could not be otherwise than that Alexandria should be a great battlefield of Christian thought, and that the Church would early recognize the necessity of concentrating its learning, and arming its younger and promising minds with proper weapons for the conflict.

TWO VIEWS CONCERNING THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

There has been a divided opinion as to the quality of the first Christian school of Alexandria. One view has been that it was originally a speculative center, where elder minds discoursed in all departments of theology to young men who came hither from an intellectual impulse to comprehend the doctrines of the Church into whose service they had entered. The other opinion has been that the school was at the beginning only a catechetical institution where children and such adults as had recently assumed Christian vows were instructed in the elements of Christian truth. The latter is probably the correct view, for the first necessity of the Church in Alexandria, as everywhere else, was in the rudiments of Christian doctrine.[1] Very soon, however, the catechetical department developed into a more formal Socratic method, and in due time there arose a great school, where men came from all directions and listened to those great teachers whose names were familiar in every part of Christendom. A singular feature of the school was that it does not seem, as with the great modern schools, beginning with those of the reign of Charlemagne, to have been under the direct patronage of the Church, or that the Church held itself responsible for its theology, discipline, or financial support. We do not find either synod or bishop devising plans for its greater effectiveness or employing measures to tone down its exuberant speculation. Whatever firm connection it may have had with the Church when it was purely catechetical, for the instruction of the young and persons who had lately come into the Christian fold from paganism, in its greater strength and full maturity it seems to have been a voluntary organization, presided over by some great mind, and taking its theological color from his own individuality. Both Justin and Athenagoras speak of the teachers as wearing the traditional mantle of the philosopher. By this they meant that the professors in the school of Alexandria did not teach as preachers, but as Christian philosophers.

We observe a beautiful balancing of tendencies in those first Christian schools. In Alexandria the subjective tendency was developed. From the East there had drifted into that great center

[1] Schleiermacher, Kirchengeschichte, pp. 130, f.; Eusebius, H. E., v, 10; vi, 3; Sozomen, iii, 15.

the impression that all matter was possessed with an element of inherent evil. Even the Eastern Christians, without being conscious of their dullness, were slow to accept the dignity of the human body. They gave as little faith in Paul's doctrine of a physical resurrection as possible. Their view of the human organization was that it is more a prison house of the soul than a temple of the Holy Ghost. But they compensated for this depreciation of the material man by an undue appreciation of his spiritual understanding.

BALANCING OF TENDENCIES IN THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

The Alexandrian school, as the representative of the most advanced Eastern Church, centered its entire theology in faith and knowledge. Faith was good, and a prime necessity. But it was only the root from which knowledge, or the gnosis, must grow. The language of Scripture was excellent so far as it went. But there was an indescribable dread of the killing power of the letter. The intuition was elevated above the record, and the Christian vision could see into the far depths whither the language of the written word could not go. Only by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and bringing to his aid that subtle intuitive perception which beholds the real truth in its majestic solitude, could man arrive at the scriptural sense. With all the elaborate exegesis of the Alexandrian school, and Origen's constant reminders of the written word, there was at no time a full appreciation of the scriptural record. The Bible was only a heap of polished stones, and the architect might construct of them whatever temple his taste for allegory might suggest. This was the first mysticism of the Christian Church. Its motive was pure, but its premise, the sovereignty of the intuition, led it into manifold vagaries, which more careful writers were compelled in later years to spend their life in correcting.

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE THE CENTER OF THE TEACHING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

The period of activity of the school of Alexandria covered about two centuries, or from the year 200 to 400. Pantænus and Clement stood at its head in the second century, Origen, Heracles, and Dionysius in the third century, and Didymus, the blind, in the fourth. In addition to these we must reckon Gregory Thaumaturgus, Petrus, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, who, though not directly connected with the school, sympathized with it, and in the Church of their period represented those general theological tendencies of which Alexandria was the center.

ACTIVE PERIOD OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

Pantænus was the founder of the school of Alexandria, and to him it owed that sympathy with the Greek philosophy which ever afterward distinguished it from other Christian schools. He was a

native of Athens and, before he embraced Christianity, a Stoic philosopher. He removed to Alexandria, where, after 180, he identified himself with the instruction of Christian youth. The details of his life escaped all the early historians. Clement was his pupil, and left behind him the testimony that he surpassed all his contemporaries.[1] His life seems to have been varied and intense, and falls into three important departments. He had the burning zeal of an evangelist, and made a tour to India in the interest of the Church about the year 190. As an author he was a commentator on many of the scriptural books. His chief service, however, was in oral instruction.[2] It was in the circle of his disciples that he poured forth his thoughts with an eloquence and earnestness which lived in the traditions of the school as long as it existed.[3]

PANTÆNUS.

Under Titus Flavius Clemens the Alexandrian school grew into colossal proportions as a center of Christian learning. Clement, like the master, Pantænus, was a convert from paganism, and was a man of mature years and well-disciplined mind before he accepted Christianity. He followed closely in the path marked out by Pantænus, and succeeded him as catechist or professor. He died about the year 220. His writings were less directed toward the internal edification of the Church than to attract pagan minds by removing objections to Christianity. The most of his works have survived only in fragments, four only being in complete form. The first of these is his Exhortation to the Greeks, which he designed, by its recognition of the value of pagan philosophy and its harmony with Christianity, to serve as an argument for the conversion of pagans. The second is The Pedagogue, a treatise designed both to lead to Christianity and to instruct in its general principles. The third work of Clement is his What Rich Man Shall be Saved? It is a small practical treatise, in which the right use of wealth, and its place in promoting salvation, are defined. The fourth is his Carpets or Rugs (Stromata), so named from the variety of its contents. This was his most important contribution to the literature of the Church. It is a survey, in disconnected form, of many departments of doctrinal and practical theology, but without any central thought. It is not like any of those rich oriental rugs, with a delicate center, from which all the figures radiate and blend into

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND HIS WORKS.

[1] Strom., i, 1, p. 322.

[2] Jerome: "Hujus multi quidem in sanctis scripturis exstant commentarii; sed magis viva voce ecclesiis profuit." Cat., c. 36.

[3] The writings of Pantænus have perished except two fragments published in Routh, Reliq. Sac., i, 375–388.

warm and harmonious colors, but, rather, a piece of complicated patchwork, in which the material is of finest fiber and skillfully woven, but from which the eye is repelled by its contrasts and the total absence of general design. Of all the theological productions of the early Church it is the nearest approach to the modern typical volume of theological essays, which, for the most part, is constructed of varied contributions to the periodical press, written in many moods and for momentary purposes, and made by violence and injustice to bear some common title.[1]

ORIGEN THE GREATEST TEACHER OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

Under Origen the school of Alexandria attained its greatest renown. A native of Alexandria, in the year 185, he reflected in his own remarkable personality both the strength and weakness of the Eastern theology. As Clement had enlarged upon the foundation laid by Pantænus, so Origen made the work of Clement the mere beginning of his own remarkable labors. His father, the learned Leonides, a Christian, recognized his genius, and superintended his education. He was a witness of his father's heroic martyrdom, and the impression made upon his mind by the scene was such as to give him an inspiration in behalf of Christianity which never forsook him. He was appointed catechist at the early age of eighteen, and from that time forth, until his death in Tyre, in the year 254, he wrote and taught with a vigor and fervor rarely surpassed by any theologian of later times. True to the principle which underlay the very existence of the school of Alexandria, that all truth is precious, whether in Greek or Christian soil, he became fascinated very early with the Platonic affinities with Christianity, and heard with delight the notions of the Neoplatonist, Ammonius Saccas. He recognized in the revived Plato a powerful ally of Christianity. His elementary duties as catechist of the young and undisciplined were no longer a favorite field. He felt the impulse of a higher call. He accordingly employed an assistant to perform the catechetical work, while he engaged in the instruction of the more advanced on all the great themes of Christian science, and used the philosophy of the Greeks as the vestibule through which to admit his hearers into the temple of the Gospel. He was not content with coming in contact with such philosophers as resided in

ORIGEN'S DEVELOPMENT AND GROWING FAME.

[1] Earlier editions by Heinsius, Leyden, 1616, and J. Potter, Oxf., 1715; best edition by Dindorf, Oxf., 1868–69, 4 vols. For a full treatment of Clement see Kaye, Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria, new ed., Lond., 1888, and Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, Lond. and N. Y., 1886, pp. 86–114. Love has made a special investigation of his Doctrine of the Future Life, in Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1888.

Alexandria, or sojourned there for a time, or with a patient study of the works of the departed Greek thinkers, but employed his intervals of rest in visiting other countries, where he might study the truth amid the most favorable environment. He made lengthy journeys in behalf of the Church, one of which was to Arabia, another to Rome, a third to Antioch, in 218, and a fourth to Palestine, in 228. During his stay in Palestine he was ordained presbyter by the Bishops Theoktistus, of Cæsarea, and Alexander, of Jerusalem. His fame extended rapidly through all the countries of the Eastern Church.

OPPOSITION TO ORIGEN.

But enemies to Origen appeared at home, who were more inspired by jealousy than zeal for the honor or orthodoxy of the Church. His bishop regarded his ordination in Palestine as an infringement on his own prerogatives, summoned him home for trial, and caused his excommunication at the Alexandrian synods of 231 and 232 for doctrinal error and illegal ordination.

ORIGEN IN CÆSAREA.

Origen's work in Alexandria being ended he now proceeded to Cæsarea, where he opened a theological school. Palestine and Syria were a ripe field for theological activity. Many of Origen's students were already there, and every important city had its Christian scholars. The aged Julius Africanus gave him a cordial welcome. Besides, Origen had the powerful support of the emperor, Philip the Arabian, and the undiminished confidence of the Church east of the Mediterranean. His excommunication was regarded as a stroke of great injustice. Rome alone sustained the Alexandrian synods in that act, while the churches of Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Achaia repudiated it. His excommunication was ignored, both by himself and the church where he labored, and he continued every department of his activity with uninterrupted zeal.

ORIGEN'S GREAT POPULARITY IN SYRIA.

Origen's lectures attracted a great multitude of students, and Cæsarea threatened to supplant Alexandria as a center of Christian learning. When any great dispute arose in any part of the church where he now labored he was invited to attend, and, as in the case of Beryll at the Arabian synod at Bostra, in 244, it was frequently his rare fortune to convince the schismatic of his error and restore the church to unity. His labors in Cæsarea were interrupted by the persecution under Maximinus, the Thracian. He fled to Cappadocia, but afterward died through sufferings and exposure in the Decian persecution, in the year 254. "He was buried in Tyre, where for centuries his tomb, in the wall behind the high altar, formed

ORIGEN'S DEATH.

the chief ornament of the magnificent Cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher. Tyre was wasted by the Saracens, but even to this day, it is said, the poor fishermen whose hovels occupy the site of that city of palaces point to a shattered vault beneath which lie the bones of 'Oriunus.'"[1]

The works of Origen, written during a period of about fifty years, were as varied as his own versatile genius. They may be classified in five departments: First, Textual Criticism. Here belongs his Hexapla, a masterpiece of philological industry and skill, at which he wrought twenty-seven years. His purpose was to correct the errors of the Septuagint. He arranged the versions in six columns, one being the Hebrew in the original characters, then the Hebrew in Greek characters, then the Septuagint, and, last, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. This colossal work was in fifty volumes, and contained a wealth of textual annotations in support of what Origen conceived to be the correct reading. It was probably destroyed by the Arabs at their capture of Cæsarea, in 653.[2] Origen's Epistle to Julius Africanus was a defense of the authenticity of the Story of Susanna. Second, in Exegesis. Origen wrote extensive commentaries on entire biblical books; homilies, or practical treatments of special passages; and scholia, or brief critical discussions on difficult passages. What remains of these is precious, for Origen was the best expositor of the antenicene Church. Third, in Doctrine and Apologetics, he wrote The Principles, The Carpets, The Resurrection, and Against Celsus. Fourth, his works on practical theology comprise his exhortation to Martyrdom, and On Prayer, the latter work being a statement of prayer in general and an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. His correspondence was extensive, but his Epistle to Julius Africanus and that to Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea are the only complete portions which have been preserved. One of the most interesting books which have survived from ancient times is the Philocalia of Origen, which consists of extracts made by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzum, about 382, chiefly from the exegetical writings of Origen. It gives the most charac-

FIVE DEPARTMENTS OF ORIGEN'S WRITINGS.

[1] Bigg, Christian Platonists of Alexandria, p. 123. Comp. Westcott, in Contemporary Review, May, 1879, and in Religious Thought in the West, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, pp. 210, 211, who refers to Prutz, Aus Phœnicia, pp. 219, 306, quoted by Piper, Ztschr. für Kirchengeschichte, 1876, p. 208.

[2] What remains of this, the grandest work of antiquity, is edited in an admirable edition by Field, Oxf., 1875. See Taylor, in Smith and Wace, iii, 14–23. A critical edition of the complete works of Origen, the richest and most fruitful of all the writers of the early Church, is much needed.

teristic thoughts of Origen and preserves some of his best passages, otherwise lost.[1]

Origen stood alone in the Church of this period. His active and original mind, his zeal for the Gospel, his love of unity, and his marvelous literary fertility, combined to give him a place occupied by no one else. In no one department could he be followed safely, though he was most reliable where we would least expect it, namely, in exact textual criticism. When he touches doctrines we find him speaking of an eternal creation, the pre-existence of the soul, a pre-Adamite apostasy, and of a final universal restoration, although on the fundamental conceptions of Christian theology he was thoroughly orthodox. "No one, perhaps, had done so much," says Westcott, "to vindicate and harmonize the fullest acknowledgment of the perfect humanity of the Lord and of his perfect divinity in one person."[2] His sympathy with the Greek philosophy was largely accountable for this flexibility which he gave to scriptural doctrine. Indeed, there are traces not a few that so great was his charity for the Greek philosophy that it widened into a sympathy with the less worthy theories that came in from the darker East.

ORIGEN'S VARIETY AS A TEACHER.

Origen's imagination was oriental. The scriptural word was to him a suggestion of a whole world of fancy and theory. From the plainest history his mind pictured an endless vista of organic truth. In the word he saw the literal. But this was only the foundation for the moral truth; while far below both he saw the mystical depths. Like Herder in the eighteenth century, he was intent on making the Old Testament rise from its lowly and dusty place of silent history and assume that glow of health and tension of muscle and rich coloring of drapery which belonged to the people of God in their joyous youth. With his wand he would awake to new heroism the sleeping giant and reveal to him a boundless field for victory. Here, where we find the weakness of Origen, we come also to his positive greatness. His service lay, not in what he taught, but in that peculiar magnetism which he imparted to everyone whom he reached by voice or pen.[3] His intensity aroused the mind.

[1] Editions by J. Tarinus, Paris, 1618, and W. Spencer, Cambridge, 1658 and 1677. Best editions by Kœtschau, Leipz., 1889, and J. Armitage Robinson, Lond. and N. Y., 1893. Comp. Crit. Rev., iii, 436.

[2] Smith and Wace, iv, 136.

[3] "Innumerable teachers, priests, confessors, martyrs, arose from his bosom. And who can tell what admiration, what glory, what favor he enjoyed among all? What man with anything like real devotion did not fly to his teaching from all parts of the world? What Christian did not venerate him as a prophet, what philosopher as a master? Even imperial princes venerated him.

No one could fall asleep or remain a sleeper whom his voice could reach. He had in his day that peculiar power which Arnold of Rugby has illustrated in our century. The inspiration which was upon him and thrilled him passed into other minds and impelled them to activity. His earnestness was greater than his speech. His words reached never so far as the power of his personality. Origen's awakening influence was exerted by Origen on the whole Eastern Church. Excommunicated while living, and his doctrines, one after another, condemned in the subsequent centuries, his sincerity and creative spirit have nevertheless survived all opposition. While Clement, like Schleiermacher and Neander in our times, came into Christianity through the door of Platonism and brought with him his warm appreciation of its enduring elements, Origen admired Platonism from his original point of view as a Christian youth. But Origen went further than the master. He believed that the whole world abounded in truth; that the Promethean sparks had fallen upon all lands and animated all the better religions. Christianity, according to him, is the universal conqueror. In whatever hostile camp it can find the truth, let it be seized upon and used for further conquests. Here, then, in the eclectic power of the Christian religion to recognize and appropriate the truth, whether in Attica, Alexandria, or India, we must recognize Origen as the adamantine character of his own times[1] and the prophet of these broader days.

ORIGEN'S WIDE AND PERMANENT INFLUENCE.

The permanent inheritance we have in Origen is well told by Westcott, who says:

"We are his heirs. He has left us the duty of maintaining his conclusions in a later age, and with richer materials at our command. He has left us also the example of a life great, I will dare to say, by unsurpassed self-sacrifice. He has left us the encouragement of a faith which carried him through a life of martyrdom—a faith that all things are ours, because all things are Christ's. . . . His faith was catholic, and therefore he welcomed every kind of knowledge as tributary to its fullness. His faith was living, and therefore he was assured that no age could seal any expression of doctrine as complete. From his time the best thought and best literature of

WESTCOTT'S TRIBUTE TO ORIGEN.

Porphyry himself, when a youth, sailed to Alexandria solely to see him in his old age, and recognized in him one who climbed the very citadel of science. The day would fail me before I could tell of all his greatness or even touch on a part of it."—Vincent of Lerins, Adv. Hær., xxiii.

[1] His friends called him Ἀδαμάντιος.

the West has been Christian, or profoundly influenced by Christianity."[1]

DECLINE OF THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

The school of Alexandria declined after the departure of Origen, its greatest ornament and attraction. Dionysius, called by his contemporaries the Great, became its head in the year 233, but was unable to restore it to its former importance. He wrote many works on exegesis and doctrinal theology, but we have only such fragments as have been preserved in the works of Eusebius and Athanasius.[2]

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS AND PAMPHILUS.

Gregory Thaumaturgus was a student in the celebrated law school of Berytus, but was attracted to Cæsarea by the lectures of Origen. He then became a Christian, and was so beloved by the teacher, and inspired by his example, that he devoted himself to the service of the Church. He became Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea about the year 244, and died about 270. His labors were divided between authorship, the practical administration of Church affairs, and evangelistic work. So great was his zeal, and so exemplary his life, that some of his contemporaries attributed to him marvelous powers. His principal works were his ulogy on Origen and Canonical Epistle, the latter being a treatise on ecclesiastical discipline.[3] Pamphilus was a presbyter of Cæsarea and founder of the school and library of Cæsarea, for which the beginnings had been made by Origen. His principal works were commentaries on the Old Testament and a Defense of Origen. He died in the year 309, during the persecution under Maximinus.[4]

II. THE SCHOOL OF ASIA MINOR.

The school of Asia Minor consisted more of a group of theological writers and teachers than of any formal educational center. That

[1] Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West, pp. 251, 252, which contains the noble essay, Origen and the Beginnings of Christian Philosophy, one of the finest of all estimates of Origen. See also his article in Smith and Wace, iv (47 pp.); Bigg, *l. c.*, pp. 115–234; Farrar, Mercy and Judgment, chaps. x, xi (pp. 298–348, N. Y. ed.); Redepenning, Origenes: eine Darstellung s. Lebens u. s. Lehre, 2 vols. Bonn, 1841, 1846; Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1889, vol. i, pp. 291–330; Freppel, Origène, Paris, 2d ed., 1875.

[2] Eusebius, H. E., iii, 28; vi, 41, 45, 46; vii, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28; Athan., De Sent. Dionys.; Jer., De Vir. ill., 69. Best ed., Migne, Pat. Gr., x.

[3] In Migne, Pat. Gr., x (1857), 983–1343; Ryssel, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Sein Leben und seine Schriften, Leipz., 1880.

[4] Routh, Rel. Sac., iii, 491, ff. See Eusebius, vi, 32; vii, 32; viii, 13; and De Mart. Pal., xi; Jer., De Vir. ill., 75.

country had been distinguished, from the time of Paul, for its fidelity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. In the second century it numbered among its more notable men Polycarp, Papias, Melito of Sardis, and Hegesippus. Its first tendency was toward a literal and Judaistic type of Christianity, but in the third century it assumed a broader character. It became a strong opponent of Gnosticism, and possessed vigor enough to suppress Montanism, which had grown up on its own soil, and drive it into a more promising field.

SCHOOL OF ASIA MINOR.

Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Julius Africanus were the leading representatives of the school of Asia Minor. Irenæus was the greatest ornament of this school. He combined the zeal of the evangelist with the skill of the finished writer. A disciple of Polycarp, he preserved the tradition of the apostolic times. His service to the Church was twofold, being directed, on the one hand, toward the defense against paganism, and, on the other, toward cementing the bonds of unity between Eastern and Western Christendom. In the year 177 he accompanied a Christian colony from Asia Minor to Gaul, and was ordained presbyter of Lugdunum, the modern Lyons, by the Bishop Pothinus. He succeeded to the episcopate of Lyons and Vienna in 178, and in 202 suffered martyrdom. His literary labors were divided between exegesis and apologetics. In the latter department he wrote Against Heresies, than which the Church of his times produced no work more finished or effective against Gnosticism.[1]

IRENÆUS.

Hippolytus, "the great unknown of the early history of the Church," belonged likewise to this school, by virtue of both the general spirit of his writings and his own admission of discipleship to Irenæus.[2] Concerning no great character in the early Church is there so much conflicting testimony. We have positive witness to prove that he was a disciple of Irenæus, and that he was not; that he was an earnest defender of the orthodox faith, and that he was a graceless Novatian heretic and died a martyr to his error;[3] that he wrote a work on the two natures in

HIPPOLYTUS.

[1] Best ed., Harvey, Cambridge, Eng., 1857, 2 vols.; best life, Gouillond, St. Irénée et son temps, 1876; best on his theology, Werner, Der Paulinismus des Irenæus, Leipz., 1889. Comp. Purves, Presb. and Ref. Rev., 1890, pp. 685–689; Quarry, Irenæus: his Testimony to Early Conceptions of Christianity, in British Quar. Rev., July and Oct., 1879; C. J. H. Ropes, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1877, pp. 284–334; Lightfoot, in Contemp. Rev., Aug., 1876; Lipsius, in Smith and Wace (25 pp.); Bright, Waymarks of Church Hist., pp. 20, ff. There is an edition of his Third Book (Adv. Hær.) by Deane, Oxf., 1874.

[2] Photius, Cod., 121.

[3] Prudentius, *περὶ στεφάνων*. Hymn 11. Gieseler and Niedner favor this view.

Christ, and that he never did; that he wrote the Philosophumena, and that Irenæus was its author; that he was a long time bishop in the Church, and was held in high honor as an ecclesiastical officer, and that he never wore a miter, but died a presbyter;[1] that, if a bishop, his see was both Aden, on the shore of the Red Sea, and Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber; and, finally, that there were three Hippolytuses, and, after all, only one.

PERSONAL LIFE OF HIPPOLYTUS LITTLE KNOWN.

Even the general facts concerning the life of Hippolytus are, therefore, clouded in impenetrable mystery. He is one of those characters who took no pains to perpetuate a knowledge of their personal history, who never surrounded themselves with a group of scholars for the propagation of their opinions, and who saw clearly that unselfish devotion to the truth and the industrious use of the pen for the conquest of error would be a more enduring monument than the miter—if they wore one. After weighing conflicting testimony we conclude that he was a disciple of Irenæus,[2] that he was Bishop of Portus, that he was an earnest opponent of the Patripassian heresy, that he was highly revered in his own times as a wise and pure ecclesiastical officer, and a sound and strong theological writer. Until 1551 there was no unanimity concerning his works, but in that year a statue of him was discovered in the Ager Veranus, on the road from Rome to Tivoli, which contains, besides the calculation of an Easter cycle for sixteen years,[3] a complete catalogue of his writings. The time may come when the pick and the spade will make such further revelations as will put to the blush many of our favorite conclusions, not only concerning Hippolytus, but many other creative minds of the early Church. Hippolytus wrote only in the Greek language. His works are of varied character, and comprise exegesis, doctrinal theology, polemics, apologetics, and chronology.[4]

[1] Bunsen solves the conflicting evidence concerning the mention of Hippolytus now as bishop and now as presbyter, by showing that the suburban bishops were members of the presbytery of the Bishop of Rome. Hippolytus and His Age, i, p. 269.

[2] Photius, Cod., 121.

[3] Proof of his skill in astronomical science. Comp. Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, ii, pp. 214, f.

[4] Bunsen, in Hippolytus and His Age, Lond., 1852, 4 vols., furnishes our best information concerning the personal history of this remarkable character, his writings, and his relation to the controversies of his times, vol. ii, pp. 265–348. The best historical treatment is Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, Edinb., 1876, to be read in connection with Wordsworth, St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, 2d and enl. ed., Lond., 1880. The best discussion of his writings is Caspari, Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, vol. iii. The best article is Salmon, in Smith and Wace (20 pp.). Comp. Schaff, Ch. Hist., rev. ed., ii, 757–774.

Julius Africanus also belonged to the school of Asia Minor, but lived in Nicopolis, or Emmaus, in Palestine, and died about the year 232. His principal work was a Chronography, in which he furnished a parallel view of sacred and profane history, of which Eusebius made extensive use in his ecclesiastical history. JULIUS AFRICANUS.

III. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

The school of Antioch, in Syria, was engaged principally in doctrinal theology and criticism of the sacred text. Its inspiration came largely from the example and writings of Origen, though there was no trace in it of the allegorizing tendency of that writer, on the one hand, or, on the other, of the minutely literal tendency. It was distinguished for its liberality in the discussion of doctrinal questions and for its zealous advocacy of the two separate natures in Christ. Its founders were Dorotheus and Lucianus. The former excelled as an exegetical scholar, and died about the year 290. The latter performed the service of a new critical edition of the Septuagint, and died a martyr in Numidia, about 311, in the persecution of Maximinus.[1] After his death the general tendencies of the school brought it into sympathy with the Alexandrian theologians, but an aberration took place after the rise of the Origenistic and Nestorian controversies. The prosperous period of the school of Antioch extended from about the year 300 to 429, and among its representatives were Theodorus, Eusebius of Emesa, Cyril Apollinaris, Ephraem, Diodorus, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. From Antioch as a center other schools were established, the principal of which was that of Edessa, in Mesopotamia. SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

IV. THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.

The school of North Africa gave to Latin Christianity its prevailing theological type. Not to Rome, but to Carthage, was the whole Western Church indebted for its first doctrinal impulse and structure. Tertullian, whose first works were in Greek, was the principal agent in this development. His fame, however, as a safe theologian, was compromised by his adoption of Montanism, and Cyprian must be regarded as the chief agent in upholding the honor of the Church TERTULLIAN THE HEAD OF THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.

[1] Works in Routh, Rel. Sac., ii, and Migne, Pat. Græc., x, and Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die Chronographie, Leipz., 1880, 1885, 2 vols. Comp. Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt.

[2] See Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt, and McClintock and Strong. Comp. Schaff, ii, 812–815.

and defending its fundamental doctrines. He was the opposite pole to Origen in theology, though both were equally devoted to the interests of Christianity, and equally uncompromising in their treatment of its adversaries. Each represented in his own personality the peculiarities of the ecclesiastical territory in which he lived. While Origen sympathized with the Greek philosophy, Cyprian despised it as a hotbed of error. He saw no hope in its least objectionable features as tributary to the truth of Christianity. From Cyprian's example this antagonism to all pagan learning passed into the Western Church, and lasted, though in a decreasing measure, until the twelfth century.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA.

A heroic zeal for the unity of the Church, an aversion to Gnosticism in every form, an exact and literal biblical interpretation, a caution toward all theological speculation, and a persistent energy in the organization and development of the practical and evangelistic side of the Church, were the fundamental characteristics of this school. Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius constituted its powerful representatives, and its prosperous period extended from about the year 200 to the death of Lactantius, about 330.

TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian, the son of an officer in the Roman army, was born in Carthage about 160. He was educated as a rhetorician, and practiced as an advocate. He became a Christian, and was ordained a presbyter in his native city. He very early engaged in authorship, probably during a sojourn in Rome. About the year 201 he adopted Montanism, and wrote the most important works of any period in the interest of that phenomenon. His works are of two classes, those before his Montanistic period and those during the time, and consist of apologetical, polemical, doctrinal, and practical treatises. His Apologetics Against the Nations was a defense of Christianity against pagan attack; his Testimony of the Soul was an attempt to prove that Christianity is confirmed by the nature of man; his work Against the Jews was a defense of Christianity against Judaism; and his Prescription of Heretics proves the right of the Church over against all heretics. To his doctrinal writings belong his Baptism, a statement of this sacrament against the heresy of the Cainites; The Soul, an anti-Gnostic discussion; The Flesh of Christ, in reply to the Docetæ; and the Resurrection of the Body, in reply to the Gnostic disbelief in the doctrine. In practical theology his principal works, during his orthodox period, were on Prayer, Repentance, Martyrs, Theatricals, Idolatry, Women's Worship, Patience, and The Husband.

Tertullian, in the beginning of his authorship, wrote in the Greek language, which, as with the Latin on the Continent in the sixteenth century, was regarded as the proper organ for the circulation of theological literature. But he soon saw that his audience would be limited, and therefore adopted the Latin for all his subsequent writings. It was a new language to Christianity. In the third century it was much the same that it had been in the first, excepting only the introduction of a feebler style than had distinguished the Coryphæi of Roman letters in the Augustan age. Tertullian had, therefore, to deal with a new element.[1]

TERTULLIAN'S USE OF BOTH GREEK AND LATIN.

He found no theological precedents or ecclesiastical nomenclature, and therefore was compelled to create a style, which, indeed, became the type of ecclesiastical Latin during all later times. His thoughts were clear and his convictions intense, and he wrote with a fervor which aroused the reader, fascinated him by its novelty of expression, and often carried conviction. He called to his aid history, logic, and all the arts of his first calling as a rhetorician. Satire and humor combined in happy measure. With all the fervor of the African sun in his veins he carried his enemy to the precipice and lost no time in hurling him down with a shout of triumph and a call for new adversaries.

TERTULLIAN'S QUALITIES OF MIND AND STYLE.

Tertullian wrote his Scorpiace as a heroic antidote to that poison of the Gnostic Scorpions which declared there was neither significance nor virtue in martyrdom. Where the Latin was devoid of names severe enough for the enemies of Christianity his inventive genius, aroused by the passion and heat of the hour, invented new ones, from which nothing was wanting except moderation. His Pallium, or Philosopher's Robe, written in rebuke of his townsmen who taunted him with laying off the Roman toga and putting on the philosopher's mantle, probably with reference to his adoption of Montanism, abounds in as keen satire and stinging wit as can be seen in the verse of Juvenal or Persius, and which stands in relation to the early Church in much the same light as Erasmus's Praise of Folly to the Church of the sixteenth century. No pagan production elicited his admiration. He banished them all into a Dantean oblivion, and with the might of his strong arm he closed the door against all hope of return In no writer of the early Church do we observe such vigor in dealing with the adversaries of Christ, or such volcanic combination of the pre-

WRITINGS OF TERTULLIAN.

[1] Tertullian was probably not the first Latin father, as that honor belongs to Minucius Felix.

cious and the gross. "He was a volcano," says Jacobi, with great propriety, "which cast forth, in splendid eruption, flames and precious stones and dross."[1]

MINUCIUS FELIX.

Minucius Felix belongs to that class of authors to whom a single work has accorded a permanent place in literature. Of his personal history we have not even meager details. Some writers have supposed, from the picture of severe Christian persecution in his apologetical romance, the fascinating Octavius, that he was a contemporary of Justin and Athenagoras, but the many points of analogy between that work and the Apology of Tertullian lead to the conclusion that he was either a contemporary of that writer or belonged to the following generation.[2] That he preceded Cyprian is clear from the fact that the first five chapters of that author's Vanity of Idols[3] is almost an exact extract from the Octavius of Minucius. In Octavius the writer presents in popular style an argument against paganism. Two friends, Octavius and Cæcilius Natalis, who have been associated intimately from childhood, take a walk along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Cæcilius is still a pagan, and reverently salutes an image of Serapis. Octavius is a Christian, and proceeds to give reasons why the old belief in paganism should be cast off and Christianity accepted as the soul's only hope of salvation. The work is occupied in revealing the hollowness of polytheism rather than in giving formal statement of the doctrines of Christianity. It produced a profound impression, and extended into circles which the more caustic polemics

[1] Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, p. 169. Schaff gives an admirable treatment, ii, 818–833. Best ed. (until the new Vienna ed. of Reifferscheid), by Oehler and Leopold, Leipz., 1853–55, 4 vols. Select works, ed. F. A. March, N. Y., 1876. Apol., ed. by Woodham, Cambridge, 1850, and by Bindley, Oxf., 1889, and translated by Bindley, Lond., 1869. Comp. Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), xx, 265–267. For life, see Hauck, Erlangen, 1877, and v. Hartel, Vienna, 1890.

[2] In spite of the fact that Ebert showed conclusively in 1868 that the Octavius of Minucius Felix preceded Tertullian's Apology, and depended not on that but on Cicero's, De Natura Deorum, some scholars still adhere to the old view which places Minucius between Tertullian and Cyprian. Keim, Rom und das Christenthum, p. 471, and Mangold, in Herzog and Plitt, make the date of the Octavius between 178 and 180, and Dombart, in his edition of the work, Erlangen, 1882, assigns 180 as the probable date. (The Apologeticus was written in 197.) Ebert, in Tertullian's Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix, 1868, and in his Geschichte der christlich-latein. Literatur, 1874, makes the date between 179 and 185, and is followed by Kuhn, in Der Octavius des Minucius Felix, Leipz., 1882. But Hartel, Klussmann, Salmon (Smith and Wace), and Schaff, ii, 841, still cling to the old view (although Van Hoven so far back as 1762 stated grave objections to it) which gives the priority to Tertullian.

[3] De Vanitate Idolorum.

and speculative apologetics had never entered. The pleasing style, modeled after the disputations of Cicero, and especially the drapery of romance, gave it an influence second to no Christian romance in the early Christian centuries.[1]

CYPRIAN'S PERSONAL HISTORY.

Cyprian has been regarded by the Church as the most distinguished representative of the school of North Africa. Because of his firmness in time of trial, his devotion to ecclesiastical unity against the schismatics of his day, his organizing power, and his bold and defiant attitude toward all pagan philosophy, he was the great bulwark of the Western Church against its many and strong adversaries. Converted to Christianity after middle life, or about the year 245, and bringing with him the skill of the rhetorician and the magisterial character of the noble family of which he was a scion, he saw that no time was to be lost, and that all his endowments must be utilized if he would make amends for his late conversion. From the first hour of his Christian life to his martyrdom, in the year 258, he presented the picture of a mind transfused with marvelous energy and yet with an irresistible calmness in the hour of trial. Seldom has a servant of the Church compressed more positive and permanent achievements in the brief space of thirteen years than was the case with Cyprian. He became Bishop of Carthage in the year 248, and every year of his tenure of office seemed to be an advance on the preceding in desperate energy and the wise dealing with his enemies. The paganism of North Africa recognized him as its deadliest foe. Hence, when the Decian persecution broke out, the first cry of the enraged rabble was, "Cyprian to the lions!" On becoming a Christian he distributed his wealth to the poor, and lived and wrought in voluntary poverty. He exhibited a sympathy with the needy and a charity toward the erring which proved not merely a native magnanimity, but the completeness with which the practical principles of Christianity pervaded his entire character. He expected martyrdom, and regarded it as the natural and proper means of terminating his life. In this he was not disappointed. He was too strong an adversary to be forgotten in the hour of persecution, and was therefore condemned to death. He welcomed his executioner with Christian cheerfulness, and, just before the fatal blow, presented him with twenty-five gold pieces, as a testimony of his love.

Cyprian was an industrious author, but the significance of his life does not lie so much in his works as in his personal worth and

[1] Renan, Marcus Aurelius, p. 402 (Fr.), p. 234 (Eng.), makes Minucius an easy-going Christian of the deistic type.

the general bearing of his administration. His works lack that symmetry and finish which could be expected of the retired scholar. He had only fragments of time in which to use his pen, but he lost none of them. He feasted upon the works of Tertullian, whom he recognized as his theological master. It is reported of him by Jerome that he never passed a day, during his Christian life, without reading some work of Tertullian, and that he often interrupted his amanuensis by calling to him, "Give me the master!"[1] In addition to his epistles, which number eighty-one and present a minute picture of his work and experience, he wrote in the general departments of doctrine, apologetics, and ecclesiastical discipline. The one great thought which pervaded all his writings was the essential unity of the Church. He regarded the Church as the embodiment of Christ's life among men, the depository of his truth and the representative of Christianity before the world.[2]

CYPRIAN'S WRITINGS.

Commodianus and Arnobius also belong to the North African school, and lived during the latter half of the third century. Commodianus was a poet, who wrote in poor Latin hexameters a work entitled Instructions Against the Gods of the Nations.[3] Arnobius was a rhetorician before he became a Christian. His Disputations Against the Nations was in a florid and artificial style, and bore traces of Gnostic sympathies.[4] Lactantius belonged to the first quarter of the fourth century, and with him the significance and strength of the North African school came to an end. He had been a pupil of Arnobius, but far surpassed the master. He excelled all the writers of this period in the arrangement of his matter and the elegance of his style, and has been appropriately called "The Christian Cicero." He wrote a work, addressed to Demetrian, and entitled God's Work in the Formation of Man, in which he proved, after the manner of Paley

COMMODIANUS AND ARNOBIUS.

[1] Catal., c. 53.

[2] Best ed. of his work, Hartel, Vienna, 1868–71, 3 vols. Best monograph, Otto Ritschl, Cyprian von Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche, Göttingen, 1885. Nevin discussed his doctrine of the Church with great ability in Mercersburg Rev. for 1852 (four articles). See Benson, Cyprian, Lond. and N. Y., 1897.

[3] The Instructions were discovered by Seimard, and edited by Rigault in 1650. In 1852 Cardinal Pitra discovered and edited another poem of Commodianus, Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judæos et Gentes, fully as interesting as the first. Best editions of both by Ludwig, Leipz., 1877, 1878. The second poem has never been translated into English; the first appears in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Christian Literature ed., vol. iv, pp. 203–218.

[4] Ed. Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1875. This book was discovered in the sixteenth century, and first edited by Faustus Sabæus, Florence, 1543.

in the present century, the presence of design and providence in the structure of the human body. In his principal work, the Divine Institutions, he presents a formal statement of the Christian religion, and clothes every part of it with a strongly apologetical drapery.[1]

SERVICE OF THE THREE GREAT SCHOOLS.

The individuality of these schools was marked and forceful during the entire period of their existence. But with all the characteristics which belonged to each they represented the whole Church in its double effect for complete triumph over paganism and for doctrine and organic unity. They performed a service of immeasurable value, for they not only cultivated a taste for Christian learning, but produced a literature which was not merely a supreme necessity of the time, but which, after eliminating all that is ephemeral, has been a mine of wealth to the Church in all later times.[2] In addition to the men directly connected with them there were other writers, who were inspired by the same purpose of proving the necessity of Christianity for the salvation of the world. This is especially true of the Greek Church, where Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, Dionysius, and Hegesippus contributed largely toward the establishment of Christianity in directions not reached by any school of thought.

THE CHURCH REARING PERMANENT STRUCTURES OF THOUGHT.

The intense intellectual activity which pervaded all the centers, and which aroused men in every part of Christendom and set them to thinking, is a striking proof of the first effect of Christianity in quickening the human mind. In the very places where the productive power of paganism had come to a pause, as though exhausted for the want of material out of which to build, Christianity was not content to pull down, but began to plan and rear her own immortal structures of thought. Nothing was forgotten. Formal doctrinal treatises, criticism on the sacred text, ecclesiastical history, and the whole cycle of practical duties had their keen minds, who laid broad foundations for the future limitless development of these sciences. These scholars, therefore, were not simply controversialists. If, with one hand, they stripped from the staggering paganism and Judaism their mask, with the other they disclosed to the world the majestic form of the Gospel, with its promise of rest for the weary and its destination to universal empire.

[1] Fritzsche, Leipz., 1842–45, 2 vols.

[2] Since this book was published, the elaborate monogram on Cyprian, Lond. and N. Y., 1897, by the late Archbishop Benson (died 1896) has appeared. It is one of the most scholarly and complete works ever written on a Father of the Church—the fruit of twenty years of research. The lamented author did not live to see it from the press.

LITERATURE: APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.

On the apocryphal literature in general, see the articles by Hoffmann, and Dillmann, in Herzog, 2d ed.; the elaborate articles by Lipsius, in Smith and Wace; the Edinb. Rev., cxxviii, 81, ff.; London Quar. Rev., xxxi (1869), 427, ff.; Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), xii, 84–114; Cruttwell, Literary History of Early Christianity, i, 151–180; and the following works:

1. Lipsius, R. A. Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. Braunschweig, 1883–87, 3 vols.
2. Thomson, J. E. H. Books which Influenced our Lord and his Apostles. Edinb., 1891. See Crit. Rev., ii, 94.
3. Deane, W. J. Pseudepigrapha: An Account of Apocryphal and Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. Edinb., 1891. See Crit. Rev., ii, 93; Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), xxxii, 517–519.

The best editions are by Tischendorf: Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Leipz., 1851; Evangelia Apocrypha, Leipz., 1853, new ed., 1876; Apocalypses Apocryphæ, Leipz., 1866.

On the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, see the following:

1. Drey, S. von. Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Kanones der Ap. Tüb., 1832.
2. Platt, T. P. The Æthiopic Didascalia; or, the Æthiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia, with an English translation. Lond., 1834.
3. Bickell, J. W. Geschichte des Kirchenrechts. Giessen, 1843, 1849.
4. Tattam, Henry. The Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic, with Eng. transl. Lond., 1849.
5. Lagarde, P. A. de. Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace. Leipz., 1854. Constitutiones Apos. Græce. Leipz., 1862.
6. MacNallay, Th. The Apostolical Canons in Greek, Latin, and English. Lond., 1867.
7. Fulton, John. Index Canonum, 3d ed., enlarged, pp. 79–109. N. Y., 1892. An admirable volume.

See the article by Shaw in Smith and Cheetham, i, 110–126; and by Newman in Hist. Sketches, i, 417, ff. There is also a translation by Chase of both the Constitutions and Canons, with an Essay by Krabbe on their origin and contents. N. Y., 1848. See Schaff, ii, 183–187. Translated also in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ch. Lit. Co., vii, 391–505. For full bibliography see pp. 86–89 of Index vol. of the Anti-Nicene Fathers, published by the Christian Literature Co., Buffalo (now N. Y.), 1887.

CHAPTER XVII.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.

DURING this period of intellectual ferment there was a rapid increase of spurious writings. The scriptural canon could be determined only by severe and deliberate criticism, and during the process there arose many claimants to a permanent place in both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The reverence in which the more prominent and unquestioned writers of the biblical books were held, and the constancy with which they were appealed to, was abused to such an extent that many other writings were palmed upon the public in their honored names. In addition many works were written and circulated which claimed to be the productions of men in both the Jewish and apostolic times whose names had never before appeared in the catalogue of inspired authors. Even the fathers who stood foremost in the confidence and love of the Church, and who had done heroic service by their pen, no sooner passed away than new works were thrust out with the declaration that they were a part of the precious literary legacy which they had bequeathed to posterity. In many instances it was easy to detect the fraud, because of the palpable contradiction of style and matter, but in many others it required a keener analysis than the age afforded to draw the safe line between the real and the spurious. Even to this day the authorship of some of the alleged writings of the fathers is an unsettled question.

INCREASE OF SPURIOUS WRITINGS.

This rapid growth of apocryphal writings has been construed by antagonists of the divine origin of Christianity as a striking proof of the superstitious and uncritical character of Christians during the first three centuries. The love of the marvelous and legendary has been elevated into a strong factor of the general Church. But when we look at the origin of these spurious works this serious error immediately disappears. The most of the spurious writings emanated from dissatisfied and schismatic parties in the Church, while some of them were the productions of pronounced enemies to all the essential doctrines of Christian-

MISCONCEPTION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

ity.[1] Both Ebionites and Gnostics, finding themselves driven to retreat by the positive declarations of the writings always recognized as inspired and canonical, found it a convenient method to produce other writings, which they could use for their own escape. It was the fashion of the hour to support a schism, a heresy, and every theological vagary by the manufacture of appropriate apostolic and patristic testimony.

THE ENEMIES OF THE CHURCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

The enemies of the Church, and not the general Church, must be held accountable for this abnormal department of early Christian literature. By some of the theologians in highest esteem its large growth was recognized as a calamity, fraught only with serious danger to the cause of sound doctrine and the steady growth of a pure Christian literature. Irenæus says of only one Gnostic sect, the Valentinians, that it produced an "indescribable multitude of apocryphal Scriptures,"[2] and Epiphany says that apocryphal writings of the Gnostics amounted to thousands.[3] But while the dissatisfied elements in the Church must be made responsible for the larger and grosser part of this spurious literature, the fact still remains that from the Church itself there emanated many works of spurious origin, which even some of the better writers mistook for authentic and used in defense of Christianity.[4]

EXTREME MEASURES OF THE AUTHORS OF THE APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

The authors of the apocryphal writings did not adopt moderate measures. Their empire was the world. Both the past and the future lay before them as a panorama. Prophecy was as easy a feat with them as history; in fact, their prophecy was generally identical with history; for, by a convenient arrangement, their ratiocinations did not see the light until the events had occurred. They were as much at home in the remote patriarchal period as in the

[1] "It is remarkable how scrupulously the earliest orthodox writers resisted the temptation to invent legend, or even to give literary shape to legends already current. Nearly all the specimens of this literature betray, by tendencies inconsistent with the primitive faith, an origin outside the orthodox circle."—Cruttwell, Literary History of Early Christianity, i, 154.

[2] Adv. Hær., i, 17.

[3] Hær., 26.

[4] "Although these fables [Apocryphal Acts] originated for the most part in heretical quarters, we find them at a later period among the cherished possessions of ordinary catholics, acquaintance with them being perpetually renewed, or their memory preserved in catholic Christendom, partly by the festal homilies of eminent fathers, and partly by religious poetry and works of sacred art."—Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, i, 18. The orthodox used to revise the heretical Acts and gospels, omitting all that offended their views, being careful to preserve, however, all the miraculous elements.

apostolical, and were as skillful in writing works in the name of the Roman Clement as of Paul or Isaiah.

The five favorite fields for their type of literature were the Old Testament history, the life of Jesus, the labors and writings of the apostles, the epistles, and ecclesiastical polity and discipline.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH AND THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE TIME.

The Book of Enoch was a product of the century immediately preceding Christ, but in the former half of the second century it underwent a revision, and was adapted to the new Christian conditions. It has been preserved in a translation from the Ethiopic manuscript,[1] discovered by Bruce in 1773. It has peculiar interest to Christians on account of the fact that St. Jude quotes it (verses 14, 15) as the work of Enoch. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, written by a Jewish Christian, is a combination of admonition and prophecy by the twelve sons of Jacob, in which they instruct their posterity on the various duties and foretell the incarnation of our Lord and the downfall of Judaism.[2] The Apocalypse of Moses has been preserved in only two fragments, one of which is an imitation of Paul, and contains an argument against the further necessity of circumcision.[3] Isaiah's Ascension to Heaven is a description of that prophet's ascension to heaven, where an angel reveals to him important information, additional to his prophecy, on the ministry and glorification of our Lord.[4] The Fourth Book of Ezra, originally a product of the decades immediately preceding Christ, underwent important changes after the rise of Christianity. It contains seven prophetic visions, in which both secular and religious events are described. The Prophecies of Hystaspes, a very

[1] The Book of Enoch, translated by Laurence, Oxford, 1883. Dillmann, Das Buch Henoch, übersetzt u. erklärt, Leipz., 1853. Schodde, translation, Andover, Mass., 1882; Charles, translation, Edinb., 1894—both works furnished with full introductions and notes. Scholars are hopelessly divided as to the date and composition of the Book of Enoch. See Bissell, The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, N. Y., 1880, p. 665; Stanley, History of the Jewish Church. Third Series, lecture xlix; Stalker, in The Thinker, Feb., 1894, pp. 113–120; W. J. Deane, in Theological Monthly, iv, 1, ff., 229, ff. (1890); Lipsius, Enoch Book of, in Smith and Wace, ii, 124–128.

[2] Nitzsch, De Testamentis duodecim Patriarcharum, Wittenberg, 1810; Deane, in Theol. Monthly (London), May, 1891; Warfield, The Apologetical Value of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in Presb. Rev., i, 57–84 (Jan., 1880)—a scholarly and exhaustive discussion.

[3] Comp. Fabricius, *l. c.*, p. 888.

[4] Zolowicz, Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Proph. Jesaja, übersetzt u. erläutert, Leipz., 1854; Dillmann, Ascensio Isaiæ, in Ethiopic and Latin, with Prolegomena and Notes, Leipz., 1877; Schodde, translation in Lutheran Quarterly, Oct., 1878.

early Persian king, are of similar character, in a purpose to portray a universal Christianity. The work was of sufficient importance to win the attention of both Justin and the Alexandrian Clement.[1]

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

In the same department of prophecy we must reckon the fourteen books of the Sibylline Oracles of this period. The oracles bearing this name were so highly regarded by the Romans before the time of Christ that a superstitious use was made of the same term for the promotion of Christian interests. The Sibylline Oracles which emanated from a Christian source present a prophetic picture of the history of the world, the coming of Christ, the labors of the apostles, the destruction of Rome, and the second coming of Nero as the antichrist. During the second and third centuries they enjoyed great favor, because of their confidence in Christ's final triumph. Notable apologists frequently appealed to them. Their authorship is unknown. They claim to have been written by a daughter-in-law of Noah. The internal evidence, however, is strong that the excrescence began amid the fervor of the early Gnosticism of Alexandria, and reached its final form by gradual accumulation. By the time of Constantine the Sibyllines had lost the confidence of the Church and disappeared from public sight.[2]

APOCRYPHAL ACCOUNTS OF OUR LORD.

The apocryphal accounts of our Lord were numerous. The First Gospel of James the Less gave minute details of the early life of Jesus and of the personal history of Mary. The Gospel of the Nativity of St. Mary, the History of Joachim and Anna, of the Birth of Mary and the Infant Saviour, of Joseph the Carpenter, the Gospel of the Infant Saviour, and the Gospel of Thomas bear on the same theme, and furnish a mass of legendary matter on the parts of the life of our Lord omitted in the

[1] Apol. i, c. 20, 44; Strom., vi, 5; Lactantius, Inst. Div., vii, 15, 18; Walch, De Hystaspe ejusque Vaticiniis; in commentt. societ. Götting., i, 3. Justin says, the reading of Hystaspes and the Sibyl was made a capital offense, on account, doubtless, of their prophecies of the destruction of the Roman empire.

[2] Friedlieb, Die sibyllin. Weissagungen, Leipz., 1852. Thorlacius, Libri Sibyllistarum crisi subjecti; Conspectus Doctrinæ chr. in Sibyll. Libris. Havn, 1815–16. Volkmann, De Orac. Sibyllinis, Leipz., 1853. Ewald, Ueber Entstehung, Inhalt u. Werth der sibyllin. Bücher, Götting., 1858. Best recent edition is Rzach, Vienna, 1891, the author of Zur Kritik der sibyllinischen Weissagungen, 1882. The only translation into English is that by Terry (blank verse), Cincinnati and N. Y., 1890, rev. ed., 1899. The best discussion in English is in Edinburgh Rev., July, 1877. See Warfield, in Presbyterian and Reformed Review, iii, 155 (1892); Schodde in Lutheran Quarterly, July, 1879; Lupton, in Smith and Wace, iv, 644–649; Besançon, De l'emploi que les Pères de l'église ont fait des oracles sibyllins, Paris, 1851. Badt published a monograph on the fourth book, with text, Breslau, 1878. A scholarly study (probably by the editor, McClintock) appears in the Methodist Quarterly Review, Oct., 1854, pp. 489–533.

gospels. They show a superstitious disposition, even at this early day, to pay divine honors to the Virgin Mary. The Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Pilate, and the Epistle of Lentulus bear on our Lord's passion, and are equally minute in legendary history.[1] Apocryphal correspondence includes the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, an Epistle to Corinthians in the Armenian language, the Correspondence of Paul with Seneca, the Epistle of Ignatius to the Mother of Jesus, and the Epistles of the Holy Virgin to the Inhabitants of Messina, Florence, and other cities. The Apocalypse of Peter, the Ascension of Paul, and the Apocalypses of Thomas and Stephen, and a second one by John, are only a few of this final department of spurious Scriptures, which derived much strength and luxuriance from the millenarian expectations aroused by Montanism and other movements.

DISPOSITION TO USE BORROWED NAMES.

The disposition to use borrowed names in support of novel history and special deviations from the doctrines of the Church exhibited itself also in relation to discipline and order. The proper treatment of the lapsed, which was the fundamental point of variance between Rome and Carthage, was one of the chief sources of spurious writing, and the apostles were appealed to by the champions of both the mild and severe views.

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

The Apostolical Constitutions is a collection, in eight books, of instructions for both clergy and laity, on practical duties and ecclesiastical usages and polity. They claim to have been written by the apostles, but in reality arose at different times. The first six books bear internal proof of having been written in the last quarter of the third century, while the seventh and eighth are not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth. The Apostolical Canons claim the same authority but with as little foundation. They are brief rules for ecclesiastical discipline and law. The Western version gives eighty-five, while the Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic manuscripts comprise but fifty. They were issued as if by the Roman Clement as the work of the apostles; but they were afterward declared by the Roman bishop, Hormisdas, to be unworthy of confidence. Their hierarchical bearing, however, was too valuable to lose so easily, and in the Western Church they have held a strong place. The second Trullan council in the year 692 also recognized them as authority for the Eastern Church. They are probably the work of several authors about the end of the fourth century.

[1] Tischendorf, De Evangg. Apocryph. Origine et Usu. Hagæ Com., 1851; Nicolas, Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes, Paris, 1866; Brunet, Les Évangiles apocryphes, Paris, 1866.

LITERATURE: THE CHURCH OF ROME AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY.

1. Barrow, I. The Pope's Supremacy, Lond., 1680. New ed. Lond., 1859; N. Y., 1845. Profound in research; convincing, ever new and fresh.
2. Rothensee. Der Primat des Papstes in allen christlichen Jahrhunderten, Mainz, 1836–38, 3 vols.
3. Kenrick, F. P. The Primacy of the Apostolic See. 7th ed., rev. and enlarged, Baltimore, 1855. One of the ablest defenses of the papal position.
4. Greenwood, T. Cathedra Petri: a Political History of the Great Latin Patriarchate, Lond., 1855–72, 6 vols. A monumental work of an English lawyer; learned and reliable. See Schaff, American Theol. Review. New York, 1864, pp. 9, ff.
5. Allies, T. W. The Formation of Christendom, Lond., 1869–75, 3 vols. The author a Roman Catholic pervert.
6. Friedrich, J. Zur ältesten Geschichte des Primates in der Kirche, Bonn, 1879. An excellent study by an Old Catholic scholar.
7. Langen, J. Geschichte der römischen Kirche bis zum Pontifikate Leo's I, Bonn, 1881; Bis Nikolaus I, 1885.
8. Littledale, R. F. The Petrine Claims, Lond., 1889. A brilliant historical examination of the Roman case by a veteran High Anglican anti-Romanist controversialist. The reader is referred also to the books on the papal primacy prompted by the Vatican council.
9. Bright, W. The Roman See in the Early Church, Lond. and N. Y., 1896. See Nation, N. Y., July 2, 1896, p. 16.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIMACY OF ROME.

THE government of the Church, like its theology and literature, was of slow and unsteady growth. There having been no divine regulation concerning an ecclesiastical polity, Christianity was compelled to adapt itself to the conditions by which it was environed, and devise such plans as might seem best for present and future development. The political structure amid which the Christians lived was the nearest and most natural model for an ecclesiastical framework, and, therefore, we observe no small measure of the civil regulations of the Romans reproduced in the first polity of the Church. The metropolitan center, the patriarchate, and the synodal bond had been originally a part of the political system of the empire, and in fact, not less than word, were incorporated into the government of the Church. This beginning was made even during the period of persecution, but after Christianity became a tolerated faith, and finally the religion of the State, the process of introducing the Roman political system into the government of the Church became more rapid and the resemblance more striking. Under Constantine the Church became only a small empire within the larger one. Until the middle of the second century the government consisted of a few general forms, having undergone but little change from the apostolic simplicity. But at this time the heresies appeared, and from this new necessity there arose a larger number of ecclesiastical officers and a more complicated general polity.

INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN CIVIL SYSTEM.

There were two clerical classes, the minor and the greater. To the former belonged, first, the subdeacons, who assisted the deacons in the subordinate parts of the service. Then came the acolytes, who were assistants of the bishops in many subordinate relations. At the communion service they filled the cup with wine and water and had authority to administer the elements to the sick. The acolyte, though the name is of Greek origin, was a clerical office known only to the Western Church. The lectors, or readers, appear as a special clerical order at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. Their office was to guard the sacred manuscripts belonging to the society, and to

THE MINOR ORDERS.

read such passages of Scripture in the public service as had not been read by the presbyter or deacon. Young men who were intending to enter the ministry were often appointed for this service, as the office was supposed to be an aid in preparation for the ministry, while the Church could determine, by the way in which the duties were performed, whether the candidate was a proper person to enter the ministry. In the time of Tertullian the office of lector was fully developed, for he brings the charge against the heretics that in their services a man is a deacon one day and only a lector the next.[1]

DEACONS AS READERS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

In the fifth century the deacons began to assume the duties of readers. The subdeacons stood next in rank to the deacons, and were appointed to assist them. In every part of the Church great caution had been used in increasing the number of deacons beyond seven, the apostolic number,[2] and when this liberty was taken care was employed to state the necessity for the transgression.[3] In the middle of the third century even the Roman society, with its forty-six presbyters and immense membership, had only seven deacons.[4] The subdeacons received ordination, and in this respect differed from the lectors. They had charge of persons supposed to be demoniacs, and offered prayers over them in behalf of the Church. In some churches they also had charge of catechumens, probably because of the supposed connection between exorcism and baptism. The Western Church alone possessed the exorcists as a special clerical class, the time of their origin being about the beginning of the fourth century.[5] The Eastern Church was no less firm in its belief in demoniacs, yet did not employ the exorcists as a separate order, but merged their functions into the priesthood.[6]

SUBDEACONS.

The catechists were only seldom a special ecclesiastical order, their duties being performed by presbyters, deacons, and lectors. When the congregation was very large, as in the case of Alexandria, and those officers were too much employed, a catechist was employed for the special work of preparing candidates for admission into the Church. The hermeneutæ, or interpreters, were persons who interpreted the sermon and selections from the Scriptures into the language of the people, where that language was neither the Greek nor Latin. Such

CATECHISTS AND INTERPRETERS AND OTHER ORDERS.

[1] De Præscript. Hæret., c. 41.

[2] Eusebius, vi, 43. Jerome, Ep. 101, Ad Evang. Concil. Neo-Cæsar., c. 15.

[3] Comp. Jacobi, Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte, p. 226.

[4] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., 6, 43. [5] Apost. Const., viii, 26.

[6] The Greek forms for exorcism may be found in Schmitt, Morgenländ.-griech.-russische Kirche, Mainz, 1826, p. 141, and Assemani, Codex Liturg., ii, 318, f.

an office was especially necessary in the North African society, where the majority of the members spoke only the Punic language. Singers or precentors were employed in the larger churches, in proportion as sacred psalmody developed. The lowest officers in rank were the ostiarii, or doorkeepers, who served as ushers, preserved order, and had charge of the church building.

OTHER ORDERS AFTER THE THIRD CENTURY.

All these offices existed in full force by the end of the third century, and some of them as early as the middle of the second.[1] In the following period others arose as the wants of the Church increased and its temporal affairs required closer scrutiny. To these belonged the economos, or trustee of church property;[2] the defender, or attorney;[3] the secretary, who recorded and preserved the official records; the parabolani, or nurses of the sick; and the fossores, or gravediggers.

We now come to the greater clerical orders. There was a considerable enlargement of the functions of the diaconate. Originally designed for ministration to the needy, it now grew into an important clerical order. The deacon baptized, prepared the bread and wine for the administration of the Lord's Supper, read the gospels and other lessons before the congregation, frequently preached and administered the Lord's Supper to the sick and absent. They were very closely related to the bishop, accompanied him in his visitations, and represented him in such grave deliberative assemblies as synods and councils.[4] The office of presbyter continued, as in the apostolic period, to conduct the public worship, administer the sacraments, and preach, but in proportion as the pastoral needs developed, and the minor services were performed by subordinates, the functions of the presbyter increased in importance. The most serious change, however, took place in the episcopacy. As early as the year 95, when the Roman Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, we discover no difference between the bishop and the presbyter. But by the early decades of the second century a transition was in progress, the preparation having been made by the Epistles of Ignatius. By the end of the century the consolidation of the episcopate was complete.[5]

[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., 6, 43. Full information on these lesser orders will be found in Bingham, book iii, vol. i, pp. 341–423, ed. of 1840.

[2] Conc. Chalcedon., c. 25.

[3] Conc. Carthag., c. 10, also 401. Cod. Eccles. African., c. 75; c. 97, defensores scholastici. Codd. Theod., xvi, ii, 38.

[4] Apost. Const., 2, 44: ἀκοὴ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ στόμα, καρδία τε καὶ ψυχὴ ἐπισκόπου. Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, lect. ii.

[5] Ebrard, Handbuch d. christl. Kirchen-und Dogmen-Geschichte, i, p. 127; Hatch, *l. c.*; Lightfoot, Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, pp. 158–209.

ELECTION OF BISHOPS.

The mode of electing bishops varied with the time and place. Originally the congregation, both East and West, elected the bishop, and extended an invitation to the neighboring bishops to consecrate him to his new office.[1] But by the beginning of the third century the election of a bishop was performed by twelve bishops in the adjoining territory, after the manner of the election of an apostle. But this usage passed away by the middle of the century, and the election took place by the votes of all the bishops of the province, in presence of the laity of the society, and by their consent.[2] The Council of Nicæa gave to the bishops of the province the right of election, without the participation of the laity,[3] a mode which found easy and strong favor in the Western Church, where the hierarchical idea was in the ascendant. But in the Eastern Church the laity still exercised their right, not only of veto, but of direct election. The bishop was frequently elected by the acclamation of the multitude, as in the case of Cyprian, without the controlling voice of the clergy, and the other bishops and presbyters were compelled to submit to the dictation. The direction which the popular will might take was often a serious uncertainty, and in some instances laymen were caught up by the multitude and appointed to the episcopacy. It is only just to say, that in such cases the choice was generally a wise one.

CONSECRATION AND POWERS OF THE BISHOPS.

The consecration of a bishop, as well as the ordination of presbyters and deacons, was performed by bishops, or by one bishop and presbyters deputed by the people.[4] The powers of the bishop steadily multiplied. The disposition to regard all ordinations as properly proceeding from him gained force continually. While he was the authority to whom important cases of need and difficulties between members were referred, his power was limited by his dependence upon the cooperation of the presbyters. The clergy of his diocese were the constituency on whom he was constantly dependent. Even Cyprian, the great champion of the episcopate, declared that it was a settled principle with him to do nothing without the cooperation of the presbyters.[5]

[1] Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii, p. 131.

[2] Cyprian, Ep. 67. Kurtz, Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte, i, p. 174. The fullest treatment is in Haddan, art. "Bishop," in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, an article written from a High Church point of view, but generally accurate as to facts; a treatise in itself.

[3] 4th Canon.

[4] Ordinance of Church of Alexandria. In Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, ii, p. 33. On the presbyterial ordinations of bishops at Alexandria, see Gallagher, The Historic Episcopate, N. Y., 1890; Lightfoot, Dissertations, pp. 194–197.

[5] Works, Ed. Baluz, p. 5. Neander, i, 192.

He calls them *compresbyteros*, copresbyters, a word used also much later.[1] While it was his function to nominate the lower clergy, no preacher could advance from the lowest grade to orders without the approval of the presbyters, whatever might be the private preference of the bishop. No important question of doctrinal variation, or discipline, or general administration, could be determined by the bishop. He must summon the clergy of his diocese, and to them, in the presence of the society, he must submit the question.[2]

CYPRIAN'S PRINCIPLE.

This restriction of the episcopal power throws a strong light on the original autonomy of the individual society. Here, in compact and united form, was the visible Church. The members might be few and obscure, but they were the earthly reflection of the new Jerusalem. The government was vested in the laity, and the spiritual guide, not master, was the presbyter or bishop.[3] Tertullian was the spokesman of the universal consciousness of the early Church, which recognized the fact that all the gifts and callings of the ministry rested upon the divine priesthood of all believers. In his work on baptism, written before he became a Montanist, and thus representing, in a sense, the catholic Church, he says: "In itself considered the laity also have the right to administer the sacraments and to teach the community. The word of God and the sacraments were by the grace of God communicated to all, and may therefore be communicated by all Christians as instruments of the divine grace. But the question here relates not barely to what is permitted in general, but also to what is expedient under existing circumstances. We may here use the words of St. Paul, 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.' If we look at the order necessary to be maintained in the Church, the laity are therefore to exercise their priestly right of administering the sacraments only when the time and circumstances require it."[4] The whole life, as well as the governmental power, of the Church proceeded from these small Christian communities. While the churches in the great commercial and intellectual centers were convulsed by controversy and dissension and by the tempest of constant political changes, the obscure congregations pursued their steady course, and preserved their faith, and fulfilled the high destiny of representing the body of Christ amid the agitations of wasting paganism.

AUTONOMY OF THE INDIVIDUAL SOCIETY.

[1] Eps., 14, 45. See Augustine, Quæst. vet. et nov. test. (in op., iii, p. 93), Lightfoot, *l. c.*, p. 198.

[2] Herzog, Abriss d. gesammt. Kirchengeschichte, i, 156.

[3] Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, ii, p. 131. [4] De Baptismo, xvii.

The development of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was by natural and easy stages. It comprised the diocese, the metropolitan district, and the patriarchate.

The officer of the Church followed in the footprints of the evangelist. The work of preaching and organizing the society was first in the city. Here were the people, the most rapid currents of thought, and all the most potent forces for extending a great cause into the remoter regions. All the early preachers of Christianity saw the need of building up the first strong societies in the cities, as an initial measure for the occupation of the rural regions. When a church was organized in one part of a city and the number of believers increased, the demand was soon made for a new one in some other quarter. By this means in the larger cities a number of churches arose, but all were related to the mother Church, and were dependent on it. There was great variety in the method of ministerial supply. There was a bishop who had supervision over all the churches, but he was not the source of authority for the appointment of preachers. The arrangement varied according to the locality. In Constantinople, for example, the presbyters of the mother Church served the three filial churches in order. In other cities each society had its own presbyter as ministerial supply, who was subordinate to the bishop. The bishop, with the presbyters of the city, constituted the ministerial council or authority, but in business affecting the interests of the laity the latter were constantly consulted. The suburban districts were not long in adopting the Gospel. People living along all the great highways were frequent visitors to the central city for all the varied purposes of interest, pleasure, or curiosity, and many of them became early hearers of the new doctrines and attached themselves to the original or filial societies in the city.

STRONG SOCIETIES BUILT UP IN THE CITIES.

As the suburban Christian population increased the necessity arose for building churches in its midst, and for dissolving connection with the city. No sooner was toleration granted the Church than many wealthy Christians dwelt in the suburban districts, away from the strife of the city, from precisely the same motives which in our times prompt the more affluent residents of Paris, London, and New York to provide homes, at least for the summer, amid the pure air and calmer life of the country. The churches which were built in the suburban regions were often costly, as might be expected, and they increased in numbers and importance to such an extent as, in frequent instances, to rival their sister societies in the city.

PROMINENCE OF THE SUBURBAN SOCIETY.

These country churches were first called parishes,[1] a term afterward applied also to the city societies in their congregational relation.

THE RURAL EPISCOPACY.

Out of this importance of the suburban church arose a new office, the chorepiscopos, or rural bishop, who, while never admitted to be of the same authority as the bishop of the city churches, nevertheless, was not slow to assert his claims lest he be forgotten by the laymen or presbyters of his district. The rural episcopacy became an element of serious disturbance, and greatly conflicted with the unity of the Church in the great centers. In some parts of the Church they were never admitted to be equal in authority with the city bishops. But by analyzing their functions we see but little difference. They could nominate and ordain presbyters, and in their limited territory exercise the same authority as any other bishops. In Africa there does not seem to have existed the least difference between the city and country bishops.[2]

LIMITATION OF POWER OF THE RURAL EPISCOPACY.

A strong tendency arose to limit their power. Several of the provincial synods of the fourth century took from the rural bishops the right of nominating the higher clergy of their districts, and made the cooperation of the city bishops a necessity. Finally, the office of chorepiscopos was practically abolished by the Council of Laodicea (340–380), and that of Sardica in 347, where it was ordered that presbyters, subordinate to the city bishop, should be appointed visitors to the suburban churches and sustain a union with the societies of the city. But the office lingered long after this, and did not cease until late in the ninth century.[3] The country societies, instead of being independent, became parishes, and were supplied by pastors in the same manner as the filial churches in the city.[4] The territory over which one bishop was the superintendent was called a diocese,[5] whether it consisted

[1] Παροικίαι.

[2] Hase, Hist. of the Christian Church. Ed. Blumenthal and Wing. N. Y. 1872, p. 60.

[3] There is a dispute whether the chorepiscopi were in fact presbyters or bishops. "Among the schoolmen and canonists," says Bingham, Antiquities, book ii, chap. xiv, "it is a received opinion that they were only presbyters; as may be seen in Turrian, Estius, Antonius Augustinus, and Gratian, who are followed not only by Salmasius, but by Spalatensis, Field, and Forbes, the last of whom brings several arguments to prove that they were mere presbyters, and never had any episcopal ordination." Although we are inclined to believe with Haddan (art. in Smith and Cheetham) and Bingham that they were bishops, it is by no means certain that they were.

[4] Planck, Geschichte d. christlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung, pp. 546, ff.

[5] Διοίκησις. See Hatch, Growth of Church Institutions. Lond. and N. Y., 1887, pp. 9, ff.

of only the churches in the city or comprised as well the outlying rural parishes.

The metropolitan authority was intimately related to the diocese. The word metropolitan does not appear before the Council of Nicæa, but the idea which it represents had been in force from the beginning of the patristic period. The city in which the Gospel had been first preached, and from which it spread into other regions of the province, was the mother city[1] of the Church of the whole territory. The lesser cities of the province received the word from the capital, and were in relation to it as daughters to a mother. The societies in these smaller cities grew in numbers and influence and became dioceses, and yet were related to the maternal church of the capital. Each community had its own government, with an episcopal head, and yet great care was used to preserve the bond of union between the extremities and the central power. In Rome, for example, the original Christian society in Italy existed, but other cities, in time, as Tusculum and Prænestе, Tibur and Velitræ, and Ostia and Portus, also grew into important Christian communities, each having a bishop of its own.[2] The metropolitan bishop had always been regarded with peculiar veneration because of his supposed attachment to the doctrines and usages of the early Church as still preserved in a society of apostolic origin, his opportunity to oversee the needs of the entire province and employ direct measures to relieve them, and his facility of communication with the Church in other parts of the Christian world. To the metropolitan was conceded the right of ordaining the provincial bishops, of convening the provincial synods, of presiding over them, and of subsequently employing measures for the carrying out of the measures ordered at the synodal sessions.[3]

METROPOLITAN AUTHORITY AND THE DIOCESE.

CENTERS OF METROPOLITAN AUTHORITY.

The centers of metropolitan authority were Rome, Antioch, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Corinth. But the Western Church never fully adopted the idea of metropolitan preeminence. The claim of Rome was

[1] Μήτηρ πολίς. Hatch, in his Growth of Church Institutions, pp. 128, ff., has thrown new light on the metropolitans.

[2] Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii, p. 133.

[3] An interesting question as to the authority of metropolitans came up in the prosecution of Bishop King, of Lincoln, for illegal ritualistic practices, in 1889. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, held (see his Judgment in The Guardian, May 15, 1889) that he himself had full right to try the case. Others, with better historic ground, argued that the bishops of the province must also be parties in the case. This is argued ably in the Church Quarterly Review, Lond., Oct., 1889, art. vii.

larger than to be first among equals. Its early thought was religious mastery, and to this it adhered with a tenacity that was little disturbed by the centuries and frequently defiant. The East, where the political divisions were highly favorable to its development, was the favorite field for carrying out the metropolitan idea.

THE PATRIARCHATE.

A still further step in ecclesiastical administration was the patriarchate. The term patriarch had been applied frequently to the bishops, but the Council of Chalcedon limited its application to the few episcopal primates.[1] After Christianity had become the religion of the Roman empire the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople in the fourth century, and Jerusalem in the fifth, were clothed with a power beyond that of the metropolitan. Their spiritual supervision was modeled after Constantine's division of the whole Roman empire. As there were four prefects of the Roman empire, so there should be, as parallel spiritual forces, patriarchs or exarchs for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. The functions of the patriarch toward the metropolitan bishops were similar to those of the metropolitans toward the provincial bishops. They consecrated the metropolitans and bishops of their dioceses, summoned the synods of the whole patriarchate, and had supervision over all the ecclesiastical affairs of the territory assigned as their field,[2] were the court of final clerical appeal, and possessed the right of having legates at foreign courts.[3] The patriarchate of Alexandria comprised six provinces, Antioch fifteen, Constantinople twenty-eight, and Jerusalem three. While Rome was, in all essential respects, a patriarchate, the bishop of that city never applied the term patriarch to himself. The word, however, was frequently used in the Western Church as an official title of metropolitans, ordinary bishops, and even the abbots of monasteries.[4]

GROWTH OF EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY.

The clerical officers grew so rapidly in number, and so much authority was concentrated in the highest orders, such as the metropolitans and patriarchs, that the episcopacy constituted a ministerial aristocracy, and only needed to combine in order to carry out their measures in every part of the Church. Gradually the laity were excluded from the exercise of

[1] Pressel, in Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, ii, 200.

[2] Guericke, Manual of Church History, Shedd's ed., vol. i, p. 278.

[3] Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 72, f.

[4] Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons, is called a patriarch by Gregory of Tours, lib. iv, cap. 20. Priscus, Bishop of Lyons, is called by the same title in Sismondi, Conc. Ant. Gall., tom. i, p. 381. The abbot of the Monastery of Monte Cassino was called "patriarch of the Holy Faith." Comp. Büsching, Erdbeschreibung, iv, 465.

their former rights, even in matters which concerned their interests chiefly.[1] Over against this growing episcopal power there arose the provincial synod, and later the general council, both of which represented the will of the Church. Whatever influence the bishop might exert in the regular exercise of his office, and whatever decisions he might feel empowered to make, he was compelled in the synod or council to accord to the body its rights.

THE SYNOD A GREEK IMITATION.

The synod, as with other administrative regulations of the Church, was an imitation of the Greek provincial bodies under Roman rule, where, in the capital of the province, the representatives of the people met in council, under the presidency of the proconsul, and transacted such business as was needful. From a remote time these synodal meetings[2] had been held in Asia Minor, and, indeed, traces can be discovered in the deliberative meetings of the Ionian, Achaian, Doric, and other confederations. The Amphictyonic Council was only a type of the later ecclesiastical synod. When the Romans conquered Greece the yet remaining traces of the old confederations passed away, and in their place the land was divided into provinces, or the old provincial outlines remained, and each province was provided with its local government. This political regulation was the basis of the synodal representation. The federal spirit of the Greek infused itself into the government of the Church, but as a reaction against monarchical ideas.[3] During the persecutions there was no opportunity for the development of this popular body, but under the reign of Commodus, and during the seventy years of comparative peace, terminating with the reign of Decius, the synodal idea could take form. The first occasion on which the synod was employed was when one was called, in Asia Minor, to aid in the suppression of Montanism. Another was convened to decide on the Easter festival; and from these beginnings the synod became an acknowledged institution of the Church, in some regions having the fixed regularity of annual assemblies.

By the early part of the third century the synodal meeting had extended beyond Asia Minor and Greece, and was a recognized department of ecclesiastical administration in every part of the Christian world.[4] In North Africa they became a part of the regular

[1] On the influences at play to change the relation of clergy and laity, see Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, pp. 143, ff. [2] Κοιναὶ σύνοδοι.

[3] Lechler, art. "Synoden," in Herzog, Real-Encyclopædie, Bd. 15, p. 375. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung, i, 365–237. Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, pp. 169, 170.

[4] Tertul., De Jejun., cap. 13. Kurtz, Handbuch d. allgem. Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 177, f.

ecclesiastical economy, and were of great force during the Novatian controversy. The controversy on the proper treatment of heretics being the most heated one of this period, the synod was a frequent method of resort, which the bishop was slow to convene unless he was sure that the conclusion would support his position. There was great variety in the delegation composing the synod. At first the laity had no little influence. It was the popular Christian deliberative meeting, and the sessions were often of the old tumultuous Greek character, where few questions were asked as to membership. It was often a question of numbers and voice. The proprieties sank beneath the wave of a popular tempest. In Cyprian's day the synodal delegates consisted of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the province. But the laity, or general Christian society, were also present, and gave their consent to the action of the body.[1] When the Council of Nicæa passed its decree, which had the effect of curtailing the power of the laity and lower clergy and strengthening that of the bishops, it was assumed (can. 5) that only bishops could vote in provincial synods. But the people long continued, especially in the Eastern Church, to find strong ways of expressing their will, and even of carrying it into execution.

THE SYNOD GENERALLY ADOPTED.

As a further proof of the connectional and representative character of the synod it took prompt measures to communicate its conclusions to other synods. The synodical epistles of this period, sent to distant societies, constitute a peculiar literature in themselves. Sometimes they found favor in other parts of the province, but often were coldly received, if not violently opposed. They generally began with a claim to divine illumination in reaching the conclusion, as in the case of the Carthaginian synod of the year 252, when Cyprian reported to the bishop, Cornelius of Rome, that the Lord had directed by indubitable signs.[2]

THE SYNODICAL EPISTLES.

Out of the local synod or council grew the ecumenical council or synod, representing the entire Church. The synods continued to be held, for the regulation of the provincial churches, after the custom of holding general councils arose; but their power was greatly diminished by the latter,

THE COUNCIL.

[1] Opera, Sententia episcoporum 87 de hæreticis baptiz.: Cum in unum Carthagini convenissent episcopi plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, cum presbyteris et diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte.

[2] Placuit nobis sancto Spiritu suggerente et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente.

while the popular interest that formerly attached to them was now transferred to the council.[1]

GROWING POWER OF THE ROMAN BISHOP.

The most remarkable feature of the government of the Church consisted in the growing power of the Roman bishop. Many things conspired to give prestige to the Church in Rome. The society in that city had always been conservative in doctrine. Dissatisfied and innovating teachers drifted thither from every part of the Christian world, and sought a following. Whenever an ambitious member was expelled in any part of Christendom it was not long before he was met in the streets of Rome. Amid all the temptations to accept doctrinal and administrative changes the general body of Roman Christians had remained firm to the early faith, of which they had been the leading representatives, as the greatest apostolic Church, since the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of that city. The views of the Roman Church on the Easter festival and the baptism of heretics had not only been carefully matured, but had met the approval of the outlying region. There was general confidence in the attitude which that society might assume toward all new measures, from whatever quarter they might come. The old commendation of Paul, that the faith of the Roman society "had been spoken of throughout the whole world,"[2] had not been forfeited during the years of trial.

PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY IN ROME.

To this doctrinal steadfastness must be connected the celebrity of that society in practical Christianity, and especially in the giving of alms. Not only were the poor of the metropolis tenderly cared for, but the poor and persecuted in the provinces to the north and west were aided with readiness. In those days the remote Christians were in constant need of help, and their representatives gravitated naturally to Rome, where a cordial reception was given to them, if properly accredited, and they returned with prompt and ample help. The strong hand of the Roman society was felt in all the distant societies.[3]

Another great factor in giving prominence to the Roman society was its supposed relationship to the labors of the apostles Paul and Peter. That Paul was known, on scriptural authority, to have lived there as a prisoner and, probably, to have suffered martyrdom there, seems to have been less valued as a precious historical tradition

[1] An excellent chapter on the origin and development of councils, and their place in the ecclesiastical system, is in Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, pp. 169, ff.

[2] Rom. i, 8.

[3] Schaff gives very satisfactory summary of the reasons for growth of the preeminence of Rome, vol. ii, pp. 156, 157.

than the general opinion of Peter's residence there. The certain Paul was less valued than the uncertain Peter. Not from Paul, but from Peter, did Clement claim to have received his episcopate. This tradition gained strength steadily. In the official documents, and in the writings of the Roman bishops, the reminders are repeated that Peter founded the Roman Church, and that it alone of all the Christian societies had the distinction of having two apostolic founders. But the first century passed away and a part of the second before any claim to primacy was made by the Roman bishop. Even as late as the time of Hippolytus the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome did not extend over the adjacent territory in southern Italy, central Italy as far east as the Apennines, and as far north as the northern line of Tuscany. The Roman Church was strictly Roman. It had not as yet attained Italian dimensions, and much less to primacy over Latin or universal Christendom.[1] But there was a disposition to accord to the Roman bishop a certain recognition which was denied all others. Tertullian appealed to Western Christians, if they would know what the true apostolic doctrine is, to learn of Rome, "which can be an authority to us [Africans]."[2] This admonition was enforced by the usual appeal to the apostolical origin of the Roman society, but with the added glory of Peter's and Paul's martyrdom, in the same city. Irenæus spoke in the same strain, saying that as the Church of Rome had been founded by two apostles, and was the scene of their martyrdom, as Christians thronged to the metropolis from every part of the world and compared views, so Rome was more likely than any other place to possess the real apostolic tradition and to be the most correct reproduction of the apostolic purity and simplicity of life.[3]

SUPPOSED RELATION OF PETER AND PAUL TO ROME.

From the middle of the second century the claims of Roman primacy were repeated with more force and frequency. During this time the Clementine Recognitions appeared, which contained the first direct authority for the Roman bishop as the constitutional primate of the Christian world. In the early decades of the third century the view was so far strengthened by the orthodox revision of the Recognitions that we find the papal idea presented with great force; but yet with a measure of caution. Cyprian, although in

GROWTH OF THE ROMAN PRIMACY AFTER MIDDLE OF SECOND CENTURY.

[1] Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age, vol. ii, p. 133.

[2] Unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. De Præscriptione Hæreticorum, xxxvi.

[3] Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est convenire omnem ecclesiam, h. e., eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea, quæ est ab apostolis traditio, 3, 3.

serious collision with Rome on the treatment of heretics, contributed largely toward the growth of the Roman primacy. His work on the unity of the Church was a strong argument in favor of the concentration of ecclesiastical power, and, without intention on his part, was of great influence in securing primacy to Rome.[1]

CYPRIAN AGAINST ROMAN PRIMACY.

On the abstract question of the claim of the Roman bishop, as the successor of Peter, to ecclesiastical supremacy, Cyprian spoke in stern rebuke. That any bishop should place himself above his associates was with him a violation of the very idea of ecclesiastical unity. With the episcopacy, as with the Church, there must be unity. The episcopacy is a unit, which is firmly held together by its parts.[2] Christ alone is Lord over all.[3] He who lays claim to episcopal predominance makes an insolent and arrogant assumption. Some of the episcopal incumbents in these later days make this very pretension, and, in doing it, violate the example of Peter himself.[4] Cyprian was careful, in addressing the Roman bishop, to call him colleague and brother,[5] and by no term that would mark a disparity of episcopal dignity. Origen, who heard the claim for Roman preponderance based upon the Petrine foundation, expressed the intense love of equality and justice that underlay the Greek spirit, both pagan and Christian, when with keen logic he cried aloud, "Be it so!" But if Peter is the only one on whom the Church is built, what becomes of John and the other apostles? Is Peter, forsooth, the only one against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail?

But in spite of Irenæus, Cyprian, and the general disposition of

[1] Cyprian's ideas of Church unity have been the subject of frequent controversy and investigation, as by Rothe, Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche, pp. 553–711; Huther, Cyprian's Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche, Hamb., 1839; Peters, Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche, Luxemb., 1870; Reinkens, Die Lehre des heil. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche, Würzburg, 1873. Nevin contributed a powerful series of articles on the same subject in the Mercersburg Review, 1852 (see reply by Varien in same Review, 1853, pp. 555, ff). Cyprian's Church system was subjected to an acute examination by Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht Ritschl, Cyprian von Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche, Göttingen, 1885.

[2] Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Epist. 55 (ed. Gersd.), cap. 20.

[3] Sed exspectemus universi judicium Dei nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione et de actione nostra judicandi. Ep. 71.

[4] Nec Petrus . . . cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut deceret se primatum tenere et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere. Ep. 71.

[5] Frater-collega. Ebrard, Handbuch der christlichen Kirchen-und Dogmengeschichte, i, 131.

the Church, the current of events was toward a consolidation of the Roman episcopate as the center of all official authority. Each new bishop was true to the traditions which belonged to his diocese, and whenever a new measure came up for discussion in any part of the Christian horizon the Roman claimed the right of final decision. Zephyrinus held that he alone should be arbiter on the discipline of penitents; Victor assumed the same right on the Easter controversy; and Stephen asserted a similar claim on the baptism of heretics. Every voice that came into Rome was in favor of the equality of all bishops, while every voice that went out from it was a plea for the primacy of the Roman bishop. At the Council of Nicæa the patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were ranked as first, second, and third respectively. At the general Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, Constantinople was placed in the second place, and Rome was acknowledged as having the precedence, not because the pope was constituted by Christ the ruler of Christendom, but "because it was the imperial city."[1] This famous canon has been a stumbling-block to Rome. The papal legates refused to vote for it, and their protests were recorded, but the council passed it. Pope Leo I rejected it.[2] The great resisting force lay in the Eastern Church. Antioch, which was one of the largest and most influential of the Eastern patriarchates, was constantly opposed to the Roman claim.

IN SPITE OF OPPOSITION ROME'S PRIMACY STEADILY GREW.

THE EASTERN CHURCH ALWAYS A RESISTING FORCE.

But the East was little calculated to resist Rome. In the Augustan days, when a great heroic character, who had risen above the horizon in the East, was talked of along the Forum Romanum or amid the luxuriant ease of the gardens of the nobility, the complaisant limitation was always made that the East was only provincial, or that nothing out of Rome was cosmopolitan. So, in the third century of Christianity, the Roman Christians claimed for their society all the dignity and authority of apostolic precedence, and for their bishop that spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy to which the whole West was compelled to submit. The near Church of Carthage, the cultivated society of Alexandria, and the original, acute, and aggressive Christians of Antioch were regarded by their Roman brethren as only provincial, and therefore on the same level with Firmilian, the obscure bishop of

THE EASTERN CHURCH UNABLE TO STEM THE TIDE.

[1] Canon 28.

[2] See Church Quarterly Review, Lond., Oct., 1889, pp. 131–133; Fulton, Index Canonum, 3d ed., 1892, pp. 74–76, note; Bright, Hist. of the Church, pp. 412–417; Littledale, Plain Reasons, pp. 172, 173, note; Hefele, Hist. of Councils, iii, 428. Otherwise, the council recognized St. Peter's connection with Rome.

the Cappadocian Cæsarea, who dared to charge Stephen of Rome with boasting of his episcopal superiority.[1]

IMMORALITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE DAMAGING TO SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN CHURCH.

The presence of the court in Constantinople, which was now the new Rome, was not helpful to the spiritual development or wise administration of the Eastern Church. It was a region of intrigue and revolution. The Turkey of our times, with its plots and counterplots, and its moral corruption, is only a modern reflection of the empire which centered in the city of Constantine. The members of the court frequently took part in the theological controversies, and the wrangle of schismatics was transferred to the homes of the nobility and even to the palace of the emperor. It was a place and time of unrest. As in the Bosphorus one sees the tumultuous flow of the northern into the southern waters, so beside its banks could be seen the meeting of all the conflicting thoughts that agitated the entire Eastern Church. There was no hour of calm and steady spiritual life. Between Alexandria and the new metropolis there was no friendly feeling. The great city of Alexander had known only one competitor, and that was Rome, but now that Byzantium, which had been subordinate even to Heraclea, the capital of Thrace, was transformed into a vast capital, and the home of the Roman emperor, the feeling in the North African city was anything but generous and Christian. The agitation of the Church around the shores of the eastern half of the Mediterranean was now becoming so serious as to retard important missionary operations and to threaten the general unity.

STEADY LIFE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

In the West the life was more steady. The heresies arose in the East, and, like a never-changing tide, flowed directly to Rome, where they were either suppressed or diverted.[2] The life of the Roman Church had the equipoise of power and conviction. It was willing to accept what came to it, and not search the world for new ideas. It was willing to grow and absorb, but possessed neither the wish nor the talent for invention. It was willing to wait, but not to look back, except to gather up supporting tradition for a steadier and farther march into the future.

[1] Stephanus, qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri habere contendit, Cypr., Epist. 75. So far as autocratic ambition explains the growth of Roman power—and it does not explain it—that must be credited to the Roman Church as a whole. The Roman bishops of the first two centuries were insignificant. As Newman says: "The See of Rome possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution. Afterward for a long time it had not a single doctor to show." Apologia pro Sua Vita, p. 288 (N. Y. ed.), p. 407 (Lond. ed.). See Schaff, Church History, ii, pp. 162, 163.

[2] Neander, History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. ii, p. 171.

CHAPTER XIX.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

THE discipline of the Church was originally very simple and confined to a few general rules. But as Christianity developed and grew into closer relationship with the general life of the world the process by which the transition was made from the temporal and pagan career to membership in the Church became more a matter of form and order. When Christianity began, and during the entire apostolic period, this transition was abrupt, and the formality of reception into the Church was a thing of a moment. The immediate reception into the Church of the converts at Pentecost was a type of the promptness with which large bodies of Christians were inducted into all the sanctities of Christian discipleship.[1] It was an age of miracle and sudden spiritual revolution. To train the child into the man was the later task of the Christian teacher. Paul's epistles abound in evidences of the immaturity of members of the Church, and some of the most serious dangers which threatened the Church in his day, and founded by his ministry, came from the want of proper and needful training of the members. Miracles, such as the gift of tongues, might produce a great number of conversions; but no miracle could compensate for the previous absence of Christian knowledge.

QUICK PROCESS OF INTRODUCTION INTO THE CHURCH IN FIRST PERIOD.

In the later period, when miraculous displays had entirely disappeared, the process of becoming a member of the Church, and, in case of apostasy, of returning to the Church, was more deliberate, and based upon a firmer and broader Christian knowledge. Much of the edification which in the early Church took place after formal connection with the Christian communion was carefully attended to in the patristic period before the public union with the Church. The Church had learned the value of deliberate and thorough training. When Christianity found a new man who had just laid off his paganism for the new faith, or, as the phrase of the time went, had "laid off the toga for the pallium," the candidate for the new life and the heavenly re-

THE LATER DELIBERATION.

[1] Comp. "The Open Door of the Church" in The Simplicity that is in Christ. Sermons by L. W. Bacon, N. Y., 1886, pp. 39–47.

ward was a complete blank. His ancestry, through all the generations, had been polytheistic. His own training and associations had never touched Christianity at any point. He had everything to learn. It was a wise measure, brought into use in this period, that when a man was elected a bishop he should give proof, by a public exercise, that he was possessed of sufficient Christian knowledge to administer the affairs of the Church with a skillful hand.

To meet this want of previous training, so that the church member might be able at once to lead a safe and strong life in fellowship with the Church, and to become a source of strength to the general body of believers, great care was taken with the catechumen. He was required to pass through a thorough discipline in Christian knowledge, though the time required for it varied with the country and the period. For some time no regular termination of the catechumenate was decided, large freedom being left to the particular church or the judgment of the episcopal patriarch and the provincial synod. Immediately on professing faith in Christ the preparation for baptism and uniting with the Church began. The fathers urged, with great energy, that no time be lost in this important matter, lest the old pagan life reappear, and there be a shipwreck of faith. The apostles baptized immediately on the profession of Christ, but the Church of the patristic period made the careful training of the candidate for church membership the substitute for immediate baptism.[1]

CARE OF THE CATECHUMEN.

There were three classes of catechumens—the hearers, the kneelers, and the candidates.[2] The hearers were permitted access to only the general services. They were allowed to hear the reading of the Scripture lessons and the sermon, but could not remain to partici-

[1] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, 2d ed., Regensburg, 1843, i, 242, ff.

[2] The ἀκροώμενοι, hearers; γονυκλίνοντες, kneelers; βαπτιζόμενοι, seekers, or immediate candidates for baptism. Bingham makes four classes of catechumens, and bases the fourth order on a canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea: "If any catechumen who enters the Church, and stands amongst any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin, if he be a kneeler, let him become a hearer, provided he sin no more; but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the Church." This fourth order, according to him, consists of those who were instructed before they entered the Church at all. His proof is not strong enough. This fourth order seems to be an incident, by way of penalty, rather than a regular class of catechumens. See Bingham, Works (Lond. ed., 1848), vol. iii, pp. 272, f. Rothe makes but three classes. See De Disciplinæ Arcani Origine, p. 13. Schaff says there were two classes, ii, p. 256. As Plumptre says, in Smith and Cheetham, i, p. 317, there was not strict uniformity in all sections of the Church.

pate in the prayers, and were formally dismissed at the close of the sermon by the words, "Let no hearer be present."[1] The kneelers, or prostrators, could not only hear the Scripture readings and the sermon, but remain afterward, and be present at the prayer of the imposition of hands,[2] or prayer for the special benefit of the catechumens.[3] Petitioners, or elect, constituted the most advanced class.[4] They had all the privileges of worship granted the two lower grades, but enjoyed the additional advantage of the bishop's special prayer for those about to be illuminated or baptized.[5] Their application was for baptism at the next public opportunity, which, in this period, was generally on Easter Sunday, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, or on Whitsunday, in memory of the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost. When the petition was accepted the names of the candidate and his sponsors were recorded in the diptych, or register.[6] After the registry there was careful examination, or "scrutiny," which covered a period of twenty days. The prayers of exorcism were performed during the same time, so that the three "fiery" exercises of catechizing, examination, and exorcism were combined as the last needful and solemn preparations for baptism and formal membership in the Church.[7]

THREE CLASSES OF THE CATECHUMENS.

With these exercises were united, for the twenty days preceding baptism, the further discipline of fasting, of learning the creed in use at the time, and, if not already learned, the Lord's Prayer. When the public baptism took place the enrollment of the catechumen, whose term of discipline had now expired, was now made among the members of the Church, and he was admitted to the eucharist and all other privileges of the Church. The time which elapsed between the beginning of the catechumenate and its completion varied in different times

THE PUBLIC BAPTISM.

[1] Ne quis audientium. For this order see Constitutt. Apostol., lib. viii, cap. 5 (Labbe, vol. i, p. 464, f.).

[2] Oratio impositionis manûs. [3] Κατηχουμένων εὐχή.

[4] Called *Competentes*, or Petitioners, because they had petitioned the bishop for baptism.

[5] βαπτιζομένων, or φωτιζομένων εὐχή. Comp. Bingham, vol. iii, p. 275. Funk maintains that there was only one class of catechumens, and that the φωτιζόμενοι, or *competentes* were reckoned among the faithful. But the ancient Church was much given to making arbitrary and refined distinctions among both the clergy and laity. Die Katechumenats-Classen des christl. Alterthums, in Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift, 1883, pp. 41–77.

[6] Διπτυχαζώντων.

[7] Augustine, in Psalm lxv. Et in sacramentis et in catechizando et in exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. . . . Post ignem autem exorcismi venitur ad baptismum, ut ab igne ad aquam, ab aqua in refrigerium.

and places. The more rigorous view prevailed at the beginning of the period of persecution, but toward the close of it there was a manifest disposition to abridge the time. The Apostolical Constitutions fixed three years as the needful period, while, according to the synod of Elvira, two years were defined as the proper limit. The synod of Agde shortened this period to eight months.[1]

TREATMENT OF PENITENT APOSTATES.

The treatment of apostates, or the fallen, was a far more complicated discipline than the care of the candidates for membership. It was a period when the temptations to apostasy were great, and when great harm to the Church was caused by a single defection. Christianity had not gained its full recognition. It had its serious doubters, and whenever a member proved false to it the disaster was justly regarded as of grave and far-reaching character. No forbearance or patience was shown toward one who manifested an unrepentant spirit. His act of infidelity to the Church was held to be a crime against the visible body of Christ, for which only the most public and immediate punishment of expulsion was a moderate penalty. Toward apostates who exhibited a penitent spirit, and wished to return to the Church, there was also a severe and rigorous attitude in every part of the Church, both Eastern and Western.

SEVERE VIEWS OF PROPER TREATMENT OF APOSTATES.

The proper treatment of apostates was not only the ground of the most violent controversy of this whole period, but it developed the most elaborate and complicated department of the discipline of the Church. The Church was not divided into mild and severe tendencies. Compared with the later times, and with our own days, all the views were severe and harsh in the extreme, and the difference in them was only that of degree. The penitent, however deep his contrition, had no hope of an early restoration. He had violated his pledges and brought shame upon Christianity in the presence of its violent adversaries, and he knew that the ordeal of return would be long and intricate. In some portions of the period of the predominance of this severer view of apostasy, the time of penitence, before full restoration could take place, lasted many years. In others, where men about to suffer martyrdom commended penitents to the mercy of the Church, the period was much shorter. In the African Church a great mass of apostates secured letters of peace from men suffering

[1] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, i, 243, ff. See also Mayer, Geschichte des Katechumenats und der Katechese in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten, Kempten, 1866; Weiss, A., Die alt-kirchliche Pädagogik dargestellt in Katechumenat und Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrhunderte, Freiburg, 1869; Bingham, book x.

martyrdom, and with these as authority they boldly demanded admission to the Church, without any repentance or going through any of the stages for return. One man, Lucian, boldly declared, on behalf of himself and other confessors, that he had granted peace to all apostates in North Africa, and had declared their sins absolved, and Cyprian, in a weak moment, cried aloud that the Church must, forsooth, keep peace with the martyrs.[1]

There were two classes of sins, the venial and the mortal, and the stages of penitence were determined by the gravity of the offense and the thoroughness of the repentance. In the East more mildness was shown toward penitents than in the West, with the single exception of Rome. In North Africa and Spain those who had been guilty of adultery, murder, and other mortal sins could never be fully restored to the privileges of Church membership. When a penitent suffered martyrdom the triumphant mode of his death was regarded as equivalent to a completion of his penitential life.

VENIAL AND MORTAL SINS.

The classification of penitents occurred about the middle of the third century.[2] Of the hearers, as a distinct order of penitents, we have no knowledge until the time of the Novatian schism. When the discipline of the Church for penitents was fully developed, which was in the latter half of the third century, there were four classes. The mourners were not permitted to enter the church. Clothed in coarse and ragged attire, and covered with ashes, they cast themselves down upon the ground, in front of the church, and implored the passing presbyters and members to have compassion upon them, and pray to heaven for their forgiveness.[3] When Ecebolius, a sophist who had apostatized under Julian, wished to return to the Church in the reign of Jovian, his first step was to approach the church, and, falling upon his face, he cried out, "Tread me under foot, as salt without savor."[4] The mourner was simply a petitioner for mercy, an applicant for the privilege of further penitential discipline. When his request was granted he was elevated to the rank of a hearer. He might now enter the church, but must remain in the part nearest the door.[5] He could listen to the Scripture readings and the sermon, but was dismissed, with the catechumens of

CLASSIFICATION OF PENITENTS.

[1] Döllinger, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, i, p. 284.

[2] Cardinal Bona. De Reb. Liturgic. (Antwerp), lib. i, cap. xvii, § iii.

[3] Tertullian, De Pœnit., cap. ix.

[4] Bingham, Works, vol. vi, p. 448. See also the case of Natalis, who prostrated himself at the feet of the bishop Zephyrinus, p. 449.

[5] Gregor. Thaumat., cap. xi (Labbe, vol. i, p. 841).

the same class, immediately after the sermon. Having continued a satisfactory period in this class, the hearer became a kneeler. He could now advance up the nave of the church and take his place near the ambo or reading desk and hear the sermon, and have the benefit of the special prayers for penitents after the sermon.[1]

The final class of penitents consisted of the costanders. They could now proceed farther up the nave of the church, stand before the altar with those who had never forfeited their right of membership, and join in all the prayers of the public service. They had the privilege of witnessing the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but were not permitted, until fully restored, to participate in its observance. During this entire period of discipline every penitent was required to give practical proof of sincerity by abstaining from diversions of every kind, by observing all the public fasts of the Church, by giving liberally toward the support of the poor, and by assisting in burying the dead.[2] Having completed this course, remaining in each class at least one year, and often more, in proportion to the gravity of the offense, the penitent was publicly restored to membership, at the altar, during the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by the prayer of absolution and reconciliation, and by the imposition of hands by the bishop, as a necessity, and by the presbyter and deacon as a matter of usage.

PROOF OF SINCERITY MUST BE GIVEN DURING PERIOD OF PENITENCE.

After the Decian persecution and the Novatian schism a special presbyter was appointed, more largely in the Eastern than the Western Churches, to supervise the penitents during all the stages of their restoration and in this respect to do much of the work formerly performed by the bishop. He was called the penitential presbyter,[3] and it was his office to give instruction to the penitent, to see that the order of the Church was faithfully carried out, that the bishop was duly notified of the progress made by the penitent, and that a time was fixed for public restoration. This early officer in the Church has been wrongly supposed to be the warrant for the modern confessional. The penitential presbyter, on the contrary, had none of the functions of the confessor. His duty was to hear and advise, but in no case to receive private confession, or order penance, or grant absolution, apart from public discipline.[4] He was the representative of the Church, to give private instruction, and to see that

PRESBYTER APPOINTED FOR SPECIAL CARE OF PENITENTS.

[1] For the forms of these prayers, see Bingham, Works, vol. iv, pp. 634, ff.

[2] Bingham, Works, vol. vi, pp. 447 ff.

[3] Πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, or, Presbyter Pœnitentiarius.

[4] Bingham, Works, vol. vi, p. 492 (book xviii, ch. iii, §§ 11, 12).

the public law was observed by the individual penitent. He could in no case hear confession, with a view to obtaining divine favor, but only to meet his obligations to the Church.[1] For various reasons, probably because the committing of the penitents to the care of any one presbyter might have a disintegrating force in the society, the office of penitential presbyter was abolished in Constantinople in the year 390. From this, as a beginning, the Church gradually ceased to make use of it, until the later revival of it, in a corrupted form, in the institution of the confessional.[2]

[1] Coleman, The Antiquities of the Christian Church. Andover, 1841, p. 346.

[2] See Hooker, Eccl. Polit., book vi, ch. iv, §§ 8-18, in Works, ed. Keble, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 41-58; Smith and Cheetham, art. Penitentiary.

CHAPTER XX.

SACRED SEASONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE festal cycle of the patristic period was of tardy development, and each fixed addition was achieved after heated discussion. The Christians who had entered the Church from paganism brought with them no sympathies with festivals of any kind. Their alienation from the old faith was complete. But with the Christians who had been Jews the case was entirely different. He was a wise man who knew just when and where the Jew ceased and the Christian began. Whatever change of nature may have taken place, the Jewish Christian was very slow to renounce the sacred memories of his early faith. He had still his Scriptures, and why might not his former faith, at least its liturgical and festal department, be still in large measure retained? The pagan Christian at once admitted the festal and sacred seasons, but was not willing to accept dictation from his Jewish brother as to the duration and definition of them.

JEWISH CHRISTIANS' TENACITY FOR THE OLD FESTIVALS.

There were two classes of sacred and festal days, the weekly and the yearly. The assembling for worship on the first day, in memory of the resurrection of our Lord, began in the apostolic times, but afterward became definite and universal. The Jewish Christians worshiped on both the seventh and the first days, thus accommodating themselves both to their former faith and to the now rapidly growing use of the first day as the real Sabbath. The pagan Christian never used the Jewish Sabbath, but regarded it as abrogated by their adoption of the first day, which was of higher significance and a more joyful memory. Barnabas, Ignatius,[1] and Justin[2] furnish positive proof of the substitution of the first for the seventh day, and give the full reasons for the change. "Therefore," says Barnabas, "we spend the first day in joy, for on this day our Lord rose from the dead."[3]

WEEKLY AND YEARLY SACRED AND FESTAL DAYS.

[1] Ad Magnesios, cap. ix.

[2] Apologia i, cap. 67. See also Dial. c. Tryph., 12, 19, 27.

[3] Cap. 15. This epistle was not written by Barnabas, the companion of Paul. "To-day we kept the Lord's day holy, in which we read your letter," says Dionysius of Corinth, A. D. 170. Eusebius, H. E., iv, 23. The best discussion of the ecclesiastical and historical aspects of Sunday is Hessey, Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligation, Bampton Lectures for 1860,

Fasting, with all other signs of sorrow, was not regarded as an essential part of the observance of the day. Its hours were to pass in holy exercises, of which joy was to be the chief element, because of the great gift to the world of our Lord's resurrection. All labor was to cease; no mental anxiety was regarded as proper. It was the Lord's Day, the eighth day, the day of the sun.[1]

TWO OTHER DAYS MORE THAN SECULAR.

Two other days were likewise regarded as more than secular, and were used as reminders of the culminating scenes in the life of Christ. On Wednesday and Friday the Christians of this period met for worship, not of the joyful type of the Sunday service, but simpler, and closing at three in the afternoon, and connected with fasting and penitential exercises. The Wednesday service was in commemoration of the Jewish council for the arrest of our Lord, while the Friday service was in memory of his death. These days, the fourth and sixth of the week, were called days of stations, a military term, as a reminder that the Christian is a soldier, and must be on his guard against the enemies of Christ.[2]

THE YEARLY FESTIVALS.

The yearly festivals were Christian adaptations to the Jewish festivals. They were a continuation of the great annual days which recalled the most signal events in the history of the Hebrew people, but with the new sacred associations that grew out of the redeeming work of Christ. The most important was the passover. First, signifying the festal commemoration of the sparing of the firstborn in Egypt,[3] and, in the Christian sense, the memorial celebration of the death of Christ, it became a source of serious and lengthy controversy. The Eastern Christians, following the example of the Jewish Christians, took the fourteenth day after the new moon as the day when the great fast should cease and the paschal meal be taken, while the Christians

5th ed., enlarged, Lond., 1889. Zahn, in Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche, Erlangen, 1895, expresses the sentiments of scholars when he says that the primitive Church "never thought of regarding Sunday as the continuation of the Jewish Sabbath, and never called it Sabbath," but uniformly celebrated it as a day of joy, as the weekly recurrence of the festival of the resurrection of Christ. See also Schaff, last ed., ii, 201–204; Neander, i, 296–297, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, ed. Robinson, pp. 158–160; and especially Hotham, in Smith and Cheetham, art. Lord's Day.

[1] That the term Sunday is not derived from a heathen word, but has its origin in the usage of the early Church, we may refer to Justin, Apol. i, cap. 67, where it is called "the day of the sun"—ἡ ἡλίου ἡμέρα. See also Tertul., Apol., cap. 16.

[2] Tertullian says: Statio de militari nomen accepit, nam et militia dei sumus. De Orat., cap. 19. Comp. Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 188, ff.

[3] Exod. xii, 27.

in the West fasted until Sunday. The question of fasting a few hours divided the entire Church. Synods were called, each to promote an interest, through the territory extending from Gaul to Pontus. These synods declared uniformly for the longer time. The Eastern Christians were less organized, and had the disadvantage of being quoted as sympathizers with ancient Judaism. Their view was rejected, and throughout the Western Church there was uniformity, with a growing indorsement of the longer time in the Eastern Church. The Roman Bishop Victor refused to acknowledge as Christians all who sympathized with the Eastern view, and excommunicated them.[1] They now became a recognized class of schismatics, known as the Quartodecimani. Their principal home was in Asia Minor and proconsular Africa.

PENTECOST, EPIPHANY, AND CHRISTMAS.

Pentecost, one of the three great festal days of the Jews, was likewise transferred to the Christian Church. While its former significance remained, combining a thankful commemoration of harvest and the gift of the law on Sinai, in the new Christian calendar it was a commemoration of the outpouring of the Spirit after the ascension of our Lord. Epiphany became a holy day in the Christian calendar in the latter half of the fourth century. The first definite trace we have of its observance is in the year 360. The Christmas celebration does not appear to have been thought of, either in the Eastern or Western part of the Church.[2]

REVERENCE FOR MARTYRS.

The reverence in which the martyrs were held led to an undue attachment to the scene and day of their death. By a happy thought the day of a martyr's death was called his birthday.[3] The places where the martyrs had died were regarded with a holy awe. Processions, in more peaceful times, were made to them, churches were erected in memory of them, and the days on which they suffered martyrdom were added to the sacred memorials of the Church. On the anniversary days the services in the church located within the sphere of influence of a martyr were largely devoted to recalling his services and character.

[1] For this wanton exercise of usurped prerogative the Eastern bishops, and even Irenæus, in the name of the Christians in Gaul, rebuked Victor. See Eusebius, H. E., v, 24.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, i, 21, says that some had calculated the date of Christ's birth, but he does not say that it was observed, although he does say, in the same passage, that the followers of Basilides "hold the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the night before in readings." In the fourth or fifth centuries, however, Christmas was widely observed, not so much as the day of Christ's birth, as the day on which God manifested his divinity among men.

[3] Ἡμέρα γενέθλιος.

Whatever view was held by a teacher as to the existence of an intermediate state of the dead, the martyr was never regarded as having any need of a purifying process. His death blotted out his sins. It was the baptism of blood,[1] and, in case the ecclesiastical baptism had not been administered, it served as an ample substitute for it. His bliss was not to be postponed. None doubted that his crown would be given him immediately after ascending from the battlefields of earth.

THE LORD'S SUPPER ON MEMORIAL DAYS.

On the memorial days of martyrs the Lord's Supper was celebrated with a view to continued fellowship with them, and until Augustine's day prayer was offered for them.[2] It was called an oblation, or sacrifice, for martyrs,[3] and, with this term in frequent use, and with the lofty panegyrics on the martyrs, and the lengthy services in memory of them, it need occasion no surprise that both Jews and pagans should charge the Christians with elevating them to a rank equal to Christ.

IN MEMORY OF POLYCARP.

The extreme reverence for a martyr's memory was nowhere more clearly seen, at this early day, than in the conduct of the Smyrna Christians in relation to the death of their local bishop, Polycarp. Probably because of the criticism of enemies the society of that city wrote a circular epistle in explanation of their conduct, in which they said: "We pray to Christ as the Son of God, but we love the martyrs because of their unsurpassable love of their Lord, and we wish to be, in this respect, their companions and fellow-disciples. . . . We took his [Polycarp's] bones, which are more precious than silver and gold, and deposited them in a fitting place. God will grant that we gather them together, in joy and thanksgiving, and celebrate the birthday festival of his martyrdom, in memory of the departed soldiers, and for the discipline and equipment of those who are still engaged in the conflict."[4]

It must be remembered, however, that these memorial services were no part of the general order of the Church. They grew out of the fame and merit of the servant of the Church who had suffered martyrdom sooner than renounce his Christianity. The disposition to preserve the memory of such a career was natural, and, in some cases, adapted to promote the heroic Christian life in a

[1] Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 198, f.

[2] Oblationes pro defunctis annua die facimus. Tertul., De Coron. On the universal custom of prayers for the dead in the ancient Church, see Luckock, After Death, Lond., 3d ed., 1881; Lee, Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed, Lond., 1872, new ed., with copious notes and appendices, 1875; Schaff, new ed., ii, 608–606.

[3] Sacrificium pro martyribus.

[4] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., 4, 15.

time when firmness was most needed. The pagan life abounded in reminders of departed leaders in every field of thought and activity. The public squares, the larger buildings, the homes, the temples, the great streets, the country highways, presented busts and colossal statues of the greatest characters, carved in the highest art, and crowned on their anniversary days with laurel, and honored by the march of great processions and memorial days, and panegyrics pronounced by the best orators of the land. These, no doubt, had their effect on the Christians. When their heroes, who had given their life for their faith, had gone from them, it was an excusable impulse, arising from the very nature of humanity, to preserve their memory by special services and realistic attachment to the place of the martyr's death. That this usage should develop into the lengthy martyrology of the Roman Catholic Church, the superstitious veneration for real relics and the wild search for imaginary ones, came from a want of wise and discriminate care in the direction of it. What at the outset was free from objection, and even wholesome, became a fruitful source of error. The most of the great errors into which the Church has fallen are only the perversion of what at the beginning were the inspirations of great and pure minds.

MEMORIAL SERVICES A NATURAL RESULT OF THE HEROIC LIFE AND DEATH OF MARTYRS.

The Christians possessed no definite place for religious services. During the persecutions they assembled in private houses, grottoes, prisons, and the catacombs, and in more peaceful times in public inns and rude temporary structures. Toward the end of the second century they first began to build special edifices for worship, and, during the longer intervals of peace, especially between the Valerian and Diocletian persecutions, their churches were capacious and not devoid of taste and architectural finish. There was a careful avoidance at the beginning of all imitation of the pagan temple. The type of the first Christian churches was the basilica (or Roman hall of justice), the private dwelling house, and the schola (or school, or club room). It was called the Lord's house, the house of prayer, and the house of the Church;[1] and it was only after Christianity became the State religion, and the temples became churches, that the word temple was applied to the sacred buildings of Christians. Great variety of opinion exists as to the derivation, architecturally, of the first churches. The general opinion is that they were derived from the Roman basilica.[2] Lange, of Halle,[3] advocated their der-

CHRISTIANS HAD AT FIRST NO REGULAR PLACE OF WORSHIP.

[1] Κυριακόν, προσευκτήριον, οἶκος ἐκκλησίας.

[2] See Standard Dictionary, N. Y., 1894, *Basilica*.

[3] Haus und Halle, Leipz., 1885.

ivation from the schola, and this view is adopted, with modifications, in the able work of G. B. Brown.[1] Brown "considers it a settled result of recent research that the whole procedure of heathen funeral colleges was adopted, with certain obvious modifications, by the Christians, and that, under the cover of the privileges granted such corporations, the Church held cemeteries as its first real estate; while mortuary chapels and the large room of the burial club became the first models for Christian architecture."[2] Dehio traced many resemblances to the dwelling house.[3] There is no doubt that Christian architecture was the outgrowth of many elements. Bennett, who treated this matter with great discrimination, reviews the different theories; and his own view no doubt expresses as nearly as possible the exact facts of the case: "The ordinary private dwelling house, the triclinia of the more elegant houses of the nobler families that had embraced Christianity, the lodge rooms, the cellæ of the burial chapels, and the imposing interior arrangement of colonnades in the heathen law basilicas, are the sources whence are derived the forms which, under the fostering and inspiring spirit of the new religion during periods of toleration and peace, were developed into a distinctively Christian architecture, whose chief characteristics continued for a thousand years."[4] Alexander Nesbitt derives the first church from the Roman basilica, and gives an admirable account of the development of ecclesiastical architecture.[5] The architecture of these first churches was extremely simple, and gave no promise of the subsequent splendor of the basilica and the cathedral. The interior arrangement consisted of three parts—the vestibule, the nave, and the choir. Entering from the vestibule into the nave, the worshiper found himself in that part of the church to which the congregation were admitted, where the pulpit was erected from which the Scriptures were read and the sermons preached. In some churches it was less the habit to use a pulpit than to stand upon the altar steps. The clergy alone were permitted access to the choir, which corresponded to the holy of holies of the Jewish temple.[6] It was sometimes separated from the nave by a lattice, or railing,[7] and curtains, and was elevated above the nave. Here, in the center, was the wooden table bearing the symbols of our Lord's death, while, in the rear,

[1] From Schola to Cathedral, Edinb., 1886.

[2] See H. M. Scott, in Current Discussions in Theology, iv, 150–152, and De Witt, in the Presbyterian Review, 1886, p. 753.

[3] Die Genesis der christlichen Basilika, Münch., 1888.

[4] Christian Archæology, N. Y., 1888, ch. vi, pp. 183, 184.

[5] In art. "Church," Smith and Cheetham.

[6] Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, p. 184, f. [7] Cancelli.

following the semicircular wall, were the seats of the clergy, and the cathedra, or raised seat of the bishop.[1]

There was no ornamentation in the building or display in the worship. A simple severity ruled everywhere, such as has never reappeared in the later history of the Church, except in the Protestants of France and Scotland and the first generation of Puritans in the New England colony. As the Independents of the Cromwellian period, when organizing their ecclesiastical life, avoided the very nomenclature of the Established Church as an imitation of Roman excesses, so the Christians of the second and third centuries, when ordering their services and building their churches, shunned every name which the pagans had used for their sacred buildings and vessels and services. They would have no reminder of the pit whence they had been digged. They would never call their church a shrine or fane,[2] for these were the pagan words for the temple of idolatry; nor would they at first call their table in the choir an altar, but the sacred table, lest, amid the sublime sanctities of the eucharist, there might arise some recollection of the profanities of the former pagan life, and their thought be diverted from the memorials of Calvary and Gethsemane.

SIMPLICITY OF THE PLACE OF WORSHIP.

HESITATION TO USE PAGAN TERMS.

This sensitiveness, however, soon disappeared, for we find Eusebius, Lactantius, and other early writers calling the church by the heathen names of *vaός, templum;* and the most common name for the sacramental table in the whole ancient Latin literature is *altare,* a high altar, the Vulgate equivalent of *θυσιαστήριον,* the sacrificial altar, which is itself used by Eusebius to describe the altar of the great church of Tyre.[3] The Church did not hesitate to use sacrificial and heathen terms. The Greek Fathers and the Greek liturgies commonly kept to the more exact word, *τράπεζα,* table.[4]

THE SENSITIVENESS SOON DISAPPEARED.

No images were used. The words of Clement of Alexandria express the sentiment of his age, in both the East and the West: "The custom of daily looking on the representation of the Divine Being desecrates his dignity." The council of Elvira, in the year

[1] The first description of a church is by Eusebius, H. E., x, 4, the basilica of Tyre. He describes others in his Life of Constantine, iii, 30–39, 41–43, 48, 50, 51–53, 58; iv, 58. Bingham, Antiquities, book viii, ch. iii, gives full descriptions. See art. "Basilika," in Kraus, Real-Encyclopädie der christ. Alterthümer.

[2] Delubrum, or fanum. [3] H. E., x, 4.

[4] Cheetham, art. Altar, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christian Antiquities; Bingham, book viii, ch. vi, § 12, where, in the later editions, the original passages are cited.

305, declared positively against all pictures or images in the churches.[1] The time had not as yet arrived when Christian art was employed to clothe with ethereal beauty the features of our Lord. In those severer days he was universally regarded as of the homely visage attributed to him in prophecy,[2] and it is a quaint fancy of Tertullian that Jesus could never have been despised of men, and have suffered for our redemption, if in his own person he had manifested his heavenly glory.[3] Clement of Alexandria declared that our Lord's face possessed no beauty,[4] and Origen held that his whole body was repulsive,[5] and Lactantius, in the simplicity and force of his argument, excels all the fathers when he says, "Since God himself has appeared in the flesh we need no image of him."[6] While the Roman Church, in later days, surrounded his presence with all the grace and charm and harmony that we see in the masterpieces of Giotto and his successors, the Eastern Church has never passed from its original conception of the plain countenance of our Lord. In the Græco-Russian Church of to-day, whether amid the splendors of the Cathedral of St. Isaac, in St. Petersburg, or in the now ancient Church of the Transfiguration, or the Kremlin, in Moscow, it is the same sad and austere countenance, to which no glow has come from Christian art in its ecstatic and creative moods.[7]

NO IMAGES USED IN EARLY CHURCH.

Minucius Felix, in his Octavius, presents a beautiful contrast between the simplicity of Christian worship and the sacred objects of the Christians and the ostentatious service of the pagan temple, with its vast wealth of sacred furniture. "Do you think," he asks of the pagans, "that we conceal the objects of our worship because we possess no shrines and altars? What sort of an image shall we make of God, since man himself is in the likeness of God? Shall I build a temple in which to place him, when the whole world, which he himself has created, is not large enough to contain him? Shall I make to him an offering of what he gave me for my own use, so that I throw back at his feet the gift he has made me? That were a proof of ingratitude. The pure thought—the clean conscience—that is the

SIMPLICITY OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP CONTRASTED WITH THE PAGAN.

[1] Can. 36: Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoretur, in parietibus depingatur.

[2] Isa. liii, 2, 3. Comp. Tertullian, Adv. Judæos, cap. 14.

[3] De carne Christi, cap. 9.

[4] Αἰσχρός. Pædagogus, 3, 1.

[5] Ἀνοσιδές. Contra Celsum, lib. 6.

[6] Div. Instit., 2, 2.

[7] For descriptions of the physical appearance of Jesus, see McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, ii, 262; iv, 884; v, 849; Farrar, Life of Christ, i, 149–151, 464, 465; Geikie, Life of Christ, i, 451–457.

offering acceptable to God. . . . Our God, whom we worship, we neither show to others nor see ourselves."[1]

NO ARTIFICIAL LIGHTS IN DAYTIME IN EARLY PERIOD.

No lights burned as yet in the daytime in the Christian churches. It would have been regarded as an inexcusable display amid a sacred environment, but, more than all else, an accommodation to the corrupt pagan worship. The burning of the little ornamental lamps in the church would have reminded the Christian immediately of the ever-burning lights of the pagan temples, with all their vast array of false worship, soothsaying, and incantation, and those darker ceremonies connected with the observance of the mysteries. Lactantius wrote a scathing rebuke of the pagans for burning lamps in broad daylight.[2] Those were the simpler and clearer days. In the later period, in proportion as the mind of the Church became darker, recourse was had to tapers and lamps, whose dim and steady flame was supposed to contribute to the awe and devotion of the worshiper. "Through all the churches of the East," says St. Jerome, "when the Gospel is to be read, lights are kindled, though the sun is already shining; not, indeed, to expel darkness, but to exhibit a token of joy; . . . and that under the figure of bodily light that light may be set forth of which we read in the Psalter, 'Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.'"[3]

JUSTIN ON THE ORDER OF SERVICE.

The worship was in harmony with the simple and severe place in which it was conducted. Justin's description of the order of service applies to the simplest period of the patristic age, or the former half of the second century. "On Sunday," he says, "Christians come together from the city and the country. Here are read the narratives of the apostles or the writings of the prophets. When the reader has concluded the presbyter makes an address, in which he urges his hearers to imitate the virtues described in the passages just read. Then all stand up and pray. After the conclusion of the prayer each gives the other the brother's kiss, and bread, wine, and water are brought out. The presbyter now offers prayer and thanksgiving, as he is able, and the people unite with him, and cry, 'Amen.' Then the elements are distributed to all who are present, and are taken by the deacons to the absent."[4] In Rome, Spain, and Alexandria the

[1] xxxii.

[2] Div. Institt., 6, 2.

[3] From the fourth century lamps were placed in churches, and at their lighting special prayers were said, the *psalmi* and *preces lucernales*. See Scudamore on The Ceremonial Use of Lights, and Hotham on Lighting of Lamps, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 926, 927, 998–998. Scudamore gives much information on some interesting phases of the early Church cultus.

[4] Apol. ad Antoninum Pium, lxvii.

eucharist was administered at every Sunday service down to the end of the fourth century, but after that time there was a disposition to regard the semiannual, or even annual, observance as more fitting.[1]

The singing was simple, and modeled after the Jewish psalmody. The lower clergy were almost universally the precentors, for the singing of the congregation was regarded as such an integral part of the divine service that only clerical officers should direct it.[2] The music was at no time, and in no place, regarded as the prerogative of the singers. That only was held to be sacred music which the congregation could participate in, either responsively or continuously. The two churches most noted for sacred music in the early period were Antioch in Syria, and the Italian Church of Milan, where Ambrose created the later psalmody of the Western Church.[3] The music of the Church was at first simple, but to the old melodies were now added new words, which in many instances found their way into the public services, and had a tendency to displace the older psalmody.

SACRED MUSIC.

With the change of Christianity from a depressed and forbidden faith to the religion of the whole Roman empire there took place a sudden revolution in the entire service of the Church, not less than in sacred buildings in which it was conducted. The transition was so sudden as to paralyze every power. One of the greatest proofs of the divine origin and nature of Christianity lies in the fact that it had power enough to survive the transition from martyrdom to the throne. The Churches soon adopted an elaborate ceremonial. The hymns of Ephraem the Syrian, of Hilary of Pictavium, and of Sedulius, showed traces of the artificiality which now disturbed every factor in the service of the Church. The bombastic rhetoric which had ruled in the Roman world since the death of Cicero was now introduced into the Christian pulpit, and the congregation burst forth in applause extravagant enough for a welcome to a chief returning from the conquest of a new province. The assertion of the secular spirit was prompt and thorough. Nothing more was needed, after the Constantinian period had well begun, than for controversy and superstition to join hands in bringing in that long torpor which Luther and his coadjutors were the first to disturb.

REVOLUTION IN THE SIMPLICITY OF THE EARLY WORSHIP.

[1] Basil M., Ep. 93. Chrys., in II Cor. Hom., 18. Leo M., Serm. 41.

[2] Conc. Laodic., Can. 15. Comp. Jacobi, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, pp. 262, ff.

[3] Hahn, Gesang in den syrischen Kirchen, in Kirchenhistor. Archiv., iii, 1823.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND USAGES.

AN irresistible prominence was given to Christianity by the efforts made to suppress it. The logic of the general mind assumed the form of a question: How can that be a mere superstition which Jew and pagan from without, and schismatics within, have been unable to dissipate? When this period drew toward its close, and the new religion displaced the old as the faith of the empire, an answer to such an inquiry was no longer necessary. The great world of humanity worships the existing and the palpable. When it became clear that Christianity was in the ascendant, the multitude who had stood aloof from the conflict between the Church and its adversaries now approached it and looked upon it with quiet favor, and concluded that because it had endured it had proved its right to be. It was a new attitude in which the average mind of the Roman world placed itself at the close of the third century and the beginning of the fourth, but it was a necessity of the new conditions.

THE APPROACH OF THE PEOPLE TO THE CHURCH.

Of the causes which brought about this revolution the force of the life of Christians upon their pagan environment must take its place in the front rank. Had there been a serious defect here neither the marvelous literary fertility of the Christian writers, nor the zeal of the missionaries, nor the eloquence of the preachers, nor the organizing power of its Roman bishops would have secured it an open way to success. That new system which fails to elevate the life of its lowly believers and purify the atmosphere of their thought and feeling, and make their far future attractive through the intervening mists, fails in all things. It was clear that Christianity was making homes happy and lifting its firm adherents so far above the low plane of the pagan world that suffering had little effect upon them. When a persecution had done its utmost in banishment, confiscation, and martyrdom, not a year of repose passed before the numbers seemed as large as ever, and every department of ecclesiastical activity was cultivated and developed with renewed vigor. Christians seemed never to die. If one pure and brave leader was put to death, and the Roman proconsul breathed more freely, and a new

THE GREAT CAUSES OF THE POPULAR LOVE OF THE CHURCH.

statue was erected in the neighboring grove to the ruling emperor, Christians met on the spot where their martyr died, and sang songs of gladness over his birth into another and larger life.

This effect of Christianity upon the life of the people through what they saw in the Christian life about them was not the simple and reserved thing which it had been in the apostolic times. It was then a retired force in society. But in the following age it came out from its seclusion, it accepted the gage of battle in defense of its existence; and it was now, at the close of its contested youth, the triumphant and sole occupant of the field of combat. During this progress from obscurity to publicity and universal triumph the charities of Christianity were prompt and generous. Paul's example of collections in Asia Minor for the poor in Palestine was followed by his successors in every part of Christendom. No cry for help was unheeded. The charity which we see to-day when fire or flood or famine bears heavily upon some American town, and ready hands are found in the distant churches to restore the lost, was universal in the patristic times.[1] The fact of a persecution was enough to open the treasures of heart and money a thousand miles away. When Cyprian saw that the Numidian Christians were not able to pay the required ransom of their captive brethren he took a large collection in Carthage for that purpose and sent it to them with that letter which was a beautiful commentary on Paul's portraiture of charity. The weak rural societies connected with the Carthaginian Church joined in the same work of redeeming captive Christians. Dionysius of Corinth lauded the Roman society as the helper of Christians, without distinction, from its very origin.[2] Dionysius of Alexandria, in his letter to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, pays the same tribute. Basil of Cappadocia wrote to Rome a letter of thanks for money sent to him to redeem captive Christians from their barbarous foes.[3] The picture which Demetrius drew of the sacrifice of the Christians, in contrast with the timidity and selfishness of the pagans, during a pestilence in Alexandria, was a truthful expression of the attitude of each class during the whole period.[4] What Cyprian said in strong epigram became a rule of Christian action: "The poor should live from your superfluity; the needy from your wealth."[5]

THE PUBLIC TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY.

UNIVERSAL SYMPATHY WITH THE WEAK AND PERSECUTED.

The oblations which were first offered upon the Christian altars were simple, consisting chiefly of the bread and wine used in the

[1] Brace, Gesta Christi, 4th ed., pp. 101–103. [2] Epist. 60.
[3] Epist. 70, ad Damasum. [4] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vii, 22.
[5] De Habitu Virginum, cap. 8.

Lord's Supper, but these increased to such an extent as to comprise honey, milk, grapes, and the firstlings of all fruits and harvests, which were afterward given to the poor. There was not an hour in the history of Christianity when the Church was so rich as to possess no poor or when the poor were without friends. The memorial days of the martyrs were especially fruitful of these gifts.[1] They were brought to the place of worship in great quantities, and from there distributed to the most needy. Beneficence was encouraged as a religious necessity, not only for the poor, but for the regular support of the Church. In every place of worship, however small, there was a box,[2] where all worshipers deposited their offerings. Tertullian relates that each one was expected to contribute at least every month,[3] but the Apostolical Constitutions taught that the Christian must make his offering to the Church treasury every Sunday,[4] while Cyprian laid down the rule that he who does not give of his substance every Sunday for the support of the Gospel desecrates the holy day.[5]

SPECIAL MEASURES TO COLLECT MONEY FOR THE POOR.

In addition to these voluntary contributions, which were deposited in a common receptacle by the donor, was the regular collection,[6] which was gathered at each service before the reading of the Scripture lessons, taken in hand by the deacons and deposited in the sacristy.[7] These gifts were of various kinds, and consisted, not of money alone, but of produce or wares or whatever the worshiper may have seen fit to bring with him.[8] Even at this early time many wealthy pagans, on becoming Christians, sold the most of their property and presented the proceeds to the Church for the benefit of the poor or for the evangelization of distant countries.[9] It is not likely that any churches at this period were wealthy. Not only was there as yet no disposition to amass means, but it would have been a source of constant danger

THE REGULAR COLLECTION FOR THE POOR.

[1] Denique et dies illorum, quibus exudunt annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus . . . et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum. Cyprian, Ep. 37.

[2] Called by Cyprian *corban;* by the Apostolical Constitutions, *corbona;* by the Council of Elvira, *concha;* and by Tertullian, *arca.* For full information, see Uhlhorn, Christian Charity in the Ancient Church, pp. 141, ff.

[3] Apolog., cap. 39. [4] iii, 36.

[5] De Op. et Eleem., cap. 14. [6] Συλλογή.

[7] Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege (Freiburg im B., 1868), pp. 89, ff.

[8] Moreau-Christophe, Du Probleme de la Misère et de sa Solution chez les Peuples Anciens et Modernes (Paris, 1851), vol. iii, pp. 222, ff.

[9] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., cap. 3, 37; Tertullian, Adv. Marcion., iv, 4, and De Præscript. Hær., cap. 30.

from avaricious civil officers[1] and a still more dangerous class with whom paganism was a chief ground of hostility. In the East a fixed sum, or the tithe, was held by some to be the proper standard of annual beneficence. Here the Jewish example was largely responsible for a plan, and yet, while Origen approves this proportion of property for religious uses, he is careful to say that he speaks only for himself.[2] In the Western Church there was no standard. The stronger teachers opposed any fixed measure by saying that it was an excellence of Christianity above Judaism that, under the former, the Lord required all that could be spared.[3]

The bishop was regarded as having a special care of all the needy. The deacons were not supposed to originate charity, but to carry out the instructions of the society and the bishop and presbyters.[4] Great care was taken to ascertain the worthy poor, for even in the first centuries of Christianity, as in the later, great skill was employed to deceive the officers of the Church and secure to unworthy hands its gifts designed for only the meritorious. The deacon was required to keep a careful record, in a special book (the matricula), of the names of all who received aid from the Church and the amount of the benefactions.[5] Special care was taken to provide help for families so large that the parents were not able to secure their entire support.

PAINS TAKEN TO FIND OUT THE WORTHY POOR.

Slaves were never forgotten. Paul had given a cautious teaching on their proper relation to the master. He did not advise a violent sundering of the bond, but encouraged contentment with the subjection, on the one hand, and the feeling of fraternal love toward the slave, on the other. In the patristic period there was no disposition to enforce a different construction of the relation of master and slave. Such a measure would have been regarded as revolutionary, a charge which the Christians were always careful to avoid. But the Church had a definite policy toward slavery. It was that where the slaves remained in bondage they should be treated with Christian kindness and should enjoy all the privileges of comfort, education, and religion that were permitted by the laws of the State. In the Christian family the slaves were regarded rather as brothers and

SYMPATHY WITH THE SLAVE.

[1] Chastel, Études Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité, p. 244. Trans. Phila., 1857, ch. iii.

[2] Homil. xvii, in Jos., tom. ii, 438 (Maurine ed.).

[3] Iren., De Hæres., iv, cap. 18 et 34; Cyprian, De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. 23; Nunc de patrimonio nec decimas damus.

[4] Hatch has fully developed the relation of the bishop and deacon in almsgiving. Organization of the Early Christian Churches, pp. 40, ff.

[5] Cyprian, Ep. 38; Constit. Apost., ii, 27.

sons than as inferiors.[1] Slavery might continue, "but," as Bunsen says, "while the Christian might remain a slave he ceased to be without a body and soul of his own."[2] Many slaves were manumitted, but, unlike the pagan freedmen, were not afterward permitted to sink to the level of the neglected proletariat. On the contrary, the former masters continued to exercise over them a gentle and wise patronage, or, when this was impossible, the society near which the slave lived took pains to see that he was provided with labor and support.[3] In a large number of the societies where the slaves of pagan masters were members, and were not permitted to attend the services or profess Christianity, the Churches bought their freedom and saw that they were established in a way to provide for their own support.[4]

The religious education of the young was a prominent object of solicitude from the origin of the apostolical Church. The catechetical instruction was adapted, not only to the children of Christian parents, but to the large number of adults who entered the Church from paganism and were as ignorant as infants of the doc-

EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG.

trines and usages of Christianity. Instruction in every department of religious life was necessary to be imparted, but there could be no schools except such as were connected in a measure with the local society; and it was regarded as only a department of the worship itself. The Christian youth found its first and best training in the home, and its next came through the Church in catechetical instruction. This was not simply a course of elementary knowledge. It began with the elements, but was thorough, and in progressive and comprehensive quality would put to the blush many of our weak modern catechisms. Were it possible to revive the catechetical school of Alexandria, before Origen became a theological professor and committed his direct dealing

[1] Ratzinger, Geschichte der Armenpflege, p. 50, f.

[2] Hippolytus and His Age, vol. i, p. 49.

[3] Chastel, Etudes Historiques sur l'Influence de la Charité, p. 118.

[4] Constit. Apost., iv, 9. Schaff has some excellent remarks, Church History, new ed., i, 444–448; ii, 347–354. See the fine chapters of Brace—chaps. v, vi, "The burial inscriptions and pictures recently made known often show the masters standing before the Good Shepherd, with a band of their slaves, liberated at death, pleading for them at the last judgment. But scarcely any Christian inscription speaks of the dead as a 'slave' or 'freedman,' but only of the 'slave of Christ' or the 'freedman of Christ;' as if human slavery could not even be mentioned in the kingdom of God" (p. 53). Comp. Schaff, "Slavery and the Bible," in Christ and Christianity, N. Y., 1885, pp. 184–212; Döllinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, pp. 163, ff. On the relation of Tertullian to slavery, see von Nöldecken, Tertullian als Mensch und als Bürger, in Historische Zeitschrift, 1885, H. v.

with the students to a subordinate, we should most likely find that the curriculum comprised not only all the elementary instruction essential for a knowledge of scriptural truth, but other departments of general culture which had long been awaiting Christian regeneration.[1]

The Church was sometimes friendly to pagan culture, at other times unfriendly. The Apostolical Constitutions forbade the reading of the pagan authors, but Tertullian urged Christians to take advantage of the pagan schools; and Augustine, for their mental discipline, commends the study of grammar, rhetoric, and heathen writers. The fourth council of Carthage, 398, so far forgot its great teacher that it formally prohibited the reading of secular books, even by the bishops.[2] But the monks soon took their revenge by their profound study of the classic authors of Greece and Rome.[3] The writings of the fathers of the first three centuries exhibit a remarkable familiarity with the whole range of pagan literature.

EARLY CHRISTIANS INTELLIGENT, AND THE THEOLOGIANS LEARNED.

It is safe to suppose that the Christian population, five out of every six, could read, and that the very necessities of the new life constituted a powerful impulse toward the development of the mind and the enlargement of its attainments. The remarkable activity of the theologians in their production of books, and especially that class of their works which were of more popular cast, prove that, in the patristic age, reading was not the prerogative of the few members or the large schools, but the privilege of the great commonalty of believers. Their minds were acute and inquiring. The literature in which they had been reared consisted largely of mythological or dramatic recitals, or, if not that, of philosophical speculation. Christianity had not as yet reared its libraries and built up its strong literary centers. The Christian mind, therefore, craved food, and devoured the new literature with great avidity. The copies of the Scriptures were expensive, but they were multiplied, and the various Christian Churches possessed many copies of them, and likewise expository and other works for the use of the congregation. Every worshiper was free to use them,[4] and between the hours of service, and through the week, and in the evenings, we may well imagine that diligent use was made of them by those who had no copies of the sacred writings or the current theological works in their own homes.

As in these times one of the first impulses of an individual of

[1] See Laurie, Rise and Constitution of Universities, N. Y., 1887, pp. 25–28.
[2] See Laurie, *l. c.*, pp. 25, 26.
[3] See Newman, Historical Sketches, ii, 450, 451, 460–466.
[4] Iren., Advers. Hær., 4, 32, § 1.

large means, on becoming a Christian, is to make liberal contributions for the propagation of the Gospel and other charitable purposes, so, in the second and third centuries, it was a desire of merchants and others who possessed means to employ copyists to transcribe the entire Scriptures for loaning or presenting, either to churches or private circles, that the knowledge of the word of God might be propagated with utmost dispatch.[1] So many of these copies were in private hands as to excite the wrath of the pagan authorities in times of persecution, especially that of Diocletian, when their possessors were ordered to deliver them up to be burned. Many thousands of copies were thus delivered in every part of the empire where the persecution prevailed, but far the greater number were saved through the tact and courage of their possessors. Even the literary enemies of Christianity became possessors of copies of the Scriptures, for in Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles, and others, there are so many citations from them that one cannot doubt that the more candid writers did the Christians the justice to examine their Scriptures. The great extent to which the circulation of the sacred writings was carried may be seen in the further fact that some of the most brilliant writers and foremost defenders of Christianity, such as Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus, were won to Christianity by reading the Scriptures.

PREVALENCE OF COPIES OF THE SCRIPTURES.

One of the most prominent parts of the instruction of the Church at this period was to show the supreme necessity of a knowledge of the Scriptures. Young and old were admonished of this fundamental duty. The exact language of the Bible was made the basis of the instruction in the home,[2] while domestic worship consisted in part of the reading and reciting of scriptural selections.[3] Each church had a special room,[4] "the place of meditation," in a retired part of the sacred inclosure, where the copies of the Scriptures were accessible to all of the congregation who desired to read them. Here, too, were other books, the recent disquisitions from Alexandria, Rome, Carthage, or Antioch, as the theological affinities of the ruling presbyters might decide.[5]

MINUTE ATTENTION PAID IN THE HOME TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCRIPTURES.

[1] Jerome, Apol. adv. Ruf., lib. 1.

[2] Clem. Alex., Pæd., 3, 12. Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., 6, 2.

[3] Tertul., Ad Uxor., 2, 6. Comp. Kurtz, Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte, i, p. 208.

[4] *Φροντιστήριον*, "thinking shop," a word sarcastically applied by Aristophanes (Clouds, 94, 128) to the school of Socrates in Athens.

[5] Brace, Gesta Christi, pp. 218, 219.

The domestic life of the Christians was in harmony with the simplicity of their worship and their churches. In no department of the pagan civilization was there a greater revolution than in this respect. All the reminders of the ancestral idolatry were removed, and in their place only Christian symbols were employed. The furniture, household utensils, ornaments, and jewelry of the Roman house had been profusely adorned with figures and monograms of the favorite divinities, while in court and halls, and in niches in the private apartments, statues and busts reminded one constantly of the pagan pantheon. This, it is true, was not the original Roman domestic life. In those better and simpler days, before Rome had absorbed bodily the whole pantheon of Greece, there were no images of the gods and demigods in the household of the Italian. He seemed to be the worshiper of the spiritual and the invisible.

SIMPLICITY OF DOMESTIC LIFE.

For nearly two centuries after the founding of Rome no citizen had accommodated himself to the superstition of Greece and Egypt so far as to erect in his house and his temple a statue, or any other material representation, of any deity.[1] But that day had passed by. The splendid images of ideal divinities in the Greek temples and the groves and along the highways had found their imitation in Rome, so that the idolatries of Sparta and Athens were even exaggerated on the Italian peninsula. The images of idolatry in the temples and more public places were not only transferred to the homes, but carried to an excess that the public eye, even amid the depravity of the later empire, refused to tolerate. Not only was every house under the care of some divinity, but even the most costly jewelry was wrought into such shape or setting as to bear the image of some fabled god, or in some way to tell the legend of his virtues. The excavations that have reached the walls of private houses in Pompeii, and the seals and finer carvings which have come to us from ancient Rome, show how thoroughly the idolatry of the times was interwoven in the life and thought of the private citizen, and how every object which greeted his eye, whether at home or abroad, was made to tell him of the gods of his fathers.[2]

PAGAN IMAGES IN PRIVATE ROMAN HOMES.

The first impulse of the Christian was to put away all these memorials of his discarded superstition from his home. He lost no time in blotting out every trace of the presence of any other divinity than Him of Nazareth. The obedient Mercury, the majestic

[1] Varro makes the date one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Rome. Comp. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 4, 31.

[2] Fisher, The Beginnings of Christianity, pp. 122–126.

Apollo, the generous Ceres, and even the omnipotent Jove, disappeared from doorway, hall, court, and fountain; while not an object was to be found as an ornament on the person or a fresco on the walls to remind of the old abominations.

THE ROMAN CHRISTIAN'S FIRST IMPULSE TO ABANDON THE HOUSEHOLD GODS.

But the Christian was not long satisfied with a mere blank—this severe absence of all symbolism. Instead of the old faith he now possessed a better. It, too, had its rich imagery, which might safely be repeated in his home and on all his furniture and simple ornaments. The pause was brief, for the Christian symbols soon grew into a large system. The more cautious Christian writers encouraged their use as a safe and proper counterpart to the polytheistic symbolism of their pagan adversaries. Clement of Alexandria urged the use of Christian symbols on seal rings,[1] and named as proper figures the dove, as an image of the Holy Ghost; and the fish, with reference to the call of Zebedee's sons to be fishers of men; and the ship, as an image of the advancing Church; and the lyre, as a type of Christian joy; and the anchor, as an expression of hope. In time these images, with many others, took the place in the Christian home of the abandoned figures of paganism. There was no use of the crucifix and no material representation of the cross.[2]

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS INSTEAD.

We are led to adopt our symbolism largely by contrast, and there was, perhaps, too much crucifixion in the suffering life to which they had been subjected by persecuting rulers to make use of the central symbol of their faith. A sanctity attached to it which seemed to the Christian mind too elevated to be cast into material form and stand before the vulgar gaze. In the later times, when there was no further cross in the life, and the symbol of our Lord's crucifixion was simply a reminder of the bitter past, the cross became a frequent object, both in private houses and the places of public worship. It was seldom employed until the bearing of it had ceased to be a necessity.

THE USE OF THE CROSS.

The Church of this period was not an aggregation of distinct Christian communities, having but a slender and frail bond of connection. This was the picture which the idolatrous system of paganism presented. There was no relation between one temple

[1] Pædag., 3, 11.

[2] Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, i, pp. 185, f. That is, at the very earliest time. The use of the cross was common in the second century. Tertullian says that in all the ordinary occasions of life the Christians made the sign of the cross, De Cor., iii. Representations of the cross were also frequent, doubtless, in the second century. See Cross, Sign of the Cross, Crucifix, in Smith and Cheetham. The crucifix was much later.

and another that might stand within a hundred paces of it. The very diversity of polytheism precluded the possibility of unity of worship. The temples were dedicated to gods of the greatest imaginable variety. The priestly class were simply subordinate officers of the State, and there was no general bond of sympathy by which they were united. The whole pagan system, whether we view it as doctrine or worship, was only a rope of sand. To this loose quality of the pagan religion Christianity stood in perfect contrast. It was a compact and elaborate organism. It had its central doctrine, its one Deity, its grades of clerical administrators, and its generally harmonious worship; and it is still a wonder, which defies all power of explanation on a human basis, how such a near approach to uniformity in all these departments could be reached when we remember the vastness of the territory which constituted the Christendom of the times and the endless variety of temperament and national origin.

THE EARLY CHURCH A COMPACT ORGANISM.

Every Christian felt the power of this universal relationship. His was a brotherhood which comprised all men and all times. Our Lord had often spoken of his kingdom, and, amid the political chaos of the third and fourth centuries, the Christian could look on with a measure of complacency, for he knew that his kingdom would survive that of the empire of the day. This sense of neighborhood and fraternity underlay the readiness of Christians in one place to relieve their companions in faith elsewhere. It was one family, though some of its members were toiling on in another part of the pilgrimage and had met with enemies by the way. The abounding charity of the first centuries was simply the outpouring of hearts that belonged to the same household of faith.

UNIVERSAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CHRISTIAN

This sense of near relationship was manifested, in addition to the charity, by the remarkable correspondence of the patristic period. Nearly every great teacher was an industrious correspondent. Paul had set the example, for his epistles were not only the firm dogmatic statement of Christian truth, but living and warm appeals from the spiritual father to the societies which he had organized. These epistles, having been multiplied, now took their place with other Scriptures, and were read in many societies which had arisen since Paul's days. His successors adopted his method, not alone because of the strong apostolic example, but as a necessity of the times. Letters were the literary fashion for five centuries, and at intervals since then, in our modern times, they have occasionally advanced to the front rank of literary finish. In the Roman days, as we see in the correspond-

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PATRISTIC PERIOD.

ence of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, and other authors, the form of the letter to an individual was chosen to acquaint the whole public with the views of the individual author. Paul only adopted the usage which he found in existence at the time, and he made use of it alone in all his authorship. His successors in the propagation of the Gospel saw its advantages, and while many of them wrote in the form of the treatise they also paid great attention to the writing of letters to both individuals and societies. The letters of Polycarp and Origen, and the eighty-six warm and nervous epistles of Cyprian, are only a small part of the epistolary legacy of those times to the Church of the later period. Melito of Sardis, and Claudius Apollinaris, who addressed to Marcus Aurelius replies in defense of Christianity, were only a type of the large number of apologists who addressed treatises in the form of letters to Roman emperors, and yet who knew not but that the reply to such epistolary boldness might be a summons to the stake or exile. The great increase of spurious literature in the form of letters may be regarded as a fair criterion of the extent to which correspondence was carried in those days.

The whole Christian world was brought into close relationship by this endless correspondence. It was not necessary to utilize the postal relations of the empire. The Christians were in every community, and were more largely represented among the commercial and laboring classes than in any other. They were constantly moving from place to place, not only because of the persecutions which destroyed the possibility of permanent homes, but they followed the lines of commerce, both on sea and land. As in the United States the Christian people from the Atlantic seaboard have gone to the Western and Northwestern societies and taken with them the Christian spirit, and been the planters of Christian societies in those new regions, so in the third and fourth centuries did Christians observe the new openings for business and plant Christian societies in the places where they settled. Between the newer and the older societies, and between individuals and the churches which they founded, and between societies far removed territorially, there was carried on such a large correspondence as has never been repeated in religious literature since the invention of printing.

UNIVERSAL MOVEMENT OF CHRISTIANS.

Christians who went upon a journey were often the bearers of letters to be delivered on the way or on reaching their destination; and when these letters arrived, being on a durable fabric, either papyrus or parchment for the most part, they were not simply read by the individual and thrown aside. They were permanent posses-

sions, and belonged to the treasures of the society or the individual receiving them. The synodical letters, which were written after each session of the provincial synod to similar bodies in other provinces, will convey some idea of the extent to which official relationship was carried. Whenever action was taken on a schism the fact was immediately communicated far and near; while a bishop, on being chosen to the office, was equally prompt in notifying his colleagues throughout Christendom.

CHRISTIANS CONSTANTLY BEARING LETTERS TO FAR-OFF FELLOW-BELIEVERS.

Here, too, belong the travels of the fathers and teachers. The most distant parts of the Church were brought into close relationship by the tie, still stronger than correspondence, of personal visitation. Time was less the question then than now. The disposition to see, and by seeing to learn and write, was never more intense and has never impelled to larger achievements than in the third and fourth centuries. The societies were founded by the personal labors of some teacher and evangelist, and the same motive which led to their organization was in full force to perpetuate them. A church once established was never forgotten. In this constant personal oversight of the Church, which lasted from the third century to the fifth, we see only a continuation of the labors of Paul and the other apostles. They were constantly on the journey. Even if Paul remained two years in a place we find him frequently making mention of his plans to leave it.

TRAVELS OF THE FATHERS AND TEACHERS.

This visitation of many countries, with sojourns of varied duration on the way, was for the sole purpose of founding and developing Christian societies. While the purpose could be entertained only by the Christian, the method was in force already for the purposes of learned research or geographical information. As in our times it is customary to go to Germany for a higher professional learning than can be obtained in the United States, and as three centuries ago it was the habit on the Continent to make the theological journey, or tour of the universities, so in the time of Pericles it was the usage of the Greek scholar to go, as Plato to Heliopolis, to the seats of Egyptian learning that were old when Homer sang. Herodotus was not a recluse who spent his life as an author in a Greek home, poring over the faded scrolls of now forgotten travelers, but an industrious traveler who, with style in hand, was careful to tarry long with the priests of the Upper Nile to get from them those stories that still charm by their simplicity and candor. At a later date, when the last Greek confederation was broken up, and Rome produced its scholars, Athens must feed them. As Cicero went thither, he only followed the

THE GREAT OBJECT OF THE JOURNEYS OF VISITATION.

POWER OVER THE CHURCH OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN EXAMPLES OF JOURNEYING SCHOLARS.

path of the aspiring minds of his day. The young Roman was as fully driven to Greece and often to Alexandria, Tarsus, and Berytus, to equip himself with the richest treasures in rhetoric, philosophy, and law, as every young artist is now impelled to go to Italy and study the masterpieces in the paradise which produced them.

Many of the strongest minds in the Church of this period had been, like Justin Martyr, pagan scholars, who were seeking to improve their minds and learn the true science by journeys in many countries, and who finally came in contact with Christian minds, and through them accepted Christianity. The pagan scholar, who, after absorbing all the learning furnished in his native town, then exhausted the nearest university, was running large risk of losing his old faith and imbibing the new Christianity, when he began the tour of the great literary centers. The new religion from Judea was in the atmosphere. It fanned every cheek. Its adherents were on all waysides, stopping at all inns, dropping in to hear lectures at the most venerable seats of learning, and slowly poring over the oldest manuscripts, whether in Antioch, Alexandria, or Athens. The young pagan scholar, making long journeys and indefinite sojourns for the purpose of learning the best thoughts of other days and lands, was in constant danger of wrecking the dearest hopes of his life. When the restless Tatian, a traveler in many lands for the storing of his mind and the peace of his soul, at last came in contact with a barbarous scroll, which at first excited his curiosity but afterward absorbed his attention and enlisted his sympathy, he was drinking for the first time at the fountain of the Old Testament Scriptures. It had been the scholar's habit to examine manuscripts wherever he could find them, and they aided largely in converting the pagan into a champion for the truth in all Christian ages. "Filled, while yet a boy," says Hemphill, "with an insatiable thirst for knowledge; a traveler, like Mohammed, through many countries in search of truth; initiated into the inner mysteries of the heathen cults; and then at last, when weary and heartsick with the cruelty, immorality, and dishonesty of paganism, captivated and entranced by the simple charm of the sacred Scriptures—the barbaric letters—upon which by a divine chance he one day lighted."[1]

THE PAGAN SCHOLAR OFTEN FOUND CHRIST WHILE ON A TOUR OF LEARNING.

There is almost no book which the Church of the first three centuries produced which was not, directly or indirectly, the fruit of this brisk intercommunication between the extremes of the Christian territory. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, conceived the happy

[1] The Diatessaron of Tatian, Lond., 1888, p. viii. Tatian gives an account of this in his Oratio ad Græcos, xxix.

thought of gathering from the still living, but very aged, witnesses of our Lord's life from among the people with whom his ministry had been spent, such recollections as their failing memory might yet retain; "for," said he, "I did not think that I could get so much aid from the books as from the words of those living and remaining."[1] He, therefore, it must be presumed, made at least one careful tour through those parts of Palestine where our Lord had wrought, and talked freely with the aged witnesses of his life who were still living at the end of the first and beginning of the second century; and out of this personal visitation grew his Explanation of the Discourses of our Lord. If we have but fragments of it, and if some legends appear among his many accurate recollections of our Lord's contemporaries, such as the cup of poison which Barsabas drank without injury, and the glory of the vine in the coming kingdom of Christ, neither the meagerness of the matter that has survived nor the presence of legend can detract from the value which the early scholar attached to personal examination in his search for material.[2]

JOURNEYS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS PRODUCTIVE OF LITERATURE.

Polycarp, whom the Church has always assigned to the first place among the apostolic fathers, and whose martyrdom at the age of eighty-six was a fit culmination of his laborious and heroic career, saw the dangers that threatened the peace of the Eastern and Western portions of the Church on the questions concerning the time of the Easter observance, and made a journey, in his extreme age, or about the year 158, to Rome, in order to come to an understanding with the bishop, Anicetus, the foremost representative of the Church in the West. This was a most brotherly procedure. There seems to have been no meeting of the Smyrna Church, or a provincial assembly, which delegated Polycarp for this great purpose. It was his own thought. The time for more stately and formal overtures had not arrived. While neither one could convince the other of the propriety of the preference of himself and of the part of the Church which he represented, for the Easter observance, the best relations were established between them by this remarkable visit, the first in the history of the Church for the composition of differences, and in proof of the excellent understanding Anicetus committed the administration of a sacramental service to his venerated guest.

POLYCARP'S CELEBRATED JOURNEY.

There is good ground to think that Polycarp had another end in view. That Gnosticism, which had begun even before the death of

[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iii, 39.

[2] Piper, Die Reisen der Kirchenväter, in evangelisches Jahrbuch für 1861, pp. 53, ff; Cruttwell, Literary Hist. of Early Christianity, Lond., 1893, i, 102–110; Heitz and Leimbach, in Herzog and Plitt, art. *Papias*.

his own beloved master, the apostle John, was now in full force, and had a strong following in Rome, which attracted every vagary of the times. Polycarp, according to testimony that has come down to us from his times, is reported to have led many of the Valentinians and Marcionites back to the true doctrine.[1]

JUSTIN A GREAT TRAVELER.

Justin clad himself in the philosopher's mantle and held the wanderer's staff constantly in hand. He had no sooner returned from one journey than he prepared for another. With a keen eye upon the importance of the best productions of paganism as allies to Christianity he searched in different lands and in both Judaism and paganism for every possible support for Christianity. An Ephesian convert, Asia Minor was too narrow for him, and we therefore find him now in Egypt, examining the separate cells where the seventy translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek reached their unanimous conclusion, and now in southern Italy, amid the silence and gloom of the basilica where the Cumæan sibyl had received her inspirations.[2] He speaks frequently of Memorabilia of the Apostles, which he has heard read in the Christian societies where he has worshiped on his journeys, and which were the four gospels of our present canon.[3] We here have a most valuable testimony as to the high character in which the gospels were held at this early day, while, concerning the Old Testament books, we have a similar witness in Melito, Bishop of Sardis, who journeyed to Palestine, and wrote, "Where these things happened and were declared, a catalogue of the Old Testament writings, with selections from them, in six books."[4]

IRENÆUS IN GAUL.

Irenæus, of the next generation, proves that the desire for travel in the interests of the Church was developing into a still stronger passion. This man, a native of Asia Minor, went to Gaul, adapted himself to the new conditions, and appeared in Rome in the interest of the Montanists in Asia Minor.

Hegesippus wrote ecclesiastical history with a purpose. His aim was to defend Christianity by a narrative of its achievements. He spent some time in Palestine, and resided a while in Corinth. But Rome was his constant aim. He knew that in the metropolis he would have the best facilities for historical investigation, and while there he completed his work, probably about the year 185. During his many journeys he was careful to visit the bishops and

[1] Iren., Adv. Hæres., lib. iii, cap. 3, § 4; Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., iv, 14; Jerome, De Vir. Ill., cap. 17.

[2] Semisch, Justin der Märtyrer, vol. i, p. 122; Purves, The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity, N. Y., 1889, p. 9.

[3] Semisch, Die apost. Denkwürdigkeiten des M. Justinus, Hamb., 1848.

[4] Piper, Reisen der Kirchenväter, in Evang. Jahrb. f. 1861, p. 42.

the societies, in both the East and the West, and he testifies to the identity of teaching everywhere. Julius Africanus, for the preparation of his Chronography, made extensive journeys. In Alexandria he devoted himself to the study of the antiquities for which that city was famous; for thither had come, as to London, Paris, and Berlin in our day, the literary treasures of all lands. One of the fruits of his research was Manetho's Catalogue of the Kings of Egypt, which, with other valuable records, he took away with him. Julius made the journey to Ararat in the interest of his science, and identified it as the place where the ark rested. He visited the Dead Sea, and located the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, and we next hear of him in Rome, applying to the Emperor Elagabalus, in the year 222, to rebuild the Jewish town of Nicopolis.

HEGESIPPUS AND JULIUS AFRICANUS AS TRAVELERS.

Clement of Alexandria, a convert from paganism to Christianity, in his long and persevering search for the truth, was a diligent traveler in three continents. Origen appears to have visited every part of the Christian world. If his usefulness was interfered with in Alexandria or Palestine it seems to have given him no concern. He followed the tide of his disciples in some new direction, or responded to a call to Arabia once and again, to Athens, or to Antioch, and with an audience of eager listeners before him, and with at least some of his treasures of ancient learning, gathered from many lands, about him, he took up his work where he had been interrupted, and continued it to the close. All of his works bear traces of his long and varied journeys, while his great triumph of textual criticism, the Hexapla, which occupied twenty-seven years, shows his residence in Palestine and constant utilization of the Hebrew sources.

CLEMENT A TRAVELER IN THREE CONTINENTS.

With the council of Nice, and the subsequent frequency of general and provincial ecclesiastical assemblies, there was less personal communication between the various parts of the Church in the interest of unity of polity and doctrine. For the purposes of Christian scholarship there was little decline during the fourth century. Athanasius did not need to make journeys in the interests of Christianity, for he was five times an exile, and his whole life gave proof of how far one can use even banishment, as his in Treves, to advance the cause of Christian truth and evangelization. Rufinus studied the monastic life by personal observation among the Nitrian monks.

FOR PURPOSES OF SCHOLARSHIP THE TRAVELING WAS EXTENSIVE AND INTO FAR REGIONS.

Jerome was an ideal traveler in the interest of sacred learning.[1] He was not content to surround himself with the manuscripts

[1] Martin, Life of St. Jerome, Lond., 1888, pp. 9, ff.

of a former period and to lead the life of a recluse. He must go where the Bible was written, and study its idiomatic construction from those who knew it best. He located himself in Palestine, and employed as his special teacher in Hebrew a Jew, who, lest the Christians might take offense, was to come to him by night and give him instruction. In order to understand the peculiar idiom of Paul, in some parts of his epistles, Jerome visited Cilicia, where he, in the apostle's native province, gained familiarity with the provincialisms imbedded in his speech.[1] It cannot occasion surprise that, with such pains to arrive at the fundamental meaning of the Hebrew and the Greek, Jerome should have contributed such wealth to the textual theology of his times that, as commentator, he easily stands at the head of the Latin Church in his day, and that to his patient and thorough scholarship we still owe the Vulgate of the Christian world.

JEROME THE IDEAL TRAVELER OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

The justification which he gave for his journeys as a necessity for the cultivation of his great science might well have been written by Tischendorf, after his first ecstatic view of the Sinaitic Codex in St. Catherine's Convent: "As the history of the Greeks is better understood by him who has seen Athens, and Vergil's third book by him who has sailed from the Troad to Sicily, and from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, so do the Holy Scriptures become clearer to him who has seen Judea with his own eyes, and has made himself acquainted with the recollections of the old cities and the names of the places, whether they are the same or have been changed. Therefore I had it in heart to undertake this work in connection with the most learned Jews, so that I have wandered through the country from which all the Churches of Christ take their tone."[2]

JEROME'S JUSTIFICATION OF HIS LONG JOURNEYS.

During the following period there was a general decline in the disposition to travel, and, so far as a desire expressed itself to promote fraternal relations between the different parts of the Church by personal communication, nearly all traces had disappeared by the middle of the fifth century. The prominence of the patriarchates produced individuality in the Eastern Churches, while the growing supremacy of Rome made her relation with the other parts of the general Church less definite and satisfactory. To the council was now left much of the pleasant work of fraternity which had before proceeded from the spontaneous love of the individual and the societies.

DECLINE IN THE DISPOSITION TO TRAVEL.

[1] For example: Col. ii, 18, *μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω.*

[2] Præfat. in Libr. Paralipom. juxta LXX, opp., tom. x, p. 481.

LITERATURE: THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

I. CHRISTIAN ART IN GENERAL.

1. Lindsay, Lord. History of Christian Art. Lond., 1847. 2 vols., new ed., 1886.
2. Jameson, Mrs. Anna. Legends of the Saints and Martyrs. Lond. and Bost., 1848. 2 vols., new ed., 1863. Legends of the Madonna, 1852, new ed., 1863. Legends of the Monastic Orders, 1850, new ed., 1863. This magnificent series of volumes, of which a revised and enlarged edition, edited by Miss Estelle M. Hurll, has appeared, 5 vols., Bost., 1895, is devoted to the artistic reproduction of the legends, is fully illustrated, and is valuable to the student of art.
3. Didron, A. N. Christian Iconography, or the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. Trans. with Additions and Appendices by Margaret Stokes. Lond., 1851 (vol. i), 1886 (vol. ii).
4. Hemans, C. I. History of Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy. Florence, 1866 (ancient), 1869 (mediæval).
5. Garucci, R. Storia della Arte Christiana nei primi otto Secoli della Chiesa. Prato, 1872–80, 6 vols., fol., with 500 plates and illustrations.
6. Fergusson, J. History of Architecture. Lond., 1874–76. 4 vols.
7. Lübke, W. History of Art. Lond. and N. Y., 1857. 2 vols.
8. Lundy, J. P. Monumental Christianity. N. Y. and Lond., 1876, new ed., 1889.
9. Martigny, J. A. Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes. Paris, 2d ed., 1876.
10. Tyrwhitt, R. St. J. Art Teaching of the Primitive Church. Lond., 1881. Chr. Art and Symbolism. Lond., 1872.
11. Palmer, W. Early Christian Symbolism, edited by Northcote and Brownlow. Lond., 1884.
12. Brown, G. B. From Schola to Cathedral. Edinb., 1886. An able and scholarly monograph. See De Witt in Presb. Rev., 1886, 753; H. M. Scott in Current Discussions, iv, 152.
13. Kraus, F. H. Realencyklopädie d. christl. Alterthümer. Freib., 1886, 2 vols. Kraus, Martigny, and Garucci are Roman Catholics.
14. Twining, Louisa. Symbols and Emblems of Early Christian Art. Lond., 1886. 500 illustrations.
15. Bennett, C. W. Christian Archæology. N. Y., 1888.
16. Church Quarterly Review. Lond., Oct., 1889. Art., Christian Symbolism.

II. THE CATACOMBS.

1. D'Agincourt. Hist. d'art par les monuments. Paris, 1811–23. 6 vols., fol. This great work was the result of fifty years' personal investigation.
2. Marchi, (Padre) G. Monumenti Primitivi delle Arte Christiane. Rome, 1844. 70 plates, 4to. The topography and architecture of the Catacombs.

3. Perret, L. Les Catacombs de Rome. Paris, 1852–58. 6 vols. Published at the expense of the French government, under the patronage of the Academy of Inscriptions. A superbly illustrated work. The fifth volume gives 430 inscriptions.

4. De Rossi, G. B. La Roma sotterannea Christiana descritta et illustrata. Rome, 1866 (vol. i), 1867 (ii), 1877 (iii), fol., with an additional volume of plates, and another on the Inscriptions (1861). He also published another great work: Musaici Christiana e saggi dei pavementi delle Chiesi di Roma, in 25 parts, Rome, 1872, and later. He has contributed largely to his Bulletino di archeologia Christiana, a bimonthly published in Rome since 1863. Roller, an eminent Protestant investigator in the same field, calls De Rossi the "best qualified investigator, a fervent Catholic, but an earnest critic."

5. Northcote, J. S., and Brownlow, W. R. Roma Sotterannea. Lond., 1869, new ed., enlarged and rewritten, 1879–80, 3 vols. The last volume gives the inscriptions, and is sold separately. Founded on the researches of De Rossi, which are made available to the English student. The best work in English.

6. McCaul, J. Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries. Lond., 1869.

7. Marriott, W. B. Testimony of the Catacombs and other Monuments of Christian Art concerning Questions of Doctrine. Lond., 1870. Especially on Roman Catholic practices and teachings. By a Church of England man.

8. Parker, J. H. The Archæology of Rome. Part xii. The Catacombs. Lond., 1877. A standard work well illustrated.

9. Withrow, W. H. The Catacombs of Rome. N. Y. and Lond., 1874. The best popular account.

10. Becker, F. Die Wand-und Decken-Gemälde d. röm. Katakomben. Gera, 1874. Rom's altchristl. Cœmeterien. Gera, 1874. Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter d. Bilde d. Fisches auf d. Monumenten d. Kirche d. Katakomben. Gera, 1876. Die Inschriften d. röm. Cœmeterien. Indispensable to the careful student.

11. Roller, T. Les Catacombes de Rome. Paris, 1879–81. 2 vols., fol. Perhaps the best work after De Rossi.

12. Schultze, V. Archæologische Studien. Vienna, 1880. Die Katakomben, Leipz., 1882. "Represents the historic, objective school in archæology." Excellent discussions will also be found in Stanley, Christian Institutions, ch. xiii; Milman, Savonarola and other Essays, Lond., 1870, pp. 446–500; Mommsen in Contemp. Rev., xvii (1871), pp. 160–175; Venables in the Encyc. Brit., and in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities; Stokes, Chr. Inscriptions, in Contemp. Rev., 1880 and 1881. A handy book is Benjamin Scott, Contents and Teachings of the Catacombs, Lond., 4th ed., 1889. H. M. Scott, in Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan., 1883. McClintock, in art. Catacombs, in McClintock and Strong, Encyc., gives a critical account of the early Catacomb literature.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

THE catacombs beneath the hills of Rome reveal nearly all the chief creations of the earliest Christian art. Only a few of the churches which the Christians were hopeful enough to build before Christianity was tolerated by Constantine yet remain, and so varied is the patchwork that it is difficult to tell what part of these venerable structures belongs to the second and third centuries and what part was added after the Christians knew that their buildings could no more be torn down by pagan mobs. In those still fewer churches which have undergone no change, as that of St. Petronilla, newly discovered beneath a field near Rome, by De Rossi, in 1874,[1] there exist only enough of the fragmentary walls to designate the general design of the structure. Because the catacombs were free from exposure, and because their purpose of sepulture shielded them from destruction, they have been the safe and somber conservators of the first endeavors of Christianity in the plastic arts. It is among the peculiar revenges of time that the very burial places of Christians, those suffering martyrdom as well as those dying a natural death, have survived the most of the magnificent palaces of their oppressors during ten persecutions.

CATACOMBS THE CONSERVATORS OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN ARTS.

The Christians were led to employ the catacomb, or subterranean recess, as a place of burial for their dead, in part by the example of other people, but still more because the Roman laws granted perfect liberty of burial to all foreign faiths. It seems to have been assumed that when death came it was time to cease all opposition and permit the obsequies to take place after any fashion, however foreign to pagan taste. Only in modern times do we see illustrations of a *post-mortem* campaign against a foe, as when the dust of the martyred Huss was thrown out upon Lake Constance, and when Wycliffe's dust was taken from its grave in Lutterworth and sprinkled upon the Avon. That the Christians should bury their dead, rather than burn them, which was the existing Roman usage, was in conformity with their Jewish antecedents, and, indeed, with the

REASON FOR THE CATACOMB AS A PLACE OF CHRISTIAN BURIAL.

[1] See De Rossi, Bulletino No. I, 1874.

pagan custom of the simpler and better times. All of the Semite peoples, in whose mind lay an intense belief in the resurrection of the human body, had employed burial rather than cremation. The tombs of the kings, with their splendor of ornament and embalmment beneath the mountains bordering on the Thebaid, show how repugnant to the Egyptian spirit was every measure which was calculated to abridge the material existence of the human body. In Greece neither cremation nor burial was the uniform custom, the people adopting one mode at one period and afterward substituting for it the other. In Italy the ancient Etruscans buried their dead, and at the entrance to their exhumed burial places the remains of their knights have been found, clad in complete armor.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD PREFERRED TO BURNING BY THE ROMANS.

The Romans of the republic adopted the same custom of burial, and it was only after the empire was adopted that they burned their dead and inclosed the ashes in an urn.[1] But so strongly rooted in the Roman mind was the preference for burial that we find from the sarcophagi in the monument of the Scipios, before the Porta Capena of Rome, now within the walls, that the older Roman families still adhered to the early usage.[2] The graves of the Nasos, four Italian miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia, consist of chambers hewn in the tufa, with horizontal niches for the bodies, in precisely the same way as the Christian catacombs.[3] A large number of these niches, arranged in rows, and containing the ashes of the family, gave the name columbarium, or dovecote, to the burial place.

JEWISH USE OF THE CATACOMB IN ROME.

The Jewish population in Rome was large, and they made use of the catacomb, after the manner of their fathers. At first, we must suppose it rude, as an opening in the hillside, or a hollow made beneath a shelving rock, but later, because of the example of Christians, the Jewish burial place became a faint approach to the Christian catacomb. There is a Jewish catacomb on the Appian Way, opposite the Christian catacomb of San Sebastiano, while there is another nearer Rome, in the Randanini Vineyard.[4] The galleries are much the same, only less ornate and regular, as those of the Christian catacombs. The Jewish type is everywhere revealed by Hebrew symbolism, and especially by the seven-branched candlestick.[5]

There were differences, however, between the pagan and the

[1] Kraus, Roma Sotterannea, 2d., pp. 61, f.
[2] Plin., Hist. Nat., vii, 55.
[3] Bartoli, Le Pitture antiche del sepolchro dé Nasoni, tom. ii, p. 9.
[4] Kraus, Roma Sotterannea, p. 63.
[5] Garucci, Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei, Roma, 1862.

Christian catacomb. The graves of the Scipios were devoid of that regularity which we find in every catacomb of the Christians. There was no precision in the making of the niches in the walls where the coffins were laid, and often the recesses were rough, devoid of ornament, and only partially and irregularly cut out of the rock. Further, the pagan burial place was destined for one family, and when the members had died, and their bodies had been interred, the place was permanently closed. The Christian catacomb was not limited to one family, but was for any member of the household of faith. The brotherhood in life was continued even in death, and the poor and the rich lay beside each other in those calm recesses far beneath the din of busy life and the sound of the footfall of the generations. The resemblance between the Christian and the pagan burial, however, is striking enough to show that this mode of disposing of their dead was not new to the Christians of Rome, and even of Sicily and Alexandria. The pagans in their more primitive times had been examples of the custom, while the Old Testament Scriptures abounded in evidences of its being the only mode of disposing of the dead known to the one Semitic people from whom the Messiah had come.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PAGAN AND THE CHRISTIAN CATACOMB.

But the Christians, as was their wont with everything pagan and foreign which they touched, transformed the catacomb from a somber and repulsive abode of the dead into a church, a theology, and a home. The scope which they gave to the construction of the catacomb, and the rich and varied fullness with which they clothed its ornamentation, prove their sense of security in every stroke of the pick, the chisel, and the brush. The ten tables of Roman law forbade burial within the city inclosure, which was the old wall of Servius Tullius, and there is no trace to this day of there having been a catacomb within the walls of Aurelian or Honorius. They were compelled, therefore, if they would bury their dead, to secure a place outside the walls. Here, too, they were perfectly secure. They might build a palace beneath ground, and store it with untold wealth; if only it had a relation to sepulture, in the eye of the Roman law it was safe. As Charles V said to the cruel Alva, when the two stood beside the grave of Luther, in the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg, they made "war on the living, and not on the dead."

CHEERFUL CHARACTER OF CHRISTIAN CATACOMBS.

No private burial place in Rome could be alienated, whatever might be the inducement.[1] Whenever a villa and the large grounds were sold the cemetery belonging to the family was not

[1] Cicero, De Legibus, ii, 24.

alienated. This place where the dead reposed, whether only the handful of ashes in a little urn or the slowly decomposing body, was held to be something too precious for commerce. For this reason the tourist in Rome frequently reads, even at this late date, on the monuments which have come down to the present time, "H. M. H. Ex. T. N. S." [Hoc monumentum hæredes ex testamento ne sequatur]. This protection of the places devoted to the departed was in harmony with the general reverence which pagan peoples bestowed upon the deceased. He who neglected to pay proper respect to his near relatives was regarded as unworthy of confidence. The ancestral worship which has for ages obtained in China and some other oriental nations had, in this way, its type in the pagan nations which flourished and passed away around the shores of the Mediterranean. In Athens it was a law that candidates for the highest offices, whose fathers were dead, must furnish tangible proof that they had paid all proper respect to them at the time of their death and burial.[1] The attention which Christians bestowed upon their dead, therefore, was by no means offensive to the pagan mind. On the contrary, the fidelity with which they celebrated the anniversaries of their honored men, and the fidelity with which they visited the burial places, and ornamented them with the most touching symbols of their faith, could only have commended the Christians to their pagan contemporaries.

THE BURIAL PLACE ALWAYS SACRED IN ROME AND THROUGHOUT PAGAN LANDS.

The modern discovery of the Roman catacomb took place on a May day in 1578, when some workmen in a field along the Via Salaria came across a mysterious opening in the earth, which led to the finding of passages, historical frescoes, Greek and Latin inscriptions, and several sarcophagi. That was the hour when subterranean Rome took its place with the city on the seven hills, as a great storehouse of Christian science, whose riches even yet have not been fully explored. Now and then the searcher for pagan antiquities and the priestly devotee to saintly relics had, each from his own point of view, found his way into some of the more approachable parts of several catacombs. But as the former saw little to remind him of classic art and architecture he attached no importance to the crude and dark burial places of the first Christians, while the devout Roman Catholic wandered about as in a spacious sepulcher, being in quest of such relics as might add to the ardor of his faith. Both were wanting in that acute sense which saw in the catacomb a highly scientific

MODERN DISCOVERY OF ROMAN CATACOMBS.

[1] Xenophon, Memorabilia, bk. ii, § 13.

quality, which in time was to throw a flood of new light on the Christian Church of the Persecution.

The references in the Fathers of the post-Nicene age to the burial places of Christians, beneath the environs of Rome, had been familiar during all later centuries, and yet had awakened no profound interest.[1] Jerome relates that, when he was a schoolboy in Rome, he and some of his companions went down frequently into the graves and looked at the dust of the martyrs; that they wandered through the long passages and caverns and saw the bodies on either side, and that the darkness was so profound that his boyish imagination was strangely excited by the scene, so that he could not help thinking of the words of David, "Let them go down quick into hell,"[2] and of the words of Vergil, "Terror surrounds me, even the silence itself is horrible."[3]

JEROME'S EXPERIENCE IN THE CATACOMBS WHILE YET A BOY.

But all the references of the early writers, and the occasional explorations of later times, had no effect in exciting Christian scholarship to the value of the first Christian burial places. The discovery of the workmen was less a revelation than an incident which called new attention to a fact long familiar to the Christian mind. When the discovery was made the boy was three years old who was destined to create the science of the historical study of the catacombs and to elevate it to its present importance as a vast and ever-enlarging department of monumental theology.

DISCOVERY OF THE CATACOMBS BY SOME WORKMEN.

This was Antonio Bosio. From the time when his mind began to expand the study of the catacombs absorbed all his thought. He was a participant in that memorable revival of historical and general literature which seized Rome, as a reaction produced by the Reformation in the northern countries of Europe. No difficulty was too great for him. One catacomb after another was opened through his remarkable energy. After devoting himself thirty years to this one study he died in the year 1629, before the publication of his great work, the Roma Sotteranea. Only the first installment appeared in the year 1632, but it achieved a great triumph and added a new science to the theology of Christendom.

ANTONIO BOSIO.

John Evelyn, who visited Rome in the year 1645, and Bishop

[1] There is complete absence of any reference to the catacombs in the Fathers of the ante-Nicene age. Jerome and Prudentius are the only ancient writers who mention them. See Schaff, ii, 287.

[2] Psalm lv, 15.

[3] Com. in Ez., ch. 40. See Prudentius, Peristephanon, hymn 4.

Burnet, who made a sojourn there forty years later, were the first writers to reveal to the English world the extent and even partial significance of the Christian catacombs. But both these writers failed to grasp the full extent of the real importance of the catacombs. Burnet declared they were nothing more than the holes mentioned by Festus Pompeius, where the lowest slaves of the Romans were put and allowed to die. Burnet further says: "The discovery of the catacombs has supplied them [the Roman Catholics] with an inexhaustible magazine of bones, which by all appearances are no other than the bones of pagan Romans which are now sent over the world to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the bones of the Roman slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in silver and gold, with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the world."[1] Burnet held that the vast extent of the catacombs proved that they were not excavated by the Christians. And how could they hold services amid the stench of decaying flesh and stifling atmosphere of those underground tombs? He argues well, but later research has brought to light a multitude of new facts.

JOHN EVELYN AND BISHOP BURNET.

BURNET'S ESTIMATE OF THE SMALL VALUE OF THE CATACOMBS.

Still later writers have been divided in opinion as to whether the catacomb was an excavation where only the Christian peasantry could bury their dead,[2] or that they were, more than anything else, a place where superstition derived a convenient market place for the deposition and sale of holy bones.[3] But the day has passed when either view has its advocates. The catacomb is now fully understood, first through the foundation laid by Bosio, and later by the temple reared upon it by De Rossi; so that we now understand its original design, the process of its growth in a time of sorrow, the place which it occupied in the thought of the patristic Church, and its bearing upon Christian science and faith in all later periods.

THE CATACOMB NOW FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

The early Christian attached a remarkable value to martyrdom. Here was a point on which all agreed, both schismatic and Catholic. The magnitude of voluntary death for the faith was, in fact, the vital question which underlay the greatest schisms of the second and third centuries, the separatists making the ground of their dis-

[1] Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, Edinb., 1752, pp. 161–172.

[2] Misson, A New Voyage to Italy, Lond., 1714, pp. 1, 166.

[3] Fehmel, De Catacombis, Leipz., 1713.

integrating movement the moderate view of suffering for the faith which they alleged to be entertained by the general Church. When the martyr died the place where his soul took its departure for heaven—for he, without a question, escaped the hadean ordeal—was regarded as hallowed ground. It was marked as a place worthy of perpetual remembrance. Here the Christians met, when persecution ceased, and built rude structures, and worshiped, and were careful to bear in mind the natal days of the martyrs by special services. As a rule the body was not denied the care of friends. It was no longer of value to a foe, and hence could easily be given to those who were desirous of performing the rites of burial. When the request of Joseph of Arimathea for the body of Jesus was granted it was simply a compliance with a universal usage even among the heathen. Later, when a Christian was put to death, the body, or, in case of burning, the ashes, were granted to friends as a privilege which common propriety could not deny. These remains were interred on the spot where the Christian had suffered martyrdom.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ESTIMATE OF GREAT SANCTITY OF MARTYRDOM.

Hence the spot had a twofold claim to the love of the Church, for it was not only the place where a hero had suffered death, but what was left of his suffering body now lay beneath the place where his soul had ascended to the Church triumphant. Here a church was built, generally named after the saint, where special solemnities could be observed, particularly on memorial days. The place of martyrdom being regarded as holy ground, the tendency soon arose to make use of the spaces about the church as a place of burial for those who had not suffered martyrdom. Hither, amid the sublime associations of the martyrdom of some great servant of the Church, and beneath the walls of a church to his memory, it seemed fitting that Christians should bring their dead and have the privilege of frequent visitation to the place, and then, at last, of taking their own places in those silent and narrow niches.[1] Later, when Christianity had become a permitted religion, and still more after the death of Julian, when the empire was under the control of emperors who were Christian in name, the catacomb having served its chief purpose as both a place of burial and of worship, the churches were of greater architectural splendor, and beneath them was the crypt containing the remains of the martyr. The crypt, therefore, was the creation, in an easier and more artistic age, of the catacomb of an earlier and severer time.

CHURCHES BUILT ON PLACES OF MARTYRDOM.

[1] Comp. Hagenbach, Kirchengeschichte der ersten Sechs Jahrhunderte, 3d ed., pp. 394, f.

The visit to the catacomb is the nearest approach possible, in these later times, to the church of the first three centuries. One descends, as in the case of the most notable of all, that of St. Callistus, through a side door in the church, by a long stairway, until he finds himself in one of the larger and longer passages. He now comes to a wider space, which once served as a chapel of some wealthy Roman Christian, where the place for altar and priest and worshiper are still distinctly traceable, and where the surrounding empty niches once contained the dust of the members of the family. Then he reaches a humbler space, where the poorer were laid away by their friends, and where the ornamentation was less costly and attractive. On either side of the winding passages are rows of niches, each only long enough to contain a body, and the horizontal rows of niches rising in a system of regular tiers. Some of the sarcophagi, as that of Iunius Bassus, of the year 359, contained exquisite reliefs, but the most of these precious tombs have been removed, while the inscriptions on the walls and rich symbolical figures can now be seen to advantage only in the museum of St. John Lateran and other rich collections of Rome. Some of the minor treasures have wandered into other countries, especially to the Christian museum of the Berlin University, but their meagerness only adds to the thirst of the student for the Roman masterpieces.

VISIT TO THE CATACOMBS.

The extent of these labyrinths for the dead is a matter of conjecture only. De Rossi, the best judge, supposes the total length of the passages to be four hundred and eighty Italian miles,[1] which is the length of the whole Italian peninsula. Marchi estimates the extent to be a third larger. It is not likely that all the catacombs have been disclosed. As late as 1848 the magnificent catacomb of Prætextatus was discovered, while even since then, in 1874, De Rossi discovered the basilica of St. Petronilla, which had lain in utter darkness since the Mirabilia of Francesco Albertino, in 1510, but which has proved of great importance for our present knowledge of early Christian art. In proportion as new light is thrown upon the classic period of Rome there is abundant reason to expect equally valuable additions to our knowledge of the Church in its double endeavor for a safe place of worship and a resting place for its dead.[2]

EXTENT OF THE CATACOMBS NOT YET FULLY KNOWN.

[1] One hundred and twenty geographical miles, or eight hundred and seventy-six kilometers. The number of the graves is estimated at from four to seven millions, no doubt a gross exaggeration. See Schaff, ii, 295, note 1.

[2] On the catacombs as a place of refuge and worship, to which secondary use they were undoubtedly put, see Maitland, The Church in the Catacombs,

No approach to the number of inscriptions, paintings, and carvings which have been taken from the catacombs can be made with safety. In the Lateran Museum, on the sarcophagi alone, are two hundred and seventy-six scriptural carvings, and when we remember that carving bore only a small proportion to the frescoes, and that the inscriptions were far more abundant than either, the difficulty of approximating the number of the treasures already taken from the catacombs will be very apparent.

WEALTH OF THE LATERAN MUSEUM.

To see the full significance of the art of the catacomb we must combine all its departments. Beginning with the rudest figures of the first tyros, and coming down to the most elaborate and finished productions of the last artists, whose colors were yet damp when the West Goths plundered Rome, in the year 410, and the catacombs ceased henceforth to serve their original purpose and became practically closed to the scholarship of the world for eleven centuries, we have a variety and number of monumental objects that seem to elude all attempts at classification and minute interpretation. But this difficulty, on more careful examination, disappears, and the abundance of objects only enriches our information concerning their design and its relation to the general life and faith of the Church.

THE CATACOMBS CLOSED FOR ELEVEN CENTURIES.

Many subjects of pictorial representation in the catacombs show the familiarity of the Christian mind at this early day with the Scriptures which constitute our canon. We do not need to be told by Melito of Sardis what books of the Old Testament the Christians regarded as canonical. We can read the same record in the reliefs in stone tombs and on the tufa walls of subterranean Christian Rome. We tell around what books of both the older and the later Scripture the fervent and heroic faith of the Christians of the first three centuries crystallized, as the inspired record for the Church of the better day, when the Church of the cavern should become the Church of the noonday. There are pictorial representations, in stone and fresco, of every part of the Old Testament, such as the creation of Eve, the apostasy in Eden, Noah in the ark, the offering of Isaac, Moses taking off his shoes, the translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den, and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace.

LIGHT FROM THE CATACOMBS ON THE SCRIPTURAL CANON.

Lond., 1846, pp. 27–85. Maitland was first allowed to copy the inscriptions in the Lapidarian gallery, but on account of a quarrel between the Jesuits and the officers of the Vatican this permission was withdrawn after a month, the sturdy Englishman, however, refusing to give up the copies of the inscriptions he had already made. See p. 8, note.

On the sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum the history of Jonah, probably because of the parallel between that prophet and the hard fate, but final preservation, of the Church of the time, was more frequently treated than any other subject.

NEW TESTAMENT THEMES IN THE CATACOMBS.

The New Testament furnished many themes for treatment. The birth of Christ, with the ox and the ass, the feeding of the multitude, the restoration of the blind man, the changing of water into wine at Cana, the raising of Lazarus, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, Christ before Pilate, Christ as lawgiver, and the crowning with thorns, are some of the principal subjects in the sculptures on the sarcophagi in the Lateran Museum. In the frescoes there was such a rich variety of treatment of scriptural themes that one may safely say that nothing essential was omitted. Those tufa walls, with surface of stucco, were converted into one great panorama of the Bible, from Genesis to the Apocalypse. The artist seems to have followed his own fancy or to have carried out what was a matter of taste with the family who wished to honor their dead by illuminating the burial place with scriptural pictures. Among the Old Testament subjects of painting were Adam and Eve, the visions of paradise, Cain and Abel, Joseph the patriarch, the crossing of the Red Sea, Samson, David and his sling, and various articles from the interior of the temple. From the New Testament the parables and miracles were favorite themes with the painter. Such subjects as indicated a better future, a happier day, as the growth of the grain cast by the sower into good ground, and the ever-growing vine, were preferred to others of darker significance.

THE CHRISTIAN CATACOMB A BIBLE SOCIETY IN ITSELF.

One cannot look upon these expressive memorials of the earliest Christian art without being convinced that the Church of the first three centuries was not only thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures, and that it completed its collection of the canon at a very early date, but that its mind was imbued with an intense love of the Bible and a perception of an acquaintance with every part as a necessity for every class of believers. The Christian catacomb was the first Bible society. The manuscripts were utilized with great industry, but even the burial caverns served to compensate for the darkness and heavy atmosphere by the bright pictures which they bore, and which might gladden and strengthen in both worship and sorrow. The teachers of the Church in those dark days commended the reading of the Scriptures and the daily committing to memory of some portion. Jerome, in giving precisely this advice, merely reflected the general emphasis of the Fathers upon an accurate and full knowledge of the

Old and New Testament Scriptures.[1] A frequent object, in both the sculptures and frescoes of the catacombs, was the scroll, in a cistus, either held in the hand of an apostle, most frequently Paul, or lying at his feet. Where two scrolls lie before a figure above a tomb, which is frequently the case, the meaning is that the deceased made no difference between the Old and New Testament, but accepted them both as the equal and inspired word of God.

PROOF IN THE CATACOMBS OF THE FAMILIARITY OF EARLY CHRISTIANS WITH THE SCRIPTURES.

In some of the tombs of the catacombs small caskets of gold or grosser metal have been found, which contained a portion of one of the gospels, and were placed about the neck of the deceased.[2] The contrast between the accurate knowledge of the Scriptures by the Romans of the first Christian centuries and their present ignorance, and between the pains taken by the clergy of that time to educate the common people and the persistent hostility to the circulation of the Bible by the Italian priesthood of the nineteenth century, may be regarded as one of the saddest retrogressions in ecclesiastical history. The very catacomb rises as a witness against the intentional and continued hiding of the word of God from the people.[3]

SYMBOLISM OF THE CATACOMBS TEACHING CHRISTIAN DEFENCE AND ORTHODOXY.

The symbolism of the catacombs reflects also the apologetic and orthodox elements in the prevailing theology. There is no trace of skepticism or deviation from the standards in the whole range of the earliest subterranean Church. Only those who were thorough believers in the fundamental doctrines of the Bible seem to have shared that peculiar privilege of membership in the Church of the catacombs. Not only is the general faith of the deceased expressed in the ornamentation of the grave by the imagery of art, but that fervent and adoring type of Christian devotion which made the Christian religion the very passion of the heart.

[1] Epist. ad Nepotian. 7: Divinas Scripturas sæpius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. Epist. ad Demetrian., 15: Statue quot horis sanctam scripturam ediscere debeas quanto tempore legere, non ad laborem, sed ad delectationem et instructionem. Epist. ad Eustach., 19: Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de Scripturis sanctis quotidie aliquid discere.

[2] Hemans, History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy, p. 572, f., and note.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 572. Hemans calls attention to this inconsistency. This author, who in his youth became a Romanist, had returned to the Church of England.

The center of the faith of those days, as in all the later times, was Christ. Either by name or rude figure he was everywhere present in the catacombs. No grave was so richly ornamented as to be without some symbolical reminder of him, while even the humblest, if it possessed nothing more, had at least the fish, which, in Greek, constituted the monogram of Christ. The fish and the anchor, in conjunction, first appear in the year 234, while the monogram of Christ in Greek letters appears in 291.[1] He was everywhere remembered, whether in the elaborate chapel or in the crudest of the early symbols beside the niche where the child of the sorrowing poor was laid to rest. Sometimes even familiar pagan suggestions were introduced to teach the universal kingship of Jesus. Three representations of Christ as Orpheus have been found, two by Bosio, found in the catacomb of St. Domitilla, and one by De Rossi in that of St. Callisto. In the two former he sits between two trees, crowned with a Phrygian cap and playing upon a lyre. Beasts, both tame and wild, hear his notes, and come thronging about him, charmed and overcome by the melody. Doves, peafowls, horses, sheep, serpents, tortoises, a dog, and a hare at a lion's feet hear the music from the lyre, and mingle together in Edenic simplicity and peace. Christ was here the symbol of universal empire. All enemies must yield to him and live in peace.[2]

CHRIST THE CENTER OF ALL TEACHING.

It was a beautiful illustration of the disposition, in the Christian art of Rome as in the theology of Alexandria, to make even the heathen world contribute its wealth to the glory of Christ. Theseus slaying the Minotaur was made a type of David slaying Goliath. Parallels were everywhere sought and easily found. Other notable warriors were introduced, precisely as they appear on the coins and in the statuary that have survived until our day, but with additional symbolism to indicate the adaptation to the spiritual life of the Christian. One figure, gilt on glass and dating from the end of the fourth century, represents our Lord with radiated head, holding the globe of universal sovereignty in his hand, while at his feet lay the cistus, containing the gospel scroll. The Trinity, a theme of profound interest and discussion during the Arian excitement, was symbolized in such way as to express an equality of the persons of the Godhead. De Rossi, however, furnishes seven examples of firm faith in this doctrine of the Trinity long anterior to the beginning

CHRIST TAUGHT AS THE UNIVERSAL SOVEREIGN.

[1] Hemans, History, p. 580, f. Ἰχθύς, fish, consisting of the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.)

[2] Kraus, Roma Sotterannea, p. 281.

of the fourth century, where the monogram of Christ is combined with the triangle.[1]

The representations of our Lord were of the cheerful and hopeful type. That part of his life which related to his sufferings was seldom treated. The cross, in all the early period of art in the catacombs, was carefully avoided.[2] The place itself, the home for the lifeless, was in itself a sufficient crucifixion, without further reminder. Jesus was not represented in his passion, but in the safer and more peaceful periods of his life. Only twice among the sculptures of the sarcophagi of the Lateran Museum is he represented during the final scenes, and then only before Pilate, and, later, crowned with thorns. He everywhere appears as the Good Shepherd. In every stage of the development of the catacomb the figure of the shepherd, with a lamb thrown across his shoulders, and feet held by the shepherd's hands, greeted the eye. The tenderness of the friend in the darkness of the grave is contrasted with the hostility of kings who lived in palaces.

SYMBOLISMS OF CHRIST WERE OF CHEERFUL TYPE.

In exquisite harmony with this constant portrayal of our Lord as the world's friend, making sacrifices for its salvation, is the universal spirit of peace and love which pervades the entire symbolism of the catacombs. "In Pace" was one of the first, as it continued to be one of the last, legends everywhere placed about the tombs. In spite of the storms that beat above the surface there was below nothing but the sublime calm of the soul at rest with God. Martyrs there were, in numbers now difficult to learn, but there is great reserve in the portrayal of suffering, both that of Christ and his followers. The record of martyrdom was studiously avoided, not only that the Christian might give no indication of disputing the "divine preeminence of the Man of Sorrows,"[3] but that, as we think more probable, the Christian so abounded in love that he was not willing to show, even by figures on the wall of a tomb, that he remembered the agony which a persecuting hand had produced. He was not willing that any later eye should see a line or a symbol that would indicate a lurking spirit of revenge.[4]

PEACE AND HARMONY EVERYWHERE TAUGHT.

Death had no terror to the Christian. He was not inclined to surround it with the environment of bitterness and pain. It was, to him, only the bright pathway to the certain and blessed home.

[1] Hemans, History, p. 574.
[2] Hagenbach, Kirchengeschichte der ersten Sechs Jahrhunderte, p. 397.
[3] Hemans, History, p. 579.
[4] Raoul-Rochette, Prem. Mém. sur les Antiquités chrétiennes, p. 74, f.

Hence he surrounded the grave with images of beauty, peace, and joy. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this rule. Maitland gives this translation of one: "In Christ Alexander is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. He lived under the Emperor Antonine, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns [from which it is inferred that he was praying in the catacombs when arrested], afford no protection to us. What can be more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? When they could not be buried by their friends and relatives—at length they sparkle in heaven. He has scarcely lived who has lived in Christian times."[1] That the Christians sometimes indulged in stern imprecations unlike the meekness of their Master is seen from the following inscription: "If anyone violate this sepulcher, let him perish miserably, lie unburied, and not arise, but have his lot with Judas."[2] But this inscription was probably after the times of the persecution. It was only after the last persecution was ended and the authors had taken their places in the oblivion of obloquy that any symbol of suffering was to be found in a Roman catacomb. The martyrdom of St. Sebastian, preserved in a small terra cotta relief, dates from the sixth century, while the representation of the sawing asunder of Isaiah by two executioners, pressed on a glass cup, does not date earlier than the fourth century.[3] But images of peace and plenty everywhere abound, as if the Christians were living in palaces and kings were their servants. The hare, feeding on grapes; the luxuriant palm tree; the vase of flowers; the loaf of bread, reminding of the agapæ; and the dove, with the olive branch in its beak, are only a few of this endless variety of beautiful and peaceful types of life.[4]

MAITLAND'S TRANSLATION OF AN INSCRIPTION.

IMAGES OF PEACE AND PLENTY.

Occasionally a clear ray is thrown by the symbolism of the catacombs on the early history of the Church. For example, an epitaph in the cemetery of St. Domitilla, dating from the first century, shows the early entrance of Christianity into the imperial household, and that no mercy was shown the Christian, whether

[1] For the original of this and other epitaphs in which the fact of martyrdom is not concealed, see the Maitland Catacombs, pp. 32, 33, 127–129.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[3] Hemans, History, p. 579.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 578.

as servant or empress. Christianity gave early attention to the ameliorating of slavery with quite a large measure of success. So completely was the thought changed that of the eleven thousand epigraphs from the catacombs, which extend from the first century to the sixth, scarcely six, and two of these doubtful, contain any allusion to the evil, and then only in brief and simple language. Not even the clank of the slave's chain was heard in those calm retreats of the peaceful soul and the resting body.

THE EPITAPHS REVEALING EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

The worship of the Virgin Mary is not sustained by the testimony of the catacombs.[1] Only in the later symbolism, when the Church was passing into its long midnight of superstition, do we find traces of divine honor paid to her. The very language of the inscriptions indicates the progress of the Church from simpler to a more artificial life.

MARIOLATRY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE CATACOMBS.

All the early epitaphs were brief and nervous, the quick breathings of the stricken soul in its moment of supreme agony, when a violent hand might smite again and bring the weeper and the lamented into the sudden companionship of death. "In Pace" was most frequently written with the monogram of the Holy name beneath. This example is from the Barberina Museum in Naples:

BEAUTY AND FORCE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

In Pace

Then came, later, the addition of such affectionate words as "To the dearest Mother," "To the sweetest Child," "Peace to thy spirit," "God raise thy soul," or some such brief expression of affection. Later, however, when the Church had gained great wealth, and its forms were becoming more ritualistic, and the catacomb was used solely as a cemetery, without any thought of refuge from persecution, the epitaphs became fulsome and rhetorical pan-

[1] Shahan has put forth a little book, The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs, Baltimore, 1892, written in a delightful spirit, in which he traces the occasions in which Mary is the subject of illustration. But he uses the word catacombs in a wide sense, and his evidence of any veneration in the Roman sense is very slight. Most of the instances are the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi. There is no Mary-cult in the early Church, Shahan's beautiful little volume itself being witness. See the remarks of Dean Milman in his great essay on Pagan and Christian Sepulchers at Rome, in Savonarola and Other Essays, Lond., 1870, pp. 494–498, reprinted from the Quarterly Review, July, 1865. As Milman says, the catacomb representations of the Virgin could be reproduced without offense in any illustrated Protestant Bible.

egyrics. The following from Akræ (Palazzuolo), in Sicily, is an example of the inflated style of showing affection to the deceased:

Here lies Marina
Who lived honorably and unblamably in this world
and went to the Lord at an age of 37 years,
paying her debt on the 24 December; but she loved God.
don't injure my grave, and don't let the light in on me,
but if you will show me the light, may God
give thee the light of His wrath.[1]

In another inscription, of a still later period, the year 533, the usual order of address is changed from the living to the dead, and the deceased clergyman is complimented as having been a faithful husband:

Te Levita parens soboles conjuxque fidelis,
Te mixtis lachrimis luget amata domus.[2]

Men are true to their theology in at least two places—their altar of prayer and the burial place of their dead. The catacomb served both these purposes, and it stands as a living witness against prayer for the dead. That beautiful epitaph, "Received to God," dating first from the year 217, but frequently repeated afterward, proves that the Church believed that the pure soul had passed through its ordeal here and had forever completed its trial. In the great compilation of De Rossi, comprising thirteen hundred and seventy-four different epitaphs, there is no example of prayer which refers to the state of the dead in the future life.[3] The catacombs furnish very little support to the early existence of clerical celibacy. In fact, the custom was of later than patristic enforcement, and Gregory the Great was the

NO SUPPORT FOR PRAYER FOR THE DEAD OR CLERICAL CELIBACY.

[1] For a full account of the progressive character of the inscriptions in the catacombs, see Piper, Die Grab-Inschriften der alten christen im Evangelischer Kalender für 1855, pp. 28, ff.

[2] Comp. Hemans, History, p. 582, f.

[3] Hemans, History, p. 583. Lee gives only three cases from the catacombs, and two of these are simply the common formula of well-wishing, IN PACE. The third is: "O Calamera, may God refresh thy soul, together with the soul of thy sister Hilara." This is placed by Luipi under Severus (Lee, pp. 20, 21). There are, however, other instances: "Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus;" "May thy spirit rest well in God." (Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed, Lond., new ed., 1875. See Schaff, ii, 804.) There are also requests made by the living for intercession by the dead, as "Ora pro parentibus." But in the thousands of undated inscriptions before Constantine both forms of prayer are very rare.

first to coerce the subdeacons to observe it. Even at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries both subdeacons and deacons could enter into the married relation. In the following inscription, of the year 472, and found at St. Paul's, on the Ostian Way, the wife of a subdeacon, or deacon, thus addresses her surviving husband and children from the grave:

> Levitæ conjunx Petronia forma pudoris
> His mea deponens sedibus ossa loco.
> Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ.

It is not likely that such an inscription would be allowed to proclaim the heresy of priestly marriage had celibacy been a legacy of either the apostolic or patristic period.

THE CATACOMB TEACHING THE SIMPLE FAITH AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

The catacombs furnish many interesting glimpses into the simple faith and life of the Church. In those epitaphs expressive of the tender ties of affection one can see how complete the revolution was from the dwelling place of the Roman idolater to the home of the Christian. The relationships of the earthly life were regarded by the Christian as only the anticipations of the companionship of the immortal life. As Christians sat together at their own table, and satisfied their hunger by earthly food, so when they buried their dead and worshiped in the catacombs they made the Lord's Supper the great central fact in their service. This part of the practice of Christians is represented in many different symbols in all the catacombs. They prove that, at all worship, except the evening and night vigils, the Lord's Supper was celebrated, both before Constantine and in the age succeeding his reign. Of the small place which Mariolatry occupied in the practice of the early Church the catacomb gives undesigned evidence in the fact that the word never occurs, and then only after Livia, until the year 381. Had it been the usage to pay divine honors to the mother of our Lord many Christians would have been named after her, and the name would have reappeared in the epitaphs of every catacomb. Hemans says very truly that, remembering how that sweet name has since, in most natural Christian preference, been given in many countries to males as well as females, must we not here perceive a tacit evidence—slight in itself, but significant in association with other clear tokens—to dissent, in view of such comparative neglect, from those absorbing regards now encouraged toward her, the most blessed of women ever so called upon the earth?[1] Withrow has paid special attention to this anti-Roman testimony and implications. But con-

[1] Hemans, History, p. 585.

troversy over these underground tombs is an unprofitable task, even if we were certain as to the date of the inscriptions, which is far from being the case. The catacombs reveal the immortal hope of the Christians and the simple elements of their faith. It is useless to look for indications of distinctively Protestant or Roman dogmas.[1]

Stanley says that the paintings of the catacombs do not involve any of our modern disputed opinions. "But they indicate a difference deeper than any mere expression of particular doctrines. They show that the current of early Christian thought ran into an altogether different channel, both from the contemporary writers of the early period, and also from the paintings and writings of the later period."[2] "In the Lateran Museum are two or three compartments of epitaphs under the head of 'illustrations of dogmas.' But there is only one doubtful example of any passage relating to a dogma controverted by any Christian Church."[3]

DEAN STANLEY.

There are touches of tenderest poetry in these dark labyrinths, which, in their day, were the scene of a sorrow so deep that the Christian shrank from the thought of expressing it in sculpture on the tufa walls of the burial place of his beloved dead or companions in tribulation. "Natus," for example, is frequently used to indicate the day of baptism,[4] as if the believer had never been born until his baptism by the divine Spirit. It strikes one strangely that the word "puer" should frequently appear in connection with mature men. But when we remember the perpetual hopefulness that beamed through the darkness of the catacomb, and that the long years rested but lightly on the Christian heart, the surviving daughter or widow or son could well call the deceased father or husband a "boy," in view of the immortal youth upon which he had entered.

TOUCHES OF SYMPATHY IN THE CATACOMB.

The old Roman names had now passed away, and the epitaphs show a transition to those proper names, remarkable in the Hebrew history, and equally so in the Puritan depression, when a firm faith in God, and a recognition of his special deliverances in great need, appeared in the names which rejoicing parents gave their children. Such names as Adeodatus (given by God), Diodorus (God's gift), Fructuosus

FIRM FAITH RECORDED IN THE LATER NAMES OF THE CATACOMB.

[1] See some excellent remarks on this point in Schaff, Church History, ii, 306–310.

[2] Christian Institutions, Harper ed., p. 228.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 242, note.

[4] Hemans, History, p. 585.

(fruit-bringing), Renovatus (renewed), Anastassa (risen), Irene (peace), Sabbatia (holy day), and Concordia (harmony), with its variations, Cordius and Concordialis—all three of which were found in Treves—furnish beautiful evidence of how profound a religious sentiment reigned in the domestic life of the Christians of the first four centuries.

LITERATURE: THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. Beugnot, A. Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident. Paris, 1835. 2 vols.
2. Chastel, E. Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient. Genève, 1850. The works of Chastel and Beugnot were crowned by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.
3. Merivale, C. Conversion of the Roman Empire. Lond., 1865.
4. Maclear, G. F. The Conversion of the West. Lond., 1878–79, 5 vols.: Northmen, Celts, English, Slavs, and Continental Teutons. The last vol. (the Teutons) is by Merivale.
5. Schultze, V. Geschichte des Untergangs des griech.-römischen Heidenthums. Jena, 1887.

Mosheim treats this subject in Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine. Ed. Murdock. N. Y., 1854. 2 vols. Vol. i, pp. 259–290, still of value for its solid treatment of topics for which adequate space was not found in the author's Institutes of Church History. See also Renan, Marcus Aurelius, ch. xxv.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE labors of the apostles in extending Christianity were continued by faithful successors. With the beginning of the second century a new stage was reached in the evangelizing efforts of the Church. The Jews had withdrawn more and more into that isolation which has marked their history during every subsequent period, and, as a basis for the origin of Christian societies in the countries about the Mediterranean, were nearly exhausted.

THE TWO FIELDS OF EXTENSION.

The further propagation of the Gospel was, first, among the pagan populations in close relationship with Rome, and, second, among the ruder tribes which now stood ready to satisfy their hunger by feasting on the dying empire. The Gospel extended its power by virtue of the very forces used to destroy it. The frequent exiles had little effect to hush the voice of Christians who had been useful enough at home to be banished for the faith. When Athanasius was banished from Alexandria to northern Gaul not only did the young society in the latter country now have the presence of an heroic example, but the exile himself began his organizing work, and his influence was felt throughout the diocese of Treves, at that time the capital of Gaul, which extended as far eastward as the Rhine.[1] Christians multiplied in every direction. The failure of paganism to preserve its hold on the popular mind, and the adoption of Christianity by great numbers of citizens, produced a general loss of faith in the old divinities. No country was strong enough to sustain the popular religion. Christianity had penetrated everywhere. The style which the fathers employed to describe the success of the Gospel is somewhat boastful, but was fully warranted by the facts. Had they exaggerated its marvelous expansion their opponents could have refuted them immediately. On the contrary, the enemies of the Gospel admitted the fact and raised their voice against the insanity which had seized the people. Justin said: "There is no race of men, whether barbarians or Greeks, or by whatever appellation they may be designated, whether they wander in wagons or dwell in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Father and Creator of all things,

[1] Reynolds, Athanasius: His Life and Work, Lond., 1869, pp. 52–54.

in the name of the crucified Jesus."[1] Tertullian said: "We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled your empire—your cities, your islands, your castles, your towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies, your palace, your senate, your forum; your temples alone are left to you."[2]

Antioch was the center from which the light of the Gospel radiated westward through Asia Minor and eastward into the distant parts of Asia. The place where the followers of Jesus were first called Christians, it became the mother of missions from the Euxine Sea to the heart of China.[3] Its prestige as an apostolical Church, closely associated with Paul, gave it an authority which was felt throughout Asia Minor and far to the eastward. Jerusalem, as a center of power, had lost its hold, and its spiritual dominion was divided between Antioch and Alexandria. Cappadocia, and the entire coast of the Black Sea within the boundaries of Asia Minor, were visited at this period by the missionaries of the Gospel. Colchis, at the east end of the same sea, felt the touch of the new Christian life. Iberia, or Georgia, which had already been approached in apostolic times through the labors of Andrew, but whose Church had been crushed through King Adere, in the year 55, was again visited by the messengers of the truth. The legendary Clement, who was banished to the shores of the Black Sea by the emperor Trajan, was the means of beginning the recovery of the country to Christianity, while a pious woman, Nona, completed the evangelization.[4] The king was converted to the new faith, became himself a teacher of Christianity for his people, and, about the year 325, wrote to Rome for teachers and preachers, who were sent out to Georgia and succeeded in leading the entire population to adopt Christianity.

ANTIOCH THE CENTER OF PROPAGATION.

To Armenia belongs the honor of being the first country which formally accepted Christianity as the popular religion.[5] As early as the middle of the second century it was reached by Christian influences, but the permanent conversion of the people was first brought about by Gregory, who received the name of Illuminator because he had succeeded in leading the people, who were fire worshipers, to accept the true light of the

ARMENIA FIRST COUNTRY EVANGELIZED.

[1] Dialog. cum Tryphon., p. 341.

[2] Apolog., c. xxxvii.

[3] Neale, History of the Holy Eastern Church, Patriarchate of Antioch, p. 1.

[4] Ioselian, A Short History of the Georgian Church. Transl. by Malan, pp. 10, ff.

[5] Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 53.

Gospel.[1] King Tiridates became a Christian, and favored the extension of the new religion throughout his country. In the year 302 the Bishop Leontinus, of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, consecrated Gregory Bishop of Armenia, with the rank of patriarch. The Persians employed measures to prevent the spread of Christianity among the Armenians, and succeeded in burning all the Greek books of the Armenian Christians and substituting for them only Syrian books. The Byzantine empire, on the other hand, supported the Armenian Church, and brought about the creation of an Armenian Christian literature in the popular language. The basis of this new literature was, first of all, the invention of the Armenian alphabet by the monk Mesrop, who, in connection with the patriarch Isaak and Moses Choronensis, translated the Bible into the Armenian tongue.[2]

By the third century Persia was penetrated by the Gospel. In Ctesiphon, the metropolis, there was a flourishing city, which became a point for the expansion of Christianity still farther in the East. A magian, by the name of Moleed, was converted to Christianity, and wrote a work in favor of Christianity, in which he attacked the doctrines of Zoroaster. He suffered martyrdom as a result of becoming a Christian about the year 300. Constantine commended the Christians to the protection of the Persian king, Sapor II, but as the Persians regarded it blasphemy to ascribe to the good God the creation of a nation having evil forces, and as the Christians were regarded as friends of Ahriman because they did not worship Ormuzd, and as political hostility to Rome was identical with religion, the Christians were severely persecuted. Under Sapor, in the year 343, a persecution began which continued forty years.[3]

PERSIA.

The Persian persecutions were fiercer than the Roman. In the East even the apostates were cut down, while in the Roman empire they were spared. "The systematic persecutions of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian," says Görres, "were harmless in comparison with the attack upon Christianity by the State of the Sassaniden." The persecution did not cease until about 456, when the Church became Nestorian.[4]

PERSECUTIONS IN PERSIA.

[1] Malan, Life and Times of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Lond., 1868. Malan was an enthusiastic student of Armenian Church history and liturgy, and did much to introduce the knowledge of this Church into England.

[2] Comp. Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Bd. i, s. 165, f.; Histoire, Dogmes, etc., de l'Eglise Arménienne, Paris, 1855.

[3] Jacobi, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, pp 208, ff.

[4] Das Christenthum im Sassanidenreich, in Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1884, Heft 4.

CHRISTIANITY IN OSRHÖENE.

In Edessa, the capital of the kingdom of Osrhöene, in Mesopotamia, Christianity was very early established. The early legends attribute its evangelization to Abgar Uchomo, who was contemporaneous with Christ, but there is no historical support for this belief.[1] The twenty-sixth king of the Osrhöenian dynasty, who ruled from 152 to 187, if not positively a supporter of Christianity, was not hostile to it, and there is positive evidence that the Gnostic Bardesanes was of great influence over him. At the beginning of the third century, or in the year 202, the Christians possessed a church, which was swept away by the river Darzain, a stream in the northern part of the city, which overflowed by the winter rains. In the beginning of the fourth century the bishop Cono laid the foundation of a new and large church, which was completed during the episcopate of Saades, his successor. Thirty years later the bishop Abraham built the Church of the Confessors, and in the year 371 the great baptistery was erected. Edessa became an important center of Christian learning. The Nestorian Christians who were compelled to leave the Roman empire took refuge here and laid the foundations of a rich and influential Syrian literature.[2]

ACTIVITY OF THE AFRICAN CHURCH.

The Church in Africa developed with great rapidity during the second and third centuries. Alexandria and Carthage were the two cities from which the Gospel was propagated with a zeal and power which were not surpassed in any part of the Christendom of the times. Alexandria, a metropolis of both commerce and classic learning, was a fountain of Christian truth. Thither men came from every part of the Delta, from the whole Kyrenaica, from the entire valley of the Nile as far up

[1] An interesting controversy has been carried on between two French scholars as to the origin of Christianity in Edessa. Tixerot, Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse, Paris, 1888, following Lipsius, claims that the Gospel "did not reach Edessa before A. D. 170, when the first missionaries had a Syriac translation of the gospels ready to put into the hands of their converts." Martin, on the other hand, in his work on Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse et des Églises Syriennes, Paris, 1889, says that Christianity came into Edessa through the Parthians who were at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and that it is highly probable that organized churches appeared here in the first century, according to the "ancient, unanimous, universal, and constant tradition." The Edessa Church itself claimed St. Thomas as its founder, and his body was said to have been brought here from India in A. D. 232. See Scott, in Current Disc., vii, 144, 145. Eusebius says that Thomas sent Thaddeus to Christianize the Edessenes, H. E., i, 13. See McGiffert's ed., notes, pp. 100–102, and Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity of Edessa, Lond., 1864.

[2] Arnold, art. Edessa, in Herzog, Real-Encyclopædie, Bd. iii, s. 645, f.

as Philæ, and from Abyssinia, and returned, after having imbibed a deeper knowledge of the Gospel and spent their lives in advancing the cause of Christianity. The Church in that city enjoyed a rank next to apostolicity, having been founded in the name of St. Peter by his disciple Mark. In doctrinal questions Alexandria generally coincided with the other Eastern Churches, while Carthage, whose civilization was Roman, and whose language was the Latin, harmonized with the Western tendencies. Alexandria, as a patriarchate, comprised the entire territory of Egypt. The whole of proconsular Africa, including Getulia, Mauritania, and Numidia, whose western bounds were washed by the waves of the Atlantic, was evangelized in part through Roman and in part by Carthaginian Christians. The great number of bishops in the third century dependent on the exarchate of Carthage furnishes strong evidence of the extent to which Christianity had been propagated and its strong hold upon the people. At the synod of Labes, near Carthage, in the year 240, or 242, ninety bishops were present, while in the council of Carthage, in the year 308, two hundred and seventy bishops signed the conclusions.[1]

THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

Abyssinia was within the patriarchate of Alexandria.[2] It was through two young men, Frumentius and Ædesius, who alone survived the massacre of the members of a scientific expedition conducted by Meropius, a Tyrian philosopher (about A. D. 330). The king made Ædesius his cupbearer and Frumentius his secretary and treasurer. On the death of the king much kindness was shown the captives, through the favor of the queen, who was the regent. When the prince succeeded his father, as King Aizan, all restraint was removed from the two Christians; Ædesius returned home and became a presbyter in Tyre, while Frumentius visited Alexandria and was consecrated Bishop of Axuma, in Abyssinia, the Axum of the present Abyssinian Tigré, and returned thither and became the apostle of the Switzerland of Africa. He had the title of Abuna, our Father, which was equivalent to Patriarch.[3] Frumentius stood firmly against the Arian heresy, for this controversy reached even the valleys and cliffs of Abyssinia, and on this account Emperor Constantius, a champion of Arianism, interceded for his overthrow, but failed in his scheme. Constantius endeavored to induce the king to dismiss Frumentius,[4] and a Hindu,

[1] The fortunes of the African Church are traced finely by Lloyd, The North African Church, Lond., 1880.

[2] Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, vol. i, p. 173.

[3] Fuhrmann, Handwörterbuch der christlichen Religion-und Kirchengeschichte, p. 33; "The Religion of Abyssinia," in London Quar. Rev., xxx, 325–330 (July, 1868). [4] Athanasius, Apologia ad Constantium, cap. 31.

Theophilus, was provided to succeed him, and even arrived from Socotora, and landed at Axum, but was compelled to leave.[1] Toward the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth, a translation of the Bible was made from the received Greek text of the Alexandrian Church into the old language of the Axumitic kingdom.

PRESENT ABYSSINIAN CHURCH OLD EGYPTIAN, OR COPTIC.

The Abyssinian Church has always remained in connection with Alexandria, and it is still the boast of its members, "We drink from the fountain of the Patriarch of Alexandria." Its present relationship is therefore old Egyptian, or Coptic, and, though the controversies of the ancient period were Monophysite, Jacobite, Monothelite, or Eutychian, according to the theological color of Alexandria,[2] and though it still is feeble, it has nevertheless survived the countless revolutions and the persecutions of the Moslem, it has preserved its existence through an unbroken succession of Christian governors until this century, and might with truth be called the Waldensian Church of the Switzerland of Africa.[3]

EUROPE THE CENTRAL FIELD OF INTEREST.

The central field of interest as a scene of missionary activity down to the imperial toleration of Christianity was the continent of Europe. Crossing the Dardanelles, and landing in Thrace, we find that Christian missionaries have continued the labors of Paul and carried the Gospel through Mœsia to the Danube, and that a few have even crossed the river and labored among the ruder Goths of Dacia. Macedonia had Christian societies, while Illyricum was strong enough to give its name to a prefecture which included the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.[4] Down to the year 310 three bishops had resided at Philippopolis, in Thrace, while down to the council of Nicæa three had resided in Thessalonica. But Heraclea, in Thrace, had been an episcopal residence as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161), and in Tomi, a city of Scythia, the first bishop resided in the time of Diocletian (284–305). A council was held at Anchialus, in Thrace, which was attended by twelve bishops, and another at Corinth, where eighteen bishops were present.[5]

[1] Hoffmann, art. Æthiopische Kirche, in Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, vol. i, p. 166.

[2] Gobat, Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia, N. Y., 1850, pp. 4, 342. On the earlier history, compare Socrates, Church History, i, 19; Sozomen, 2, 24; Theodoret, i, 22.

[3] An excellent treatment of the Abyssinian Church will be found in the London Quar. Rev., July, 1868, pp. 317, ff. Comp. also Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1869, pp. 608–612. [4] Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, vol. i, p. 172.

[5] Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 46.

The entrance of the Goths, who lived along the lower Danube, within the pale of Christianity, was one of the most important events in this entire period. It was the opening of a new field of evangelistic labor, and had the important effect of bringing the Gospel into relation with many of the Teutonic tribes that constitute the Germany of our times. About the beginning of the third century the word Goth became a generic term which applied to a number of rude tribes united under one chief. They were of savage nature, and of all the enemies of the Roman none were more bitter or so hard to overcome. They were constant guards against the progress of Roman arms to the north. The emperor Decius was slain by them, near the Danube, in the year 251. Constantine pursued the wise policy of making them friends and allies, and thus disarmed their hostility against the empire. He even introduced some of the barbarians into his army, there being at one time not less than forty thousand Gothic soldiers under his command. Christianity thus had an easy entrance among them, and its propagation was greatly facilitated by the good relations between the Gothic chiefs and the emperor. Such was the progress of Christianity among them that at the council of Nicæa a Gothic bishop, Theophilus, was present and signed the decrees.

THE GOTHS ON THE LOWER DANUBE.

While these general influences were operating the direct evangelization of the people took place through one man, Ulfilas, who was born in the year 313, of a Christian family captured by the Goths from Cappadocia a half century previously. He received the Gothic name of Vulfila, or Wolf, and while he learned that rude dialect he learned also the Greek language, and was trained as a Christian by his parents, who, in their captivity, did not forget the pure faith of their native Cappadocia. He labored as a teacher among the Goths, and in the year 343 was consecrated a bishop of that people. He came in closer relationship with Arianism than with the orthodox faith of the Church, probably because of its being the favorite view at court, and adopted it as his theological type. It must be said, however, that, while he declared his Arianism shortly before his death, in all his statements concerning the Trinity there is not one which harmonizes with the Arian denial of the divinity of Christ. Leaving out his own declaration of purpose, his expressions are in harmony with the trinitarian theology.

ULFILAS THE GOTHIC APOSTLE.

He advanced steadily in honor and authority among his people, and on important questions represented their interests in treating for them with the eastern Roman empire. Through his labors the

Gospel advanced rapidly among the Goths, but without reaching the king, Athanaric.[1] He, indeed, persecuted his Christian subjects, but during an invasion by the Huns the West Goths, separated under the leadership of Fritigern from the East Goths and encouraged by overtures from Rome, crossed the Danube and settled in Thrace, where Ulfilas now had an important field of missionary activity. The pleasant relations with Rome were soon disturbed by war, but in all cases Ulfilas conducted the negotiations on the part of his people. While the general effect of his life was to bring his barbarous people into relationship with the Roman empire, and to make Christianity the great uniting bond, his most important single work was the translation of the Bible, except Kings, into the Gothic. Until his day the Goths possessed no alphabet, but he invented an alphabet, organized their speech, and lifted their confused and rough and variable dialects into the dignity of a language, and crowned this work by translating the Bible from the received Greek into a strong, idiomatic and nervous Gothic version. This version has not been preserved entire, but the Codex Argenteus, one of the finest specimens of an early Christian manuscript in existence, contains the four gospels.[2]

IMPORTANT GENERAL LABORS OF ULFILAS.

In Greece it was Corinth, rather than Athens, which constituted the ecclesiastical center of operations. Athens, however, constituted a diocese, and the third bishop resident there suffered martyrdom in the year 179. Aquileia,

CORINTH THE CENTER IN GREECE.

[1] Herzog, Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte, p. 422, ff.

[2] This manuscript was made by Ostro-Gothic scribes in Italy, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It was discovered in a Westphalian abbey, but the means by which it reached there are not known. Thence it reached Cologne, and then Prague, where it fell into the hands of Königsmark, who captured that city. The Dutch scholar, Vossius, came into possession of it and took it to Amsterdam. At his death, in the year 1669, the Swedish chancellor, De la Gardie, bought it, and presented it to the University of Upsala, where it is now the chief ornament. It is written in silver and gold letters, and upon the finest vellum, which is of a pale blue ("purple") color. Both the beginning and the end are gone. It is of great scientific value because it is the oldest treasure of the Teutonic family of speech. Comp. Murray, Handbook for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, ed. of 1858, p. 339. Critical editions of this great work have been prepared by Von der Gabelentz and Loebe, Leipz., 1836–46; Bernhardt, Halle, 1875; and Stamm, Paderborn, 1878, 7th ed., by Heyne. On Ulfilas, see Waitz, Leben und die Lehre des Ulfilas, Hanover, 1840; Bessel, Das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen, Gött., 1860; Scott (C. A.), Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths, with an account of the Gothic churches, Lond., 1885, and the art. by the same in the Encyc. Brit. Scott's work is of great scientific value. Hopkins has an admirable article in the Andover Review, August, 1892, pp. 162–179, "Ulfilas and the Conversion of the Goths."

standing at the head of the Gulf of Venice, not originally an Italian population, but conquered by the Romans and converted into an important city, became a point of influence in favor of Christianity among the ruder peoples of the eastern Alps. Later it became a patriarchate, whose jurisdiction extended from the Istrian Pola on the east to Como in the west.[1]

ROME THE GREAT WESTERN CENTER OF AGGRESSIVE CHRISTIANITY.

Rome, of all places in the western territory of the Church, was the heart and hand of a vigorous and aggressive Christianity. Its claim as the chief episcopate in Italy was not contested by any dioceses of the peninsula. Its antiquity extended farther back than that of any other; indeed, through Roman labors the societies, from the Alps down to Sicily, had been organized, and had now grown, in large measure, into episcopates. The first council we hear of in Italy was the provincial synod of Rome, which consisted of twelve bishops, and was presided over by Telesphorus, whose episcopate lasted from the year 142 to 154. Between this first provincial synod and the year 303 we have evidence of seventeen Roman synods and councils, which were attended by bishops from all parts of Italy, and, as in the case of Polycarp of Smyrna, at the Roman synod under Anicetus, sometimes by distant bishops.[2] From the beginning of the second century episcopates in Italy increased rapidly, and by the year 311 there were societies and bishops in every Italian province. Some of the dioceses were small, especially in southern Italy, where even the archiepiscopal provinces were hardly as large as the episcopal dioceses in the northern countries.[3]

SPAIN AND GAUL.

Spain and Gaul were fields of zealous missionary activity. The Roman bishop was supreme over the bishops in both these countries, and all indications of obstinacy or rebellion in those provinces were promptly dealt with by orders to appear at Rome. But in those countries themselves there was not a recognition of Roman supremacy at the beginning. Germany, France, Spain, Britain, Africa, and even Illyricum and seven Italian provinces, were in no wise subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch in those earliest days.[4] By the close of the second century Christian societies had been established in nearly every part of Spain.[5] In the year 237 the Roman bishop Anterus addressed a letter to the bishop of the provinces of Bætica and Toletana,

[1] Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, vol. i, p. 175.
[2] Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 40.
[3] Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, vol. i, p. 174.
[4] Bingham, Works, vol. iii, p. 23.
[5] Meyrick, The Church in Spain, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, p. 24.

while a little later Cyprian addressed two letters to the Spanish Christians, one to a presbyter and the people of Legio and Asturica in the north, and another to a deacon and the people of Emista, in the south of Spain. Eutychianus, Bishop of Rome in the last of the third century, wrote his first epistle "to all the bishops of the province of Bætica."

These indications that the Christians of Spain were of importance enough to be addressed in special official documents from Rome prove the progress which the organization of the Church in that country had already made. The council of Elvira, which met in the year 305, was attended by nineteen bishops, and the list of their dioceses shows that the cities were represented, but the evidence is not clear as to the extent to which the intervening rural regions were evangelized.[1] There is no mention, by any writer, of schools existing in Spain at this period. Christianity was established in Gaul about the same time as in Spain, and, according to a tradition traceable to Gregory of Tours, there were seven bishoprics in the whole of Gaul by the middle of the third century, namely, Turones (Tours), Arelati, Narbona (Narbonne), Tolosa, Paris, Arverna, Lemoricum.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN SPAIN.

By the beginning of the fourth century churches had been established in all the Gallic provinces. Vienne became an episcopal residence in the year 118, Autissiodorum (Auxerre) about 132, and Lugdunum (Lyons) about 177. Treves, which preceded Paris as the capital of the province, became a bishopric as early as the beginning of the fourth century,[2] and was a center of evangelistic light into the lowlands of the north and eastward as far as the barbarous towns of the Rhinelands that marked the borderland between the Frank and the Gaul. But a Christian society had been organized in Treves as early as the middle of the third century, if not actually the seat of a bishop at that time, while Mettis (Metz), Tullum (Toul), and Virodunum (Vendome) were sources of light to the surrounding country. Treves, however, was far in advance of any other city in northern Gaul. Because of its being the center of civil authority it was called Altera Roma, and the political prominence gave it likewise an ecclesiastical authority.[3] The Bishop of

STRONG CHURCH IN TREVES, THE PREDECESSOR OF PARIS.

[1] Wiltsch furnishes the list of the dioceses, Handbook, vol. i, p. 41, f. Dale, The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century, Lond., 1882; an admirable work. Meyrick, The Church in Spain, ch. v.

[2] Gundling, Ausführ. Discours von Cher-Triev, § 7, p. 374, ff.

[3] On Treves, see Freeman, Augusta Treverorum, in British Quarterly Review, July, 1875, and Essays, series iii; Reynolds, Athanasius, pp. 53–54.

Treves was one of the number present in the council of Arles, which met in the year 314.[1] One Gallic council, at least, was held during the second century, namely, that in Lugdunum, in 198. It is not probable that there were schools in both that city and Treves;[2] but this is a supposition based on the missionary activity of which these two cities were the sources for many years.

But little progress was made at this period toward the conversion of Germany. That part which bordered on the Rhine was more easily reached than the ruder peoples between that river and the Elbe in the north and the Danube in the south. CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY. Wherever we find Christian societies it would seem that they were more or less the natural result of the presence of a portion of the Roman army, which consisted largely of Christians in the later part of the reign of Constantine. It must be admitted, however, that there were Christians in Germany before the soldiers of that emperor made it possible to sing psalms without danger in the forests of idolatrous Germany. Colonia was a bishopric about the end of the third century. At the same time the Gospel was introduced into Rhætia by the bishop Narcissus, and an important society, some of whose members took their place of honor in the constellation of martyrs, grew up in Augusta Vindelicorum, the Augsburg of our times.[3] So early as A. D. 177–202, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, speaks of the "Churches planted in Germany, which do not believe or hand down aught different [from that held by the other Churches], nor do those in Spain, in Gaul, in the East, in Libya,"[4] and elsewhere.

That the Gospel reached Britain at this time is hardly to be questioned. Origen signalizes the entrance of the Gospel into that country by saying that the Britons, "although divided from our world, are united with the Mauritanians in the worship of the same God."[5] The enthusiasm toward the evangelization of the North, which seems to have been at its maximum in Rome about the middle of the second century, very probably reached Britain and seized upon some of the more important points in the neighborhood of the sea. THE GOSPEL IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND. The vigor of the Irish and

[1] On this council, see R. Travers Smith, The Church in France, Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 13–17.

[2] Langemack, Theil i, s. 108, f. There was an important school in pagan times at Autun. Smith, The Church in France, p. 11.

[3] Fabricius, Lux Evang., p. 420; Wiltsch, Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 45.

[4] i, 10, 3. See Baring-Gould, The Church in Germany, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, pp. 1–17.

[5] In Lucam Hom., 6, tom. iii, 939.

British Church in the fourth and later centuries can hardly be accounted for by assuming a later date for the introduction of Christianity. In the council of Arles, of 314, three bishops from Britain signed the conclusions—Eborius of Eboracum (York), Restitutus of Londinium (London), and Colonia Londiniensium (Lincoln). The location of these bishoprics will prove that the whole of the Britain of that day was organized into a complete ecclesiastical system, and that the leaders of the Church in that country were forming plans not only for standing in relation with the Church on the Continent, but for a thorough evangelization of the various tribal elements which made up the warring population of the Britain of that time.

CHRISTIANITY A LEAVENING PROCESS IN THE NEW FIELDS.

There were peculiarities, as will have been seen from our survey, in the extension of Christianity in this important period. There was no great organized arrangement for the spread of the Gospel; neither was there a fund for the support of missions or a settled policy as to how far any measure of the social life might be allowed on entering the Christian fold. Christianity was operating through its leavening process by virtue of that expansive force which was a beautiful and necessary part of its nature. The Christians believed, and therefore spoke, and, if need be, were ready for martyrdom. Those were the days when the individual impulse was the master sentiment of the Church. The zealous preacher did not need to wait for a commission from a board of missions, or an examination as to physical condition, or for formal proof of intellectual vigor, or for the approval of the catechetical school in Alexandria or Antioch, or for a training in the language of the people to whom he went. If he was thoroughly in earnest in preaching the word he was ready at the shortest notice for the longest journey and the farthest field. His was that individual inspiration which wrought the miracle of converting a tribe and planting the cross as far distant from the Roman Forum as the labarum was borne by the soldiers of Constantine.

MANY OF THE FIRST PREACHERS UNKNOWN.

The most of these first laborers, who followed in the paths of the apostles, and extended them infinitely farther, are unknown to history. They were, except Ulfilas and a few others, obscure people, often captives and women whose very lives and names have not been recorded in the annals of early Christian history. We only know that when the more formal evangelistic movements were in progress there were abundant evidences that the Gospel had already reached the country and was still existing in feeble and obscure form. Often the first

recorded indication of the existence of Christianity in a country is to be found in the presence of a bishop who represented it in Nicæa or some obscurer council. Before Ulfilas was born Christianity had penetrated the Gothic tribes, and, in calm and retired places, the name of Jesus was known and revered by some worshipers above all the idols of that warlike people. That remarkable man was only thirteen years old at the time of the council of Nicæa, and yet among the signers of the decrees of that first general council of the Church stands the name of Theophilus, bishop of the Gothic tribes. There is no certainty as to how the Gospel first reached there, but the evidence of the existence of a Christian society is too strong to admit of doubt.

SPONTANEOUS PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

After a man had entered a new field, and built up a Christian society, and taken his place among the workers for the farther Gospel, he was recognized as a servant of the Church. His work was his patent to spiritual nobility. Much was left to individual prompting. The gravest question was the condition of the heart that was pressed by the great burden of winning a tribe or a province to Christ. No risks were taken by the Church at home for anyone. Each one went at his own charges, found his own way as best he could, and wrought with mighty will for the propagation of the Christian faith. He was little disturbed by the questions which divided Alexandria and Rome or Antioch and Carthage. His mission was among the needy, who were gross idolaters. His risk, at this time, was not great. Between martyrdom by a Decius or Diocletian and death by the battle-ax of a Dacian or Briton savage there was little to choose. He was willing to take the first step toward opening a new pathway for the Gospel, and, if he fell along the way, his faith never wavered that so far, at least, his work would make the labor of his successor the easier. This spontaneous propagation of the Gospel, by persons who were impelled toward it by an inspiration which they neither would nor could resist, is among the most remarkable factors in the early Church. It was the passion of the ministerial heart to bear the cross still farther than anyone had carried it. In the later times, while organized life absorbed these individual promptings, there needed to be official authority for every evangelistic work. It was a lower spiritual stage which created this necessity. That Church is the strongest which, in every age, combines most harmoniously the smooth operation of organic laws and restriction with the largest liberty of work in fields which the individual conscience has pointed out.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE CHURCH IN UNION WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE CONTROVERSIAL AGE.

A. D. 313–680.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE STATE—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW PERIOD.

No sooner had the first decade of the fourth century passed than one of the most critical periods in the entire history of the Church was introduced. The imperial opposition which had been in force for three centuries against Christianity with only varying severity now ceased, and the new religion became a pronounced object of the patronage and friendship of the State. This strange and unnatural relation was far more dangerous, as later events sadly proved, to the life, doctrine, and polity of the Church than even the heartless persecutions of Nero, Decius, or Diocletian. For the Church, like many individuals, can more easily accomplish its mission against declared opposition than against selfish assistance.[1] With the complete liberty of Christian worship and evangelization, and the removal of political disabilities from the Christians, there at once arose a secular spirit which was only the natural recognition which the Church made for its new imperial favors. The Church now leaned on the political arm. Previously it had enjoyed the inestimable privilege of relying for its existence and growth on purely moral forces; but now that it received the proffer of support from the State the temptation was strong to accept it and shape its new life in harmony with it, and, as Bryce says, "to frame herself upon the model of the secular administration."[2] It was gratifying to the Christians, who had as yet no experience of the danger of leaning on political power for

CHRISTIANITY IN FRIENDSHIP WITH THE EMPIRE.

[1] Gregory Nazianzen says: "The Christian Church has still more to fear from its enemies within than from those without."—Orat. i, p. 85.

[2] Holy Roman Empire, p. 11.

aid, to find their councils presided over by an emperor, their enemies arraigned for punishment, their institutions established by supreme decree, and their funds supplied from the imperial treasury.

This great change brought the Church into subjection to the State. When the first Christian emperor professed faith in the Gospel he had no idea of abandoning any of his prerogatives to the Church, but to control its life and administration, after the manner of his pagan predecessors in dealing with the prevailing faith of their subjects. There was no change in the organic law of the empire, which placed all the people at the mercy of their ruler. The Church, in every department of its life, was subjected, as a part of the general machinery of the government, to the supremacy of the emperor.[1] The marvel is that such a transition should have occurred without some decided protest on the part of controlling Christian minds against the dangers that would naturally result from it. But there was universal gratification among the Christians that the ægis of a Roman emperor was now extended over their proscribed faith, and that their scanty means were to be supplemented, for the purposes of worship, by unsparing largesses from the treasury of the general government. It did appear that no serious embarrassment could befall the administration of religious affairs, owing to the apparent safeguard furnished in the elaborate system of ecclesiastical government which existed by the beginning of the fourth century. But when we remember that Constantine still reserved, and even exercised, the right of Pontifex Maximus, and that he claimed toward his adopted faith the same prerogative of supervision which both he and his predecessors had exercised toward the national religion, this very magnitude of Church officers became a source of increased danger. The necessary imperial confirmation of an officer of the Church soon disappeared in the more alarming usage of imperial nomination.

IMPERIAL PROTECTION A DANGER TO THE CHURCH.

Before this great change the Christian Church had constituted a grand moral unity in itself, confronted by the opposing perpetual unity of the Roman empire. But when once the two formed a league the State began its dangerous process of absorption of the Church. "The Church conquered the empire," says Freeman.[2]

[1] Lea, Studies in Church History, p. 13. Andrews says: "It is not likely that Constantine meant to profess conversion. He simply substituted a better for a poorer State religion. He was, of course, the head of the new as previously of the old. Rome had always made religion a State affair, and the promotion of Christianity caused no change in this. Dante's State Church theory was identical with that of the Roman republic."—Institutes of General History, 3d ed., Bost., 1891, p. 86. [2] Outlines of History, N. Y., 1873, p. 96.

By reversing his declaration he would have approached more nearly the fact. The real truth is, the empire conquered the Church. There was not a moral force in the Christian world which was not either impaired or thrown into the background by the change. Neander says: "The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to establish Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever force."[1] No sooner did the Church find itself under the protection of the empire by a voluntary acceptance of the proffer and resignation to its behests than secularism in ecclesiastical government and heresy in grosser forms began their destructive work, and centuries were required to solve the problems and remove the difficulties which, otherwise, would have been the easy work of decades. Had there been no absorption of the Church by the State the formularization of Christian doctrine and the evangelization of the nations would have been the natural and speedy mission of the Church. Protestantism would never have been a necessity, for the very evils that it arose to correct would not have existed.

THE EMPIRE CONQUERED THE CHURCH.

Thus early in the history of the Church was formed that alliance of Church and State whose corrupting and enthralling influence has only appeared in ever-clearer light during the flight of fifteen centuries, and to which must be attributed no moderate degree of the errors of Romanism[2] and the divisions and limitations of European Protestantism.

[1] History of the Church, vol. ii, p. 31.

[2] "If a man considers the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion he will easily perceive that the papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."—Hobbes, Leviathan, pt. iv, xlvii.

CHAPTER II.

TOLERATION UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS.

In no respect is the decline of a nation more perceptible than in the increase of aspirants to the chief rule. This evil reflects the sway of party spirit, of lust for power, of commercial stagnation, of fixed policy, and of uncertainty for the future. The Roman empire, measured by this standard, was hastening rapidly to disintegration. Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, was called from the command of the army in Britain, in the year 306, to succeed his father as Roman emperor. The empire, therefore, had six claimants of the throne—Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus, in the East, and Constantine, Maximianus, and Maxentius, in the West. But history nowhere furnishes a more striking illustration of the capacity of genius to overcome opposition and make even hostile plans contribute to its final triumph. Constantine's measures were prompt and summary, and, while his memory cannot be acquitted of the stain of injustice and cruelty, it must be confessed that he was the only man of his age who comprehended the needs of the country and had the wisdom and capacity to alleviate them.

SIX CLAIMANTS TO THE ROMAN THRONE.

He no sooner came into power than he allied himself intimately with the interests of the persecuted Church. To sympathize with the Christians in their sufferings and their doctrines was a part of his inheritance from his father, who, though tolerant of all faiths, was especially so of Christianity. Maxentius, who possessed Rome and was a bigoted and superstitious defender of the old paganism, led an army against Constantine. The latter promptly responded to the challenge and met his antagonist on the banks of the Tiber, at the Milvian bridge, ten miles from Rome. Previously to the engagement there occurred that remarkable phenomenon which had an important bearing not only on the fortunes of all Christian emperors, but upon the Church itself for many centuries. Constantine claimed to see, at noonday, a luminous cross in the heavens, bearing the words, "*Hoc vince*"— By this conquer. The form of the cross was the Greek letter X, intersected by the Greek P (☧), the monogram consisting of the initial letters of the Greek word for Christ—Χριστός. Constan-

CONSTANTINE'S VISION OF THE CROSS.

tine, in perplexity, fell asleep, and Christ appeared to him, presenting to him the same symbol of his own passion and commanding Constantine to use it as his ensign in the battle, promising him victory over Maxentius as the reward of his obedience. Constantine, on awaking, accepted the vision as from God. Henceforth he had the labarum, guarded by fifty chosen men, carried at the head of his troops in all his wars.

Few incidents in history have occasioned more controversy than Constantine's vision of the cross. Eusebius, Lactantius, and Rufinus, all writers of the fourth century, make much mention of it, the first alone describing it as a vision, the rest speaking of it as a dream. Stripped of the superstitious reverence with which it was regarded by the early Church, and the frivolous discussions of later writers, the probability is that Constantine, intensely excited by the belief that the battle about to take place would be decisive of his own fate, and, for a long time at least, of the destinies of the Church, did dream in the night preceding the engagement that he saw a cross and heard a divine command concerning it. While still under the influence of the dream he could easily fancy, on the following day, a complete confirmation in some fleecy cloud of his experience of the preceding night. Neander says:[1] "In accordance with the pagan mode of thinking, which for the most part still clung to him, his attention would be directed to watch for signs in the heavens, from which he could gather an omen. In his intercourse with the Christians he had heard of the miraculous power of the Christ; he already believed in the God of the Christians as a powerful being. It is very possible that, either of himself or at the suggestion of Christians about his person, he imagined he perceived, in the shape of the clouds, or in some other object, a sign of the cross, the Christians being disposed to trace their favorite symbol in almost every object of nature. The vision in his sleep, which perhaps immediately followed, admits also, in his case, of an easy explanation. Thus, then, Constantine was led to conceive the hope that by the power

NEANDER'S EXPLANATION OF THE VISION.

[1] Church History, vol. ii, p. 11. Very few historians now believe that the vision of Constantine was a supernatural occurrence. Newman is one of the last defenders of that view. Essays on Miracles, Biblical and Ecclesiastical, Lond., 1843, 5th ed., 1885, pp. 271, ff. The semipagan Constantine was a poor trophy for such a divine apparition, the truculent murderer that he was. Gibbon, Waddington, Bruckhardt, Zeit Constantius des Gr., 1853, pp. 394, 395, and some others consider the whole story an invention. But, though Constantine was equal to that task, it is not necessary to assume this hypothesis. Schaff has some excellent remarks, iii, 20–28. See also Richardson, Eusebius, Life of Constantine, p. 490, Chr. Lit. ed.

of the God of the Christians and the sacred symbol of the cross he should conquer."

The circumstance was at once employed by him to inspire with heroism his army, who are alleged to have seen the same image of the cross in the heavens. In this, however, he simply employed an instrumentality derived from the Christian religion in the same way that Roman generals had been accustomed to lead their forces under the inspiration of the utterances of soothsayers, of omens derived from sacrificial usages, and of ordinary natural phenomena that, for the occasion, were made to serve a special purpose.

The favorable result of the battle with Maxentius, while it was the decisive event in Constantine's career, was the beginning of public aid to the Christians. Being supreme in the West, he now issued, in the year 312, his first edict favorable to the Christians. This edict, the joint work of himself and Licinius, ruler of the European East, only granted full liberty to all religions, but a later one, issued at Milan, in 313, gave the full right to every citizen to profess Christianity. Maximin, the emperor in Asia, was hostile to the Christians, but, being defeated in battle by Licinius, the latter and Constantine became the supreme rulers. Whatever public favor had been shown the Christians by Licinius had been the result of policy or the fear of Constantine, and now that the disputes concerning their respective boundaries, in which the two became involved, had to be settled by the ordeal of battle, all the pagan sympathies of Licinius were openly expressed. He assumed as his mission the restoration of the old paganism, sacrificed to the gods before the engagement began, and made a vow to destroy the Christians. He was signally defeated, but later, in 324, again attacked Constantine. Once more defeated, he was put to death by order of Constantine in the following year.

FIRST EDICT IN FAVOR OF CHRISTIANITY.

Constantine was now the sole ruler of the Roman empire. His signal successes had given him increased confidence in the verity of the Christian religion, and he now issued an edict exhorting all his subjects to adopt the Christian religion, but still leaving to each to choose between the new faith and the old. To his public proclamations in favor of the Christian religion there was added, in 325, the convocation of the council of Nicæa, for the purpose of settling the disputes on the divinity of Christ. He attended some of the sessions in person. With the progress of his reign his sympathy with Christianity became more intense, but it was not until his final illness, at Nicomedia, during the feast of Pentecost, in 337, that he received, at the hand of the bishop, Eusebius, the rite of baptism. He died at the age of sixty-five.

COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

Constantine bears the full impress of a transitional character. In his own person he represented the relaxing grasp of paganism and the certain supremacy of Christianity. Whatever personal advantage he may have perceived in a policy of toleration toward the Christians, there can be no doubt that he was serious in his attachment to their doctrines. While it must be admitted that as late as the year 319 he permitted the practice of pagan rites, and two years later even consulted the haruspices, protected the heathen priests in the exercise of their rights, inscribed one side of his coins with his own image and the other with that of Apollo, required his subjects to consult soothsayers in seasons of distress, and reserved the title and prerogative of pontifex maximus until his death,[1] great allowance must be made for him as a ruler because of the associations in which he was placed and the dangers which constantly threatened him from the patrician class, who still adhered to the pagan faith.

CHARACTER OF CONSTANTINE.

In order to free himself as much as possible from this last embarrassment Constantine resolved, "Deo jubente," to transfer the capital of his empire from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Bosporus. Here, at this magnificent meeting place of two continents, he built the city of Constantinople and adopted every measure to make it a Christian city. He interdicted all pagan practices, built churches, attended divine worship in person, and made the city a center of ecclesiastical power and prestige which for many centuries was destined to be the rival of Christian Rome and decide the evangelization and civilization of the eastern half of northern Europe. But of scarcely less power toward the improvement of the material condition of Christians and the increase of their number than public edicts and the founding of a Christian capital were Constantine's ordering the civil observance of Sunday, his confiscation in the East of pagan temples for Christian churches, his support of the worship out of the general treasury, his emancipation of Christian slaves, his exemption of the clergy from military and municipal duty, and his promotion of Christian education among his subjects.[2]

CONSTANTINOPLE THE CAPITAL OF THE EMPIRE.

[1] "He was still chief pontiff of Jupiter, 'Best and Greatest.' He still suffered the god of the Romans to be invoked in the camps as well as in his accustomed temples. He did not forbid vows to be made and prayers addressed to the genius of the emperor. He looked forward to be himself enrolled after death among the blessed objects of the national cult."—Merivale, General History of Rome, p. 587. But we cannot doubt the sincerity of Constantine's Christianity, so far as it went. He was an anomaly, and must not be judged by our standards. See Cutts, Constantine the Great, Lond. and N. Y., 1881, p. 128.

[2] Schaff, Hist. Christ. Church, vol. iii, p. 31.

The three sons of Constantine—Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans—divided their father's empire, and were acknowledged as emperors by the Roman senate. The first ruled over Britain, Gaul, and Spain; the second, over Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and the third, over Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantius, who survived his brothers, became the sole ruler of the empire. The sympathy of the father with Christianity continued in the sons, who exerted their utmost influence to place it upon a sure basis. But they lacked both the genius and power to follow strictly in the footsteps of their father, and on the death of Constantius, in the year 361,[1] the relation of the successor, whoever he might be, to the Church was a matter of grave uncertainty to the whole Christian world. Unhappily, the Christians had learned, by the example of a great father and three weak sons, to lean upon an arm of flesh.

SONS OF CONSTANTINE.

[1] Constantine was buried in the Church of the Apostles, in his new capital, a church which he had designated as his own mausoleum. "While the church was consigning the emperor with the celebration of the sacred mysteries of the Christian faith to his tomb amidst the cenotaphs of the apostles, and inscribing him in its calendar as Isapostolos, the senate of Rome was decreeing him the usual honor of an apotheosis and ordering incense to be burned before his statue."—Cutts, Life of Constantine, p. 419, who has a picturesque account of his last days and death. Thus the emperor's wish to be worshiped as a god was satisfied.

LITERATURE: JULIAN.

The sources are the writings of Julian. Serviceable ed. is F. C. Hertlein, Leipz., 1875. The best contemporary account is that of the careful pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus. The best Christian records are those of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, Gregory of Nazianzus, Orationes, invectivæ in Jul. duæ, written six months after the death of Julian, Cyril of Alex., Contra Impium Jul. libri x (also pub. in Spanheim's ed. of the works of Julian, Leipz., 1696). Important. Libanius, *Ἐπιτάφιος ἐπ' Ἰουλιανῷ*, in Works, ed. Reiske, Altenb., 1791–97. 4 vols.

1. Bleterie, Abbé de la. Vie de l'empereur Julien. Amst., 1735; transl., Lond., 1746.
2. Warburton, W. Julian. 3d ed., Lond., 1763.
3. Lardner, N. Works, ed. Kippis, vii, 581, ff. An excellent canvass of Julian's testimony to our New Testament books.
4. Gibbon, E. Decline and Fall, ii, chaps. xxii–xxiv. "Fairly just, and one of the most splendid passages in historical literature."
5. Schulze, H. De Philos. et Moribus Jul., Strals., 1839.
6. Strauss, D. F. Der Romantiker auf dem Thron der Cäsaren, oder Jul. der Abtrünnige, Manh., 1847. With an animus against Frederick William IV of Prussia, it has a good account of the various opinions about Julian.
7. Julian the Apostate. In Meth. Quar. Rev., July, 1849, 387–406.
8. Auer, J. E. Kaiser Jul. der Abtrünnige im Kampf mit den Kirchenvätern seiner Zeit. Wien, 1855.
9. Broglie, A. de. L'église et l'empire romain au quatrième siècle. Paris, 1856–69; 4th ed., 1868. Vols. iii and iv. Exhaustive.
10. Mangold, W. Julian der Abtrünnige. Stuttg., 1862.
11. Semisch, C. Julian der Abtrünnige. Bresl., 1862.
12. Lübker, F. Julians Kampf u. Ende. Hamb., 1864.
13. Mücke, J. F. N. Julianus, nach den Quellen. Gotha, 1867, 1869. 2 vols.
14. Ibsen, H. Emperor und Galilæan. 1873. Eng. transl., Lond., 1876. A splendid drama, written from standpoint of idealized paganism.
15. Kellerbaum. Skizze der Vorgeschichte Julians. 1877.
16. Rode, F. Gesch. der Reaction des Kaiser Julianus gegen die christl. Kirche. Jena, 1877. Excellent.
17. Rendall, G. H. The Emperor Julian, Paganism and Christianity. Lond., 1879. One of the best of recent historical studies.
18. Hoffmann, J. G. E. Jul. der Abtrünnige. Leid., 1880.
19. King, C. W. Julian the Emperor. A translation of Gregory Naz.'s Two Invectives, of Libanius's Funeral Oration, and of Julian's upon the Sovereign Sun, and Mother of the Gods. With notes and illust. Lond., 1888.
20. Zöckler, O. Julianus u. seine christl. Gegner, in Beweis des Glaubens, Feb. and March, 1888. Moffat in Pres. Rev., 1880, 580–582. Wordsworth, Julian the Emperor, in Smith and Wace, 1882. Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt.
21. Gardner, A. Julian, Philosopher and Emperor, and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity. Lond. and N. Y., 1895. Treated with thoroughness, skill, and discrimination.

CHAPTER III.

FINAL EFFORT OF PAGANISM FOR EXISTENCE—JULIAN.

At the time of Constantine's death there were living two of his brothers, Constantius Dalmatius and Julius Constantius. These had sons, who, being regarded as possible rivals, were put to death by the soldiers at the command of the sons of Constantine. Only two, Gallus and Julian, sons of Julius Constantius, escaped, the former because he was hopelessly sick, and the latter because his extreme youth—for he was only six years old at his uncle's death—gave no ground of apprehension. They were sent to a remote point of Cappadocia, and, though undergoing a real imprisonment, went through the form of education in the languages and sciences, under the oversight of the Arian bishop Eusebius and the eunuch Mardonius, and prepared for clerical service as lectors or readers.

GALLUS AND JULIAN.

Gallus becoming a Cæsar in the East, the imprisonment of Julian terminated, and he attended the schools of Constantinople. He rapidly developed, and in the various places that he visited he formed the acquaintance and placed himself under the instruction of Neoplatonic and other masters inimical to Christianity. He was especially fond of theurgy and every science relating to divination. Libanius, Ædesius, and Chrysanthius, and that shrewd juggler Maximus, were among his intimate friends and teachers. He secretly rejected Christianity, adopted the old paganism in its mysterious forms, but concealed his real sentiments by entering the monastic life and becoming a lector in the church at Nicomedia. His brother Gallus dying in 354, Julian was carried a prisoner to Milan, but after a confinement of seven months he was set at liberty, when he went to Athens, continued his studies, and was formally initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. In 355 he was proclaimed Cæsar, and had rule over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, but with powers greatly limited by Constantius, who had voluntarily called him to a share in the empire. He now developed great capacity as a military leader and, having made a successful campaign in Gaul, was, on the death of Constantius, declared emperor by his soldiers on the banks of the Seine, where the Hotel Clugny, the heart of old Paris, now stands.

JULIAN DECLARED EMPEROR.

Julian, when he ascended the throne of the Cæsars, was surrounded by a certain mystery. His experience had been varied, and for the most part passed in the study of occult sciences. He had been scrupulously strict in person, and even after his elevation to the throne he introduced into his palace all the rigid austerity of the monastic cell. His military successes had lifted him out of the calmness of the scholar, and his subjects at once felt that they had to deal with more than a man of books. The early exile and constant barriers to progress which he suffered at the hands of Constantine's family had the natural effect of prejudicing him against a faith which could permit such hostility. He regarded that family as at once the representative of the power and the illustration of the morals of the religion of Christ. Almost until his accession to the supreme throne he retained the mask which for ten years had concealed his paganism, and as late as the year 361 he assisted at Vienna in the Feast of the Epiphany. But he succeeded Constantius in the same year, and declared himself the public enemy of Christianity. His subjects, therefore, had no ground for expecting either the sympathy of the humane heart or the candor of the judicial mind.

CAUSES OF JULIAN'S PREJUDICE AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

Julian took up his abode at Constantinople, and began his systematic measures to convert his capital into a pagan city. His one great plan was to suppress Christianity and restore paganism. He would not have, however, the unmixed paganism of the earlier period, but with such improvements as might be derived from oriental and Christian sources. His hostility to Christianity was not expressed by a formal edict against its profession, for he claimed that his philosophy required generosity toward all beliefs, but by the many barriers which his inventive mind knew how to employ. Chief among these may be mentioned: 1. His encouragement of schism and strife among the Christians, for the purpose of mutual weakening and destruction; 2. His virtual prohibition of Christian schools and the study of classic authors by Christians by insisting on the inculcation of the religious teachings of those authors; 3. His interdict against Christians holding any important offices in the empire; 4. His removal of disabilities from the Jews, and his proposed, but abortive, restoration of the temple at Jerusalem, that he might prove the falsity of Christ's prediction (Matt. xxiii, 38; xxiv, 2.);[1] 5. His

JULIAN'S METHODS OF OPPOSITION TO CHRISTIANITY.

[1] This work was said to have been stopped by the irruption of flames. Newman, Essay on Miracles, has vindicated this as a real miracle. Schaff and others regard it as a providential use of natural means, and Milman, Gieseler, and others claim that it is purely a natural phenomenon. Some doubt the

requirement that his soldiers should attend the heathen worship; 6. His withdrawal from the clergy of the immunities previously granted them; 7. His failure to punish his heathen subjects for acts of violence committed against the Christians and his great care to punish a Christian for the slightest offense; 8. His support of heathen service and the rebuilding of pagan temples at the public expense; and, finally, 9. His own authorship of a work in defense of paganism, which was written in part during his Persian campaign, but is now lost.[1]

The sole reign of Julian was brief, lasting only twenty months. He died in June, 363, while on a campaign against the Persians, and maintained his enmity to Christianity to the close. It was a pleasing fancy among some of the Christians that just before his death he confessed failure with the words, "Tandem vicisti, Galilæe."[2]

CHARACTER OF JULIAN.

The character of Julian was a strange mixture of the culture of the scholar, the fanaticism of the iconoclast, the shrewdness of the politician, the executive capacity of the ruler, the superstition of the peasant, and the vanity of the egotist.[3] He not only hoped to see Christianity exterminated, but had the blind belief that he was to be the instrument of it. He attached much value to his own literary efforts toward the furtherance of his plans, but, like many royal successors in authorship, with Frederick the Great as a conspicuous example, he was never weaker than with the pen in hand.

The poor apology for a faith which he would furnish his empire

whole story. But it is related by the eminently veracious pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 1. That Jerome does not mention it leads Gibbon to say: "The silence of Jerome would lead to a suspicion that the same story which was celebrated at a distance might be despised on the spot." He alludes to Jerome's Palestinian residence. Guizot, notes on Gibbon, calls attention to the frequent explosions at the reopening of long-closed mines.

[1] The work of the Marquis d'Argens, Défense du Paganisme, par l'Empereur Julien, en Grec et François, avec des Dissertations et Notes, Berlin, 1764, contains a doubtful and unsatisfactory recovery of Julian's book, based on Cyril's confutation of it. Comp. Mosheim, Institt. Ec. History, vol. i, p. 227, note; Kurtz, Text-book of Ch. Hist., vol. i, p. 153.

[2] Ammianus, who witnessed the closing scenes of this strange life, reports that Julian died with philosophical composure, with a discourse on the soul and immortality. There is no reason to doubt this account. His exclamation about the Galilean is a legend of later writers. His contemporary, Gregory Nazianzen, who composed four orations against him, knows nothing of it. See Schaff, iii, 58, note 2.

[3] Niedner calls his zeal a "mania," and says that his outward tolerance was as much "shrewdness" as philosophy. Lehrb. der Kirchengeschichte, p. 186. Schaff and Neander give a fair and true estimate of his character.

as a substitute for Christianity was as nondescript and heterogeneous as was ever presented for human acceptance. Its full and hearty adoption by anyone but himself would have been an anomaly of the ages. It was a grouping of the speculations of the Neoplatonists, the arts of jugglery, the moralizings of the pagans of Rome's better days, the vagaries of Persian fire worshipers, and some good thoughts from the gospels and Christian writers. His one supreme god was the Mithra, or sun god of the East, beneath whom were numerous tutelary divinities, the hybrid brood which Julian derived from Grecian paganism and Alexandrian Gnosticism. His recourse to Christianity for rehabilitating paganism was one of the most marked inconsistencies of his administration. He reestablished the priesthood on the basis of the Christian ministry, and his pagan bishops preached to the people and expounded the mythologies. He brought over from Christianity into his heathenism the entire constitution of the Church, and provided for penance, excommunication, absolution, and restoration. Music was introduced into his temples, where the choirs chanted and the congregation responded. Confessing that pagans made no provision for their suffering classes, he provided hospitals for the sick, destitute, and orphans, and administered alms after the manner of the Christian diaconate.[1] He passed into history as "Julianus Apostata," Julian the Apostate; but the epithet is a misapplication, as it is not likely that he was ever anything but a pagan, his intensity increasing with power and years. The deplorable failure of his self-appointed mission and the disorganized state of society at his death were a fair illustration of the hopelessness of paganism. Its doom was now sealed, and the return of liberty to the Church was only a question of days.[2]

JULIAN'S PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE FOR CHRISTIANITY.

[1] Schaff, Hist. of the Chr. Ch., iii, 49, 50.

[2] A. Comte despised the memory of Julian as the apostle of the reactionaries. He would appoint an annual day for execrating his memory in company with that of Bonaparte, as one of the two principal opponents of progress, and as the "more insensate" of the two. Strauss compares him to the mediævalists who try to stay the march of modern thought, and considers him a vain, reactionary dreamer. Comte, System of Positive Polity, i, 82; John Wordsworth, Julian, in Smith and Wace, who in the course of a long and fine article (42 pp.) gives an excellent estimate of the bright and dark sides of his character and teachings. See especially pp. 516–518. For an excellent portrait of Julian from one of his own coins, see King, Julian the Emperor, Lond., 1888, pp. xi, xii.

CHAPTER IV.

FINAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

WITH Julian the house of Constantine came to an end. He was succeeded by Jovian, an officer in the army, who was proclaimed emperor on the day of Julian's death. The new ruler, though intrusted with important military command, had been pronounced in his sympathy with the Christians. On his accession to the throne he repealed all the unfavorable laws of Julian, and took good care that the confiscated churches should be restored to Christian use and that public worship should be sustained by the treasury of the State. His reign lasted only seven months, but the remaining emperors of the century, both in the East and the West, were not less active in their favor toward Christianity.[1]

JOVIAN FAVORABLE TO CHRISTIANITY.

Chief of these was Theodosius the Great, emperor in the East. His reign of sixteen years, unusually long for his hazardous times, was largely occupied in healing the injuries which had descended from Julian and in establishing Christianity upon a secure civil basis. During the time that he ruled the empire in conjunction with others his policy was more moderate. But when he became sole emperor, in the year 392, his course became at once more radical. In the year 381 he had forbidden apostasy to paganism, but permitted the practice of moderate heathen rites. In 385 he had reissued edicts against heathen sacrifices, and in 386 he had sent Cynegius, the Eastern prefect, into Egypt to close the temples; but in 392 he published an edict for the whole empire, declaring the practice of heathen sacrifice and divination to be high treason and punishable with death, and making the forfeiture of all property the penalty for even such lesser acts of idolatry as incense, garlands, libations, and lights. Even the entrance of a temple was followed by a heavy fine.[2] In the year 394, when he dwelt at Rome, he made heathen worship impossible by forbidding any expenditure for the same out of the general treasury.

THEODOSIUS THE GREAT.

[1] Emperors of the West: Valentinian I, A.D. 364–375; Gratian, 375–383; also Valentinian II, 375–392; Honorius, 395–423. Emperors of the East: Valens, A. D. 364–378; Theodosius the Great, 379–395; Arcadius, 395–408.

[2] Cod. Theod., xvi, x, 7, 9, 12; Sozomen, iv, 87; Idatius, A. D. 388 (Patrol. lxxiv); Beugnot, i, 360; Robertson, Hist. Church, vol. i, pp. 276, 281.

In addition to the official regulations for the suppression of paganism must be mentioned the cooperate agency of clerical and popular fury. The Christians in the East, finding themselves supported by civil authority, were immoderate in their zeal for the destruction of the temples and images of the old faith. They did not hesitate to organize for the very purpose of razing the historical edifices which had become centers of heathen worship. The culmination of these efforts was the violation and destruction of the Serapeum, a magnificent temple of Alexandria dedicated to the worship of Serapis. The image of the god was smitten by a daring soldier, and soon it was thrown down, broken to pieces, and burned in the amphitheater amid the shouts of the multitude. A church was built on the spot where the temple had stood.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SERAPEUM.

With the destruction of the Serapeum the last important center of heathen worship in the East disappeared; and with the death of the noble and beautiful Hypatia,[1] in the year 415, at the hands of the lector Peter, the last brilliant teacher of pagan philosophy disappeared from the Eastern empire. As Hypatia was returning from her lecture room she was dragged from her chariot by some Nitrian monks, headed by Peter the Reader, and at the connivance of St. Cyril, the gloomy and narrow inquisitorial Bishop of Alexandria, was taken to the Cæsareum, then a church, stripped naked, and hacked to death with oyster shells. Then she was torn in pieces and the fragments of her body burned to ashes. By the year 423 all public evidences of paganism in the East ceased, and by the year 485 there was no longer to be found a teacher of the Neoplatonic philosophy.

Kingsley, taking for his theme this excited period of transition from paganism to Christianity, with Alexandria as the scene, has produced in his Hypatia the best historical romance of the century.[2]

Suidas says that the death of Hypatia was due to the intrigues of Cyril, but recent historians incline to the view that he was only indirectly concerned. Bright says: "Cyril was no party to this hideous deed, but it was the work of men whose passions he had originally called out. Had there been no onslaughts on the synagogues there would doubtless have been no murder of Hypatia."[3] Robertson holds Cyril indirectly responsible. The murderers

[1] Gibbon gives an interesting account of this, ch. xxviii (iii, 253–259, Harper's Libr. ed.), with corrections of Smith and Milman.

[2] Hypatia, Lond., 1853. See Socrates, E. H., vii, 15, with notes of Zenos.

[3] Hist. of the Church, A. D. 313–451, pp. 274, 275.

"were mostly officers of his church, and had unquestionably drawn encouragement from his earlier proceedings."[1]

Kingsley's novel had the secondary aim, as Zenos says, of antagonizing the overestimation of ancient Christianity by Pusey and his followers. "Hypatia was written with my heart's blood," says Kingsley, "and was received, as I expected, with curses from many of the very churchmen whom I was trying to warn and save. Yet the book did good. I know that it has not hurt me, save, perhaps, in that ecclesiastical career to which I have never aspired. I am trying to make the church party with whom are my deepest sympathies understand that if they would conquer they must be themselves—what their formulæ rightly understood are already—the most liberal and wide-minded men in Christendom."[2] Stanley says: "It was his moral enthusiasm which, in the pages of Hypatia, had scathed with an everlasting brand the name of the Alexandrian Cyril and his followers, for their outrages on the name of humanity and morality in the name of a hollow Christianity and a spurious orthodoxy."[3]

VARIOUS OPINIONS ON KINGSLEY'S HYPATIA.

In the West the traces of paganism remained longer. Rome was its stronghold, for it was still a mark of highest culture there to revere the old faith. While public sacrifices had ceased, there was a secret sympathy maintained for the old faith which had been at once the practice and the pride of Rome in the grand days of the republic and the first and best Cæsars. Even Honorius, while he repealed none of the early laws against heathen worship, found himself only safe in restricting their execution and setting limits to popular Christian fury.[4] In some places, where the Christians destroyed pagan temples, there were collisions and murders. Though in every public calamity the pagans charged the responsibility upon the Christians for offending the national divinities, this had no effect to restrain the popular rage.

By the middle of the sixth century all public practice of pagan rites had ceased in the West. With Damasius and Simplicius, the last heathen philosophers, the great faith of ancient Greece and Rome, which had been branded by Valentinian, in the year 368, as the religion of rustics—Paganismus—ceased to exist, save as a superstition of ignorant peasantry

CESSATION OF PAGAN RITES IN SIXTH CENTURY.

[1] Church Hist., i, 401.

[2] Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life. Edited by his wife, Lond., 1878, vol. ii, p. 405. "In one section of the English Church," says his wife, "it made him bitter enemies." Vol. i, p. 366.

[3] Funeral Sermon on Canon Kingsley.

[4] Gieseler, Hist. Church, vol. i, pp. 287–289, text and notes.

or a study of the antiquarian. It must be admitted, however, that in certain very retired regions of Italy, and especially of the island of Sicily, certain heathen usages were retained and combined with Christian festivities. The later Protestantism never reaching these places, and intelligent Catholicism taking no note of them, the traveler still finds here and there, with pure Latin terms and mythological superstitions also, the strange admixture of pagan and Christian rites.[1]

[1] Murray, Guide Book for Italy. What Tzschirner says of the beginning of the fourth century applied equally well to the apparent total extinction of paganism in the West in the sixth century: "There was approach of the ancient Church to the heathen world. Certain heathen elements passed over even into the cultus, such as the festivities on the memorial days of the martyrs and at the offerings. A change occurred also in the usages and views of Christians."—Fall des Heidenthums, p. 617. Uhlhorn says: "The conflict with external heathenism was over, the struggle with the heathenism in the Church was to take its place."—Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism, p. 478. No doubt this is one explanation of the tenacious hold of superstition and the multitude of pagan and semipagan observances in the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER V.

THE THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

THE theological condition of the Christian Church at the beginning of the fourth century was one of mingled encouragement and alarm. It was clear, even amid the severe persecutions by the civil authorities, that much had been gained. The pagan systems of philosophy had aroused from their lethargy, and, like aged warriors, had gone into mortal combat with the new faith and fallen beneath the mighty thrusts of the first generation of Christian apologists. There was not a department of thought in which Christianity was not triumphant and aggressive. Its new schools arose on the ruins of its hostile predecessors, and threatened to equal them in the scope and power of its evangelical systems. The pagan consciousness had lost its traditional hopefulness, and almost its very vitality. But while there had been this general advance upon pagan ground there were striking evidences of the diversity of opinion among the Christians themselves concerning the fundamental doctrines of their faith. Nearly all the elements of the great controversies of the Church, beginning with the fourth century and extending down to the close of the seventh, are to be found in embryo in the second. It was, without doubt, one of the very necessities of an age when Christian truth was not as yet formularized, and each was left to the original word of revelation to derive his own inferences from it, that certain general divergences should arise. Differences of climate, education, temperament, ecclesiastical economy, and political circumstances became important factors in giving positive shape to these tendencies.

TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

The four great Christian schools were distinguished for their differences of interpretation and general theological methods, and gave tone to the thought of so much of the three great continents as had been reached by the Gospel. A fruitful ground of divergence in doctrine existed in the fundamental difference between the Grecian and the Roman minds. The warm controversial spirit of the Greek became more intense when, on the one hand, supported by his still more mercurial coreligionists of Asia Minor, Palestine, and the eastern half of North Africa, and, on the other, aroused by the

steady, practical, aggressive, and ambitious Christians of the West. The body of the Latin Church was content to follow the guidance of its spiritual leaders, but in the East every man assumed the right of discussion and conclusion. Even Cicero charged the Greeks of his day with a greater love of controversy than of the truth, while Gregory Nazianzen bears the following testimony to the universal participation of the population of Constantinople in the issues of the Arian controversy: "The city is full of people who dogmatize on incomprehensible questions. The streets and market places are the scenes of discussions by the old clo' dealers, the money changers, and the venders of edibles. . . . If you inquire the price of bread, you will be replied to by, 'The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son is subordinate to the Father.' If you inquire, 'Is the bath ready?' you will be answered, 'The Son was created from nothing.'"[1]

UNIVERSALITY OF THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

When once the controversial period was thoroughly introduced the relative difference became not only more marked but more influential. The monks proved to be no mean combatants. Looking upon every new advance in Christian thought as savoring either of sympathy with some form of pagan or Jewish thought or with such secular interests as arise from the busy contact with sinful society, they avowed themselves the champions of orthodoxy in all the lands bounded by the eastern half of the Mediterranean.

A marked feature of the controversial period were the complications of ecclesiastical and political life. An article in a creed of Christendom was often made to depend, at the Byzantine court, upon the schemes of a tricky eunuch or the blandishments of a beautiful woman of doubtful morals. The eastern emperors decided concerning the theological contestants, raising some to supreme ecclesiastical authority and banishing their adversaries on the weakest pretexts. But it is one of the peculiarities of history—and it would be a marvel but for the presence of the divine Hand in the career of the Church—that the leading doctrinal conclusions of the early councils were in strict conformity with the biblical basis, and were at once so complete and clear that all subsequent generations of orthodox Christians have accepted them as final. Nice and Chalcedon have not been equaled by Augsburg, Westminster, and Dort. "It is just as one-sided," says Hagenbach, "to ascribe the victory of orthodoxy to the combination of political power and monkish

COMPLICATIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.

[1] Cicero, De Oratore, i, ii; Græculi homines contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis; Gregory Naz., Oratio de Deitate Filii et Spiritus, opp. iii, 466. Comp. Kurtz, Handbuch d. allg. Kirchengeschichte, vol. ii, p. 99, note.

intrigues as it is to deny these factors altogether. Much as there was of human passion and dogmatism intermingled with this strife, yet it is not wholly to be derived from such impure sources; but there must also be recognized a law of internal progress, determining the gradual and systematic unfolding of the dogmas."[1]

[1] History of Christian Doctrine, vol. i, p. 228.

LITERATURE OF ARIANISM.

I. Sources—On the orthodox side consult Eusebius, Vita Constantini, and Contra Marcellum Ancyranum, and the other historians, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; the works of Athanasius; Greg. Naz., Orat. Theol.; Greg. Nyss., Contra Ennom.; Hilary, De Synodis, and De Trinitate; Cyril, Catecheses; Ambrose, De Fide; Augustine, De Trin., and Contra Maximum Arianum. Transactions of synods in Mansi, Concil., vols. ii and iii. Of Arius parts of the Thalia and two epistles, one to Eusebius of Nicomedia and another to Alexander of Alexandria, are preserved in Athanasius, Epiphanius, Socrates, and Theodoret. See also Philostorgius, and Fragmenta Arianorum, in Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, Rom., 1828, vol. iii.

II. Modern writers:

1. Bull, G. Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, 1685. Transl. in Library of Anglo-Cath. Theology. Lond., 1851. Learned and thoroughgoing discussion of all pertinent passages in early Christian literature.
2. Maimburg, L. Hist. de l'Arianisme. Paris, 1675. Against the Jansenists.
3. Walch. Vollständige Hist. der Ketzereien. Leipz., 1762, ff., 11 vols. (to the 9th century). Dull, but a work of candor and exhaustive research.
4. Newman, J. H. The Arians in the Fourth Century. Lond., 1833; new ed., 1888. A good study, but should be read in connection with more recent discussions, especially Gwatkin. Causes of the Rise and Success of Arianism, in Tracts Theol. and Eccl., Lond., 1874, pp. 137–306. An acute and admirable discussion. The four Latin dissertations in this book, pp. 1–92, and the fourth and fifth of the English essays, pp. 301–382, also bear on this general theme.
5. Baur, F. C. Geschichte der Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung. Tüb., 1841–43, vol. i, pp. 306–825.
6. Dorner, I. A. History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ. Edinb., 1861–63, 5 vols. Masterly and exhaustive.
7. Böhringer, F. Athanasius und Arius, oder der erste grosse Kampf der Orthodoxie und Heterodoxie. Leipz., 1874.
8. Kölling, W. Geschichte der arianischen Häresie bis zur Entscheidung in Nicäa. Gütersloh, 1876, ff.
9. Gwatkin, H. M. Studies in Arianism. Lond., 1882. See Church Quar. Rev., xvi, 375–402. The Arian Controversy. Lond. and N. Y., 1889 (Epochs of Church History). In this is a list of books, pp. ix–xi. Gwatkin is the best authority. He presents the matter in many new lights, with fine insight and historic impartiality. See S. A. Martin in Presb. and Ref. Rev., i, 503; Church Quar. Rev., xxx, 368.
10. Maly, C. Der arianische Streit (bis zur Kirchenversammlung zu Nicæa), in Jahresbericht d. K. K. Gymnasiums in Mähr. Weisskirchen, 1889–90. See H. M. Scott, in Presb. and Ref. Rev., ii, 336.
11. Bright, Wm. The Issues and Lessons of Arianism, in Waymarks of Church History. Lond., 1894, pp. 56, ff., 361, 364, 367.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTROVERSY ON THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST—ARIANISM.

A. D. 318–381.

THE Arian controversy, the first in the long series, turned upon what has been recognized in all times as the central fact of Christianity, the divinity of Jesus Christ. Its scene was Alexandria, Palestine, and Constantinople. Its chief sources lay in the vague teachings of the Antiochian school and the incongruities of the theology of Origen. It had played an important part in the heresies of the Ebionites, of Artemon and Theodotus. The Church, at its very outset, recognized the person of its Founder as the foundation of its entire claim to human indorsement. And the enemies of Christianity, as their attacks invariably proved, were equally clear in their conviction that with the overthrow of this doctrine their end would be essentially gained. There can be no greater error, however, than to suppose that the Arian controversy affected only the one doctrine of the divinity of Christ. At every stage of its progress it bore upon the whole divine nature of the Godhead.

PERSON OF CHRIST THE CENTER OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

The Arian controversy falls into two periods. The former extends from its rise to the time of its greatest violence, at the death of Constantius, or A. D. 318–361. The second continued from the beginning of Julian's reign to the extinction of Arianism proper by the decrees of the second council of Constantinople, or A. D. 361–381. The controversy bore, at the very outset, the impress of the fundamental difference between the vague eclectic school of Antioch and the exact and severe school of Alexandria. Arius, a native of Libya, or Cyrenaica, now a presbyter of Alexandria, preserved his Antiochian bias, which laid great stress on the unity of the divine nature and distinguished very sharply between the persons of the Godhead. Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Leontius, and others derived their theology directly from Lucian, whose pupils they had been. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, advocated with great zeal the eternal sonship of Christ and his equality with the Father. Arius arrayed himself publicly in opposition to Alexander, in the year 318. He contended that there was a time when the Son did not exist (ἦν ὅτε

THE TWO PERIODS OF THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.

οὐκ ἦν); that, having a beginning, he could not be of the same essence with the Father; that he was "a creature, yet not as one of the creatures;" that he was, however, creator of the universe, the Father only creating through his agency; that he was divinely illuminated and called the Logos; that Christ's knowledge was limited and that his will was changeable; and that the Holy Ghost is subordinate to the Son as the Son is to the Father.

ISSUE BETWEEN ARIUS AND ALEXANDER.

The issue between Arius and his bishop was clearly defined. Comparing the exact statements of the two, we find an agreement on the Son of God as a derived existence and as generated by the Father, and also that Christ, in any case, finite or infinite, was the all-perfect Saviour. The difference lay, at first, in assigning to Christ his proper rank in the universe.[1] The orthodox, as represented by Alexander, claimed, first, that his generation was from eternity, and hence coeval with the Father; and, second, that the Son was so derived of and from the Father that he was of the same essence with the Father (ὁμοούσιος). Both these doctrines were denied by Arius and his followers.

PURITY OF THE LIFE OF ARIUS.

For a time the controversy was confined to Arius and his bishop. The opinions of the former gained greater force because of his pure life and apparent candor, his popular capacity, and the indomitable energy with which he advocated his principles. His only fault lay in his public and persistent denial of what had been regarded a fundamental doctrine of the Church. Alexander, failing to convince him of his error, summoned a synod, which met at Alexandria in 321 and condemned the opinions of Arius and deposed him from his office. But the severe purity of the life of Arius had already won the affections of some bishops and many monks and others who either practiced or sympathized with the ascetic life, and these became the nucleus of a strong Arian party. "His austere life and novel doctrines," says Gwatkin, "his dignified character and championship of 'common sense in religion,' made him the idol of the ladies and the common people. . . . He knew how to cultivate his popularity by pastoral visiting—his enemies called it canvassing—and by issuing a multitude of theological songs 'for sailors and millers and wayfarers,' as one of his admirers says. The excitement spread to every village in Egypt, and Christian divisions became a pleasant subject for the laughter of the heathen theaters."[2]

[1] Newman, Arians of the Fourth Century, p. 255.

[2] The Arian Controversy, Lond. and N. Y., 1889, pp. 14, 15. See also Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, p. 19, and notes.

Constantine, regarding the controversy a mere battle of words, ordered both parties to desist from it. But when he learned through Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, his messenger to Alexandria, that the affair was one of great significance, he summoned a general council, which met at Nicæa in the year 325. No convention of representatives of the Christian Church is involved in such uncertainty as that at Nice. The exact date of the meeting, the president, the number of delegates, and the details of the discussions, are all involved in doubt. There were over three hundred bishops and many of the inferior clergy in attendance. Even heathen philosophers came to the city and took part in the informal street discussions. That the controversy had agitated chiefly the East is clear from the fact that only a few delegates appeared from the West—Hosius of Cordova, Cæcilian of Carthage, and two Roman presbyters, Vito and Vincent. Besides these there was one bishop from Scythia and one from Persia. The sessions were at first held in a church, but after Constantine's arrival, a fortnight later, they were conducted in a palace. Here he acted as president. Arius and his friends seemed to have some prospect of a measure of success. Still, the great majority of the bishops had no thought of the Lord's divinity being an open question, and no sooner had Eusebius of Nicomedia, with a score or more of bishops, presented an Arian creed than the council, by a common impulse, rose as one man and tore the creed into pieces. Athanasius, a young deacon from Alexandria, whom Alexander had been wise enough to bring with him, was eloquent and enthusiastic. His voice expressed the sentiment of the great body of delegates, together with the sympathy of the emperor. His example and appeals won to the orthodox side all who hesitated. The confession which the Arians presented was repudiated, their leader was publicly excommunicated, his writings ordered to be burned, and decrees established which clearly and pointedly declared the identity of the Son's essence with that of the Father—"*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, γεννηθεὶς οὐ ποιηθείς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί.*"[1]

CONSTANTINE SUMMONING THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

TRIUMPH OF ATHANASIUS.

[1] The so-called Nicene creed used by the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican Churches was not the one established at Nicæa, but the "baptismal creed of the Church of Jerusalem, revised and enlarged by the most important elements of the creed of Nicæa," about 362–378. See Hort, Two Dissertations, ii. On the Constantinopolitan creed and other Eastern creeds of the Fourth Century, Camb., 1876; Gwatkin, Arian Controversy, pp. 159–161; Harnack, in Herzog and Plitt; same in Schaff-Herzog, art. Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed; Stanley, Chr. Institutions, 270, ff. The one established by the Nicene council is as follows: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker

This council, preferring to confine its attention simply to the one question of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, determined nothing positively concerning the mutual relations of the persons in the Trinity. Through Gregory Nazianzen this question received notice, but not final and authoritative, at the council of Constantinople, 381. The relation of the Spirit to the Trinity was decided, but not his relation to the Son and Father respectively. The Nicene council, however, did pass final decision on the Meletian schism and the Easter question.

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE PERSONS IN THE TRINITY NOT IN QUESTION.

Arius now became an exile in Illyria. His adversary, Athanasius, upon the death of Alexander succeeded the latter by acclamation as Bishop of Alexandria. Constantine, influenced by the persuasions of certain bishops, but more particularly by the entreaties of Constantia, widow of Licinius, invited Arius to his court. The emperor ordered Athanasius to receive Arius and his followers back into church fellowship, and threatened deposition and banishment as penalty of disobedience. But Athanasius refused compliance, and replied that he could not acknowledge as Christians those whom the whole Church had condemned. Constantine, who, like Elizabeth of England, had the rare quality of knowing when it was best to desist from the prosecution of a doubtful measure, dropped

of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; of the same substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and our salvation descended and became flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day. He ascended into heaven; he cometh to judge the quick and dead. And in the Holy Ghost. But those that say there was a time when he was not, or that he was not before he was begotten; or that he was made from that which had no being; or who affirm the Son of God to be of any other substance or essence, or created, or variable, or mutable, such persons doth the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematize." Comp. Walch, Bibliotheca Symbolica vetus, pp. 75, 76, and Mosheim, Ch. Hist., vol. i, pp. 297, 298. Baur thus summarizes the Nicene position, as against that of Arius: "1. The Father would not be absolute God if he were not in his essence begetting, and so the Father of a Son of the same essence. 2. The idea of the divinity of the Son is abolished, if he is not Son by nature, but only through God's grace. If created, he were neither Son nor God; to be both creature and creator is a complete contradiction. 3. The unity of the finite with the infinite, of man with God, falls to the ground, if the mediator of this unity is only a creature, and not the absolute God." The Nicene creed was made by an enlargement of the creed of his own Church of Cæsarea, proposed to the council by Eusebius, the historian. Comp. the two creeds in Gwatkin, Arian Controversy, pp. 26–30.

the subject for a time, until the Arians, who had condemned Athanasius at the synods of Cæsarea (334) and Tyre (335), made him believe that he was a political enemy, on the pretense of his having prevented the sailing of the Egyptian fleet with supplies for the new capital of Constantinople. He was banished, but received in a friendly spirit at the court of Treves by the younger Constantine, in 336. Arrangements were made for the restoration of Arius into church fellowship at Constantinople, in spite of the bishop of that diocese; but he died before the formal reception was to occur.

BANISHMENT OF ATHANASIUS.

The loss of the leader was far from proving fatal to his cause. It exhibited remarkable vitality, though no partisans have ever had a more capricious fortune. After the death of Constantine his son, Constantine II, restored Athanasius to his see, but the Arians found a firm friend in Constantius. The deposition of Athanasius was renewed, and he became an exile in Rome, where the sentiment was unanimously favorable to the Nicene decrees. The synod of Antioch, which attempted a compromise, proved a failure, while the general council of Sardica, in Illyria, 343, renewed the conclusions of Nice and restored Athanasius. The oriental delegates withdrew, formed a rival council at Philippopolis, in Thrace, and condemned and banished Athanasius, who now became a fugitive in the African desert. The emperor Constantius inspired these measures, and gave his support to their execution. The opposition to Arianism in the West was now only tacit and negative, while its progress was rapid throughout the East. The death of the emperor Constantius, in 361, wrought a complete change in the attitude of all the partisans. He was succeeded by Julian, who soon gave proof that his sympathies were thoroughly pagan.

VARYING FORTUNES OF THE ARIANS.

Here occurs an incident which has been made prominent in recent Roman Catholic controversies. Pope Liberius (352–366) was at first a pronounced advocate of the views of Athanasius. For this he was banished to Berœa in Thrace. Afflictions did not seem to work in him the peaceable fruits of righteousness. He was at length persuaded to sign an Arian or Arianizing formula, and to excommunicate Athanasius, who mentions this fact tearfully, and in an apologetic tone, as though Liberius signed under the fear of death. He was then restored to his see. This has proved an inconvenient incident for the infallibilists, who try to break its force by various hypotheses.[1]

LAPSE OF LIBERIUS.

[1] The fact itself is well attested by Athanasius, Hist. Arian., 41; Sozomen, iv, 15; Jerome, De Vir. Ill., 97; Ep. Lib., in Hilary, Fragm. vi; Hilary, Contra

The second period of the Arian controversy opened with flattering prospects for the opponents of the Nicene council, but closed with the ascendency of orthodoxy and the general condemnation, by the representatives of the Church, of the Arian heresy. Julian was the friend of all parties so far as they understood the science of controversy and the art of reciprocal destruction, and their foe so far as they exhibited any attachment to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. He recalled all the exiles. Among the number was the aged Athanasius, who returned to his beloved and loving people at Alexandria. The synod which met in 362 adopted conciliatory measures. Julian, who knew that Athanasius was its leading spirit and was now employing vigorous measures for the restoration of unity to the Church, banished him again. But the exile was restored by Jovian, the successor of Julian, only to be banished again by Valens. This exile lasted but four months. Athanasius returned to Alexandria, where after a long episcopate of forty-six years, twenty of which had been passed in exile, he ended his days in peace. Strong men, who shared both his heroism and his theology, conducted his cause with zeal and prudence. Theodosius the Great sympathized with them, and called the second general council, at Constantinople, in 381. Here the Nicene symbol was renewed, while the Arians were prohibited from holding service within the city walls. Theodosius issued an edict against the Arians in 383, and supplemented it, in the later years of his reign, by others against them and the remaining heresies.

THE ARIANS FAVORED BY JULIAN.

Arianism, like the forms of deviation from evangelical standards

Const. Imp., 11. Newman, Arians of the Fourth Century, Lond., 5th ed., 1883, pp. 316–323, gives a straightforward account of this "miserable apostasy," as he calls it in his work, which was written while he was an Anglican, 1833, but in the 3d ed., 1871, he makes no changes, presuming, doubtless, that in these bare statements of facts none were necessary. Alzog relegates the lapse of Liberius to a footnote, i, 542, and does not seek to break its force. His translators say that the damaging passages are interpolations, which, even if that were true of Athan., Apologia contra Arianos, 89, would hardly be true of every ancient witness. Ryder, Cath. Controversy [against Littledale], p. 28, says the pope was under coercion, but if he is a true pope let him, like Hildebrand, die in exile rather than buy peace by betraying the faith and excommunicating the father of orthodoxy. The case of Liberius is treated at length by Renouf, The Condemnation of Pope Honorius, Lond., 1868; Barmby, in Smith and Wace, iii, 717–724; Möller, in Herzog and Plitt; Döllinger, Fables Respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages, N. Y., 1872, pp. 183–197; Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, pp. 188–190: "Four writers independently mention the fall of Liberius; and there is nothing to set against them but the silence of Socrates and Theodoret. Believers in papal infallibility may hesitate, but the historian cannot."

in every age, had its weakness in an inherent want of unity. Error is never at one with itself. The Arians became divided immediately after their defeat at Nicæa. Failure, instead of uniting them, exposed their defects and subjected them to conflicting interests. In addition to the Arianism which first appeared at Alexandria there were two general tendencies, one toward a compromise with Alexandrian orthodoxy and the other toward schism and radical Unitarianism.

NO UNITY IN ARIANISM.

We find, therefore, three Arian parties: 1. Positive Arianism. This adhered to the teachings of Arius and his immediate followers. It was constantly undergoing change, its adherents passing over to extreme skepticism or returning to the orthodox standards. 2. The Semi-Arians, or Homoiousians. They declared a real similarity between the Son and the Father, *ὁμοιουσία*. They claimed that the Son of God was of like essence with the Father, yet that this did not occur by nature, but by grace. George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra were its chief leaders. This party constituted the conservative wing of Arianism and actually passed over to orthodoxy, even before the council of Constantinople, which gave the deathblow to Arianism within the bosom of the Church. 3. The Eunomians, or Anomœans, who held that Christ was dissimilar in essence and all respects from the Father—*ἑτερούσιος*. There were other Arian sects, though of unimportant character, such as the Eusebians, Aëtians, Acacians, and Bsathyrians. The rage of the parties, both of the orthodox and the Arians, and then of the Arians among themselves, was most violent about the close of the reign of Constantius. That ruler made the mistake of supposing that an imperial decree has any power either to calm or soften the asperity of a theological controversy, and only embittered the contestants by ordering the entire abandonment of the word essence (*οὐσία*), and the persecution of all Arian recalcitrants. The confusion was intense, and apparently hopeless, when his death occurred.[1]

THE THREE ARIAN PARTIES.

For a period of considerable length the Arian tendencies had been extremely popular in Constantinople. It was the battle ground where orthodoxy and heresy had free scope. The city itself being remote from the atmosphere of Alexandria and the personal influence of Athanasius, and Arianism having so many adherents in full confidence of the imperial head, the scales were often equally balanced between truth and error. But many of the Gothic barbarians were then in the city, and they generally adopted the views of Arius. Chrysostom preached against it, but his eloquence and zeal

[1] Kurtz, Abriss der Kirchengeschichte, pp. 48, 49.

had little effect on the barbarian portion of the population. The special service which he organized in the city, where the Bible was read and sermons were preached in the Gothic language, had, however, an important bearing on the evangelization of the Gothic tribes.[1] Ulfilas, a bishop of the Visigoths, began his labors among his people during the reign of Constantine, and conducted many important negotiations between them and the Roman empire. He adopted a mild type of Arianism, and through him and other teachers nearly the entire tribe of Visigoths accepted Arianism.[2]

ULFILAS, BISHOP OF THE VISIGOTHS.

Other barbarian peoples likewise became Arian, not from any preference for the heresy, but because the apostles of Christ to them were of that type. Gwatkin has this excellent remark: "No false system ever struck more directly at the life of Christianity than Arianism. Yet after all it held aloft the Lord's example as the Son of man and never wavered in its worship of him as the Son of God. On its own principles this was absolutely heathen creature worship. Yet the work of Ulfilas is an abiding witness that faith is able to assimilate the strangest errors; and the conversion of the northern nations remains in evidence that Christianity can be a power of life even in its most degraded forms."[3] About the year 463 the Burgundians on the Rhine also exchanged their evangelical faith for Arianism, though, of course, without knowing anything of the important distinctions involved between orthodoxy and the heresy. The Vandals and Moors of northern Africa were also Arian, but, these peoples, having rebelled, were conquered during the reign of Justinian, and with their extermination was also destroyed in Africa the error which they had introduced and professed. It is estimated that Africa lost, because of the rebellion, five millions of inhabitants. Near the close of the sixth century, in the year 589, the only people of Arian preference were the Lombards.

BURGUNDIANS AND OTHER BARBARIAN PEOPLES ADOPT ARIANISM.

[1] Theodoret, v, 30; Stephens, Life of St. John Chrysostom, 3d ed., Lond., 1883, pp. 237, 238.

[2] The Gospels of Ulfilas, Stockholm.

[3] Studies of Arianism, pp. 28, 29.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST—APOLLINARIST, NESTORIAN, AND KINDRED CONTROVERSIES.

A. D. 362–680.

THE discussions concerning Christ in all times have necessarily dealt with either his pretemporal and divine or with his historical and incarnate existence. The Arian controversy was employed solely upon the former—Christ in his divine and eternal relations with the Father. But the intimate connection between the two departments enforced as well the careful consideration of the second—the person of Christ in his incarnate and present existence. Consequently, in the very midst of the discussions on the divine nature of Christ there arose the Christological controversies. They raged with great violence, and survived the Arian strife by about three centuries, and, in certain forms, still exist in some parts of the Orient. Neither the council of Nicæa nor the general judgment of the Church had as yet reached any definite conclusion on one of the most important parts of Christ's human nature, namely, his true human soul. Other themes had received attention, and yet it was evident that the question whether the human nature of Christ must be conceived as personal or impersonal must be subjected to investigation.

RISE OF CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

1. APOLLINARISM. The representative of the transition to this new and important field of inquiry was Apollinaris; or, as Dorner says, "He was the turning point at which the Church ceased to devote that exclusive attention to the doctrine of the Trinity which it had for a considerable time devoted, and began those Christological investigations which engaged its powers unremittedly, especially in the East, during centuries to come."[1]

APOLLINARIS.

Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, believed that the faith of the Church concerning the nature of Christ preserved certain pagan and Judaistic elements. He proposed to eliminate them, and thereby to establish the sinlessness of Jesus. He feared a double personality of Christ, but in avoiding this he erred in denying his

[1] Hist. Development of the Doct. of the Person of Christ, vol. ii, pp. 352, 353.

integral humanity, adopting the psychological trichotomy of Plato, or the division of man into body (σῶμα), animal or vital soul (ψυχή), and intellectual or rational soul (νοῦς). He here gives no place to the human reason or spirit, but substitutes for it the divine Logos, who first attained a personal existence in the man Jesus. By transferring the human attributes to the divine nature, and the divine to the human, and merging the two in Christ, Apollinaris made of Christ's humanity a mixed thing.[1] He even justified his position by the analogies of the mule (half horse and half ass), the gray color (combination of white and black), and spring (having the characteristics of summer and winter). The flesh and soul of man were assumed, but not the human spirit, on the ground that the union of full divinity and humanity in one was impossible. Still, Christ is one essence (μία φύσις)—the unity of the person (volition and thought) and the essential unity of the two aspects, human and divine. He allowed no place for Christ's growth in wisdom, grace, or any respect, but regarded his humanity as eternally complete—κατὰ το κυριώτατον. He allowed no historical mediation, but described magnitudes already complete. Perfection predominates over reconciliation and redemption. The divine is all that is active in Christ, while the human is only the organ for revealing the divine. This curtailment of the human nature in Christ very justly subjected him to the charge of Docetism.

OPINIONS OF APOLLINARIS.

The views of Apollinaris were indorsed by very many Christians in the East, especially those who feared the Arian evil of limiting the divine nature of Christ. His scholarship, piety, and able attacks on the skepticism of Porphyry and Julian gave him consideration in many circles who saw the fallacy of his teachings and their danger to the Church. His doctrines were, therefore, met by vigorous measures. They were condemned by a council at Alexandria in the year 362, and by the councils at Rome under Damasus in 377 and 378. The most powerful opposition, however, was at the second ecumenical council of Constantinople, 381, which condemned them in great clearness and positiveness. Imperial decrees, as was the fashion of the age, were directed against them in the years 388, 397, and 428. Apollinaris withdrew from the Church in 375, and died in 390.

CONDEMNATION OF APOLLINARISM.

2. NESTORIANISM. The scene of the Nestorian controversy was

[1] His exact language was: Christ is οὔτε ἀνθρωπος ὅλος, οὔτε θεὸς, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου μίξις. Comp. Schaff, Hist. Ch., vol. iii, pp. 710, 711. Other expressions of Apollinaris show that he did not accept the term mixture in its fullest sense. Walch, Gesch. Ketzer., vol. iii, pp. 198, ff.

of wide extent, embracing Syria, Cilicia, Bithynia, Mœsia, Isauria, and Cappadocia. Of all the Christological heresies none was advanced with more energy and skill, was more violently assailed, more profoundly affected the emotional life of the Church, or possessed such marvelous vitality. Like Apollinarism, it also was a product of restless, speculative, and inventive Antioch.

NESTORIUS.

Nestorius, at first monk, and then a presbyter of that city, by the force of his energy and ambition and fervid eloquence, became, in the year 428, Patriarch of Constantinople. He saw the danger of Arianism, and arrayed himself, with all the power of his genius and position, against its adherents. He was attracted toward the Pelagians because of the honorable place which the free will occupied in their theology. The term "Mother of God" (*θεοτόκος*), which had been frequently applied to the Virgin Mary by the Alexandrian school, and by such teachers as Origen, Athanasius, Basil, and others, was offensive to him, on the ground that Mary could give birth only to Christ, but not to deity, and he opposed it with great vigor. The controversy now became bitter, and, as was the case generally with the theological strifes of this period, it turned upon a single expression, *theotokos*. It became the watchword of the times.

OPINIONS OF NESTORIUS.

The general opinions of Nestorius were: There are three persons in the Godhead, and one divine essence, as stated by the Nicene formulas; Christ possessed two natures, the divine and human; yet, there are not two independent persons, two Sons, two Lords—but only one; there was a sympathetic cooperation or union between God and man, which is expressed by the term *συνάφεια* (connection); God and man, humanity and divinity, the two natures, substances, hypostases, were united, but not the two persons; there was no cessation of the properties of the two natures, though the union was inseparable; the union commenced with the conception of Christ in the womb of his mother; there was a communion or intercourse of the two natures, and yet each has its personal properties; while there is a union of the two natures, one is kept distinct from the other; while the Scriptures attribute to Christ both divine and human attributes and acts, these are different in character—one class being the sublime and God-befitting, which must be referred to the divine nature, and the inferior to the human nature; the term mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*) was better than mother of God, because the former expressed the complex person of the Son of God.[1]

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, saw in the views of Nestorius a

[1] Walch, Gesch. Ketzer., vol. v, pp. 778, ff.

dangerous heresy. He remonstrated with their author, though without effect. He then invoked the aid of the court by writing to the emperor, the empress Eudokia, and the emperor's sister, Pulcheria. He finally appealed to the Roman bishop, Celestine, who condemned Nestorius and his doctrines at a Roman council, and deposed Nestorius from the patriarchate unless he should retract within ten days. But Nestorius stood fast. Then Cyril, at a synod of Alexandria (A. D. 430), presented twelve condemnatory articles against Nestorius and his views. Nestorius replied by an equal number of counter anathemas, and charged his opponents with Apollinarism.

CYRIL OPPOSING THE NESTORIANS.

It was now a controversy of the two powerful patriarchates of Alexandria and Constantinople. The deepest passions of the East were aroused to a degree not surpassed in the entire history of religious discussion. The emperor, Theodosius II, who was in sympathy with Nestorius, summoned the third general council, that of Ephesus, in 431, for the settlement of the questions at issue. Cyril, determined on victory, brought with him a great number of attendants. He was supported by the populace and the monks. Nestorius not making his appearance, Cyril commenced the council without him, with two hundred bishops in attendance. Nestorius was three times summoned to appear, but refused to do so until the arrival of the Antiochian bishops. He was accordingly deposed and excommunicated. He immediately appealed to the emperor, who, by his commissioner, declared the decrees invalid, owing to the presence of only a portion of the delegates. John of Antioch, who was in sympathy with Nestorius, now reached Ephesus, and immediately convened a rival council, with forty-two bishops. Here Cyril, with Memnon of Ephesus, was excommunicated. Delegates from Rome arriving, Cyril held a second session, and six canons were adopted against the opinions of both Nestorius and Pelagius. The emperor was now appealed to by both parties, and he finally accepted a compromising confession, in 432, prepared by Theodoret. This was acceded to by Cyril; and John of Antioch, now joining the strong party of the latter, subscribed it, and in doing so joined in the condemnation of Nestorius and his opinions. Nestorius, now forsaken by his chief supporter, the representative of the Antiochian school, was helpless. He was banished, and died in obscurity. All traces of his opinions disappeared from the Roman empire by the dissolution of the theological school of Edessa by the emperor Zeno in 489.

FINAL DEFEAT OF NESTORIANISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Nestorianism, however, with a singular power of endurance, took

refuge in the mountains of Armenia, and in the Persian plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates refugee teachers from Edessa were cordially welcomed. The Persian kings, animated by jealousy of Constantinople, nourished the heresy, and its devotees took the name of Chaldaic or Assyrian Christians. They had a patriarch who resided in the double city of Seleucia Ctesiphon after 496, and after 762 in Bagdad. It spread through Tartary, Arabia, and eastward as far as India and China. Its zeal in extending its influence was always very great, and with the dissemination of its opinions it united rare skill in establishing hospitals and schools. Alexander von Humboldt thus testifies to the contributions of the Nestorians to the sciences and arts in the East:

NESTORIANS STRONG IN ARMENIA AND FARTHER EAST.

"It was one of the wondrous arrangements of the system of things that the Christian sect of the Nestorians, which has exerted a very important influence on the geographical extension of knowledge, was of service even to the Arabians before the latter found their way to learned and disputatious Alexandria; that Christian Nestorianism, in fact, under the protection of the arms of Islam, was able to penetrate far into eastern Asia. The Arabians, in other words, gained their first acquaintance with Grecian literature through the Syrians, a kindred Semitic race; while the Syrians themselves, scarcely a century and a half before, had first received the knowledge of Grecian literature through the anathematized Nestorians. Physicians who had been educated in the institutions of the Greeks, and at the celebrated medical school founded by the Nestorian Christians at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, were living in Mecca so early as the times of Mohammed, befriended by him and by Abu-Bekr.

HUMBOLDT'S TRIBUTE TO SERVICE OF THE NESTORIANS TO SCIENCE.

"The school of Edessa, a model of the Benedictine schools of Monte Casino and Salerno, awakened the scientific search for *materia medica* in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms. When it was dissolved by Christian fanaticism under Zeno the Isaurian, the Nestorians scattered toward Persia, where they soon attained political importance, and established a new and thronged medical institute at Dschondisapur, in Khuzistan. They succeeded in spreading their science and faith to China toward the middle of the seventh century, under the dynasty of Thang, five hundred and seventy-two years after Buddhism had penetrated thither from India.

"The seed of Western culture, scattered in Persia by educated monks and by the philosophers of the last Platonic school of

Athens, who were persecuted by Justinian, took beneficent root among the Arabians during their first Asiatic campaign. Feeble as the science of the Nestorian priests may have been, it could still, with its peculiar medical and pharmaceutic turn, act genially upon a race which had long lived in free converse with nature, and had preserved a more fresh sensibility to every sort of study of nature than the people of Greek and Italian cities. What gives the Arabian epoch the universal importance which we must here insist upon is in great part connected with the trait of national character just indicated. The Arabians, we repeat, are to be regarded as the proper founders of the *physical sciences*, in the sense which we are now accustomed to attach to the word."[1]

WIDE TERRITORY OF MODERN NESTORIANISM.

Nestorianism has undergone many changes, in view of the unsettled life by which it has been surrounded. It was protected by the Tartars in the eleventh century, two of whose kings, Prester John and his successor, were converted to Christianity through its instrumentality. The Mongolian dynasty persecuted them with great severity, and they were nearly destroyed by Tamerlane in the fourteenth century. They are now nearly altogether confined to the eastern parts of the Turkish empire. Their patriarch resided from 1559 until the seventeenth century in Mosul, but now dwells in the easternmost part of Turkey, near Persia. A sect of Nestorians now dwell on the coast of Malabar, and are called Thomas Christians, after one of the first Nestorian apostles. The Nestorians of Turkey have been greatly benefited by the missionary labors of the representatives of the American Board, and a very important literature has taken rise from the efforts to evangelize them. They are very poor and have lost all power of extending their doctrines and influence. Like their founder, they repudiate the worship of Mary. They also reject the use of images and the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation. Their patriarch eats no flesh. They have many fasts. They have eight orders of the priesthood, the five lower of which can marry.[2]

EUTYCHES INAUGURATING THE MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSY.

3. EUTYCHIANISM.—The principal scene of the Monophysite controversy was Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. This was inaugurated by Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople. He held that Christ after his incarnation had only one nature, namely, that of the Logos, but that the body of Christ is not of like substance with ours. This view was declared by many to be a denial of the true humanity of

[1] Kosmos, Stutt. and Tüb., 1847, pp. 247, ff.

[2] Comp. Mosheim, Ch. Hist., vol. i, pp. 372, 373, notes; Schaff, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. iii, pp. 729–733.

Christ. Domnus, Patriarch of Antioch, brought charges against Eutyches before the emperor, Theodosius II. The patriarch Flavian convened a synod at Constantinople in 448, where Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, in Phrygia, accused Eutyches of heresy. Here Eutyches was deposed and excommunicated. He, however, appealed to the bishop, Leo the Great, at Rome. Flavian also presented himself to Leo, who took side with Flavian and condemned the doctrine of Eutyches. The emperor, Theodosius II, now convoked an ecumenical council at Ephesus, A. D. 449. Great violence characterized the proceedings. Violent language and even blows were employed to establish the doctrines of Eutyches. To Eusebius, who defended the two natures in Christ, the shout was made, "Away with him! Burn him! Tear him in two pieces, as he has torn the Christ!" The council declared in favor of the one nature in Christ. Flavian, who suffered from blows and kicks, was banished, and died shortly afterward. This council was called the Robber Synod (Latrocinium Ephesinum). Theodosius II died in 450, and was succeeded by Marcian, who called the fourth ecumenical council, that of Chalcedon, in 451.

The result of this council was unfavorable to the doctrines of Eutyches. The orthodox statement was made to read: "That after Christ's incarnation the unity of the person consists in two natures, which are conjoined without confusion and without change, but also without rending and without separation."

COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AGAINST THE DOCTRINES OF EUTYCHES.

The decision of Chalcedon brought no peace to the Church. A large portion of the Egyptian party opposed it with great violence and took its place in the annals of the Church as the Monophysites. The theologians of Alexandria returned from Chalcedon with a determination to keep up the bitter fight among the people. Here they had cordial support, especially among the monks and common people. Popular violence was frequent. Theology and politics were common factors in disputes and bloodshed. During a long series of years—from A. D. 451 to 519—the emperors made repeated efforts to unite the wavering factions. At one time the Monophysites were in the ascendency, and then the friends of the statement of Chalcedon were victorious. The Bishop of Rome adhered to the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, while the prevailing Eastern tendency was toward the Monophysite view. The bishop, Felix III of Rome, on this account refused to have Church fellowship with Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople. Out of this arose a schism of thirty-five years between the East and the West, A. D. 484–519.

DIVISIONS AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

We now come to the brilliant reign of Justinian, and the part taken by that great emperor toward a unification of the theological factions of the Church. He resolved to bring peace to the theological world, and toward that end he brought his brilliant faculties to bear. He firmly believed in the statement of the Chalcedon council concerning the two natures in Christ, and was therefore opposed to the Monophysite heresy. Great as was his wisdom in civil administration, he was a mere child in the management of great theological questions. The intrigues of the court, and especially the shrewd management of his wife, Theodora, who was secretly a stanch Monophysite, placed him largely at the mercy of others. He was persuaded to give consent to the liturgical addition of the original Monophysite formula, "God is crucified." But neither party was long in the ascendency with Justinian. The bishop Theodore Ascidas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, an Origenist, secured from the emperor, by the edict of A. D. 544, the condemnation of the three chief Syrian teachers against Cyril, whose alleged errors were grouped in Three Chapters. The controversy on the Three Chapters broke out in great violence throughout the Church, the East favoring the edict and the West violently opposing it. Justinian convened the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople A. D. 553, which reached conclusions in harmony with those of Chalcedon, and therefore against the Monophysites.

JUSTINIAN LABORING FOR HARMONY IN THE CHURCH.

This measure to secure unity in the Church failed of its object. The Egyptian Monophysites, who were more numerous than elsewhere, would not harmonize with the general body of the orthodox because of their antagonism to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. They assumed a position of extreme violence, and as an evidence of their opposition to the Greek Church prohibited the use of the Greek language in their service. They even assumed an unpatriotic attitude, and favored the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens. But they soon fell into internal dissensions, which brought them more serious disasters than the opposition of the emperor and the great body of the Greek Church. Alexandria, which was the center of the Monophysite heresy, was divided into two great parties. Severus taught that the body of Christ had been, before the resurrection, intrinsically corruptible, a view vigorously denied by Julian and his party. Another sect was the Tritheists, and from them came a secession under the leadership of Conon, Bishop of Tarsus. His followers were called the Cononites, who held that there would be only a formal, not a real, destruction of the world, and that the saints

FAILURE OF EFFORTS FOR HARMONY.

would possess their earthly bodies, but transformed according to their new life.

The Monophysites, because of the opposition of the emperor and the general body of the Greek Church, and because of their internal dissensions and violent measures, were hopelessly divided. Their only safety lay in their dispersion. Some of their number went to Abyssinia, where they gained a footing and gave a Monophysite character to the Christianity of that country. In Armenia they became firmly established, and were distinguished for their literary activity in both the eighth and the twelfth centuries by the translation of classic authors and the Church Fathers, and by original investigation. The Jacobite Church took its name from Jacob Zanzalus. Its principal stronghold was Syria. Its greatest scholar was George, Bishop of the Arabs, who died A. D. 740. He was a profound Greek scholar, translated the Organon of Aristotle and annotated it. His theological labors were in history, doctrine, exegesis, and other fields. Gregory Abulfaragius was another brilliant ornament of the Jacobite-Syrian Church. In addition to other works must be mentioned his Chronicon Syriacum. The Copts of Egypt, who were in sympathy with the Monophysites, were nearly destroyed by the Fatimide Califs. But a feeble remnant still exists.

FEEBLE EXISTENCE OF THE LATER MONOPHYSITES.

The Monothelite controversy arose out of the great Monophysite movement. The emperor Heraclius (611–641) endeavored to reconcile the factions and to secure the return of the Monophysites to the Church. In 622 he held conferences with several Monophysite leaders, who informed him that in all probability the great body of their members would return to fellowship with the Greek Church if a proposition should be presented that in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will and operation. The emperor issued an edict to that effect, which was an indorsement of Monothelitism. The indications were at first favorable to its reception, and many Monophysites returned to communion with the Church.

RISE OF THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.

In due time, however, strong opposition arose. Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to Honorius (pope, 625–638), explaining the Monothelite doctrines, and received from Honorius a letter in which he committed himself to that heresy. Honorius explicitly declared for the one will.[1]

SERGIUS.

This has proved a distressing circumstance to the Roman Catholic historians, who are bound to maintain that no pope ever erred when speaking officially on a matter of faith. At the general council

[1] Harduin, iii, 1320–1322; Robertson, Hist. of the Church, ii, 89, 49.

of Constantinople, in 680, he was condemned for heresy in the most solemn manner, and "not a single voice," says Döllinger, "not even of the papal legates who were present, was raised in his defense. His dogmatic writings were committed to the flames as heretical. The popes submitted to the inevitable; they subscribed the anathema, and themselves undertook to see that the 'heretic' Honorius was condemned in the West as well as throughout the East, and his name struck out of the liturgy. This one fact—that a great council, universally received afterward without hesitation throughout the Church, and presided over by papal legates, pronounced the dogmatic decision of a pope heretical and anathematized him by name as a heretic—is a proof, clear as noonday, that the notion of any peculiar enlightenment or inerrancy of the popes was then utterly unknown in the whole Church.

THE HOPELESS DILEMMA ON PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

"The only resource of the defenders of papal infallibility since Torquemada and Bellarmine has been to attack the acts of the council as spurious, and maintain that they are a wholesale forgery by the Greeks. The Jesuits clung tenaciously to this notion till the middle of the last century. Since it has had to be abandoned the device has been to try and torture the words of Honorius into a sort of orthodox sense. But whatever comes of that, nothing can alter the fact that at the time both councils and popes were convinced of the fallibility of the pope."[1]

ONLY RESORT OF ROME IS TO ATTACK THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL.

Pope Leo II expressly approved of the condemnation of Honorius by the council, on the ground that the pope, instead of "purifying the Church by the doctrine of apostolical tradition, yielded its spotlessness to be defiled by profane betrayal of the faith."[2] He also says that instead of "extinguishing the flame of heretical doctrine he nourished it."[3] Since the infallibility dogma we could not imagine a pope saying that of another pope.[4]

[1] Janus, The Pope and the Council, Bost., 1870, pp. 60, 61.

[2] Harduin, iii, 1476; Mansi, xi, 731. [3] *Ibid.*, 1780.

[4] Ryder, Cath. Controversy, p. 29, saves the pope by saying that his letters did not amount to a dogmatic *definition*. But the letters were explicit, and were written in answer to a formal application for an opinion on the part of three Eastern patriarchs. See the question discussed at length in Döllinger, Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages, pp. 223–256; Hefele, Honorius und d. sechste allgem. Concil., Tüb., 1870; Renouf, The Condemnation of Pope Honorius, Lond., 1868, and The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered, Lond., 1869; Gratry, Two Letters to the Bishop of Orleans, Lond., 1870; Schneemann, Studien über die Honoriusfrage, 1864; Reinerding, Beiträge zur Honorius- und Liberiusfrage, 1865; Ruckgaber, Die Irrlehre d. Honorius, Stutt., 1871; Willis, Pope Honorius and the New Roman Dogma, Lond., 1879. For

Sophronius, Bishop of Jerusalem, convened a council and secured the condemnation of Monothelitism, under the charge that it was only another form of the Monophysite heresy. The emperor, in 638, issued an edict establishing the doctrine of the one will in Christ. This edict bore the name of the Ekthesis. But no harmony came from this bold step. North Africa became the central scene of conflict. There was held at Carthage, A. D. 645, a public disputation between the monk Maximus and Pyrrhus, the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople—the former opposing and the latter defending the doctrine of the one will. An African general synod, A. D. 646, condemned Monothelitism, but the strife continued as before. There was no imperial policy which extended beyond one reign. When Constans II (642–668) came into power he revoked the edict of his predecessor, and in its place issued the Typus, A. D. 648, which restored the original state of things, and declared that neither the one nor the two wills should be enforced. This brought the Roman bishop, Martin I, to take a bold stand against the emperor, and at the Lateran synod of Rome, A. D. 649, secured the condemnation of both the Ekthesis and the Typus and their two imperial authors. The whole Christian world was now startled by an imperial order, issued to the Byzantine exarch at Ravenna, that the Roman bishop should be sent to Constantinople. This was actually done, Martin I being brought in chains to the emperor, Constans II. He was banished to the Chersonesus, and died there A. D. 655.

PUBLIC DISPUTATION ON THE ONE WILL.

THE ROMAN BISHOP IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

The persecution of all who opposed the Typus issued by Constans II continued until his death. But after that event, when Constantius Pogonatus ascended the imperial throne, the rage of the parties broke out afresh. At a synod at Rome, A. D. 679, convoked by Pope Agatho, the decisions of the Lateran synod were confirmed. Now came the deathblow to the Monothelites as a powerful organization in the Church. The emperor convened the sixth general council at Constantinople, in the imperial palace, A. D. 680. It is called the first Trullan council, because of the resemblance of the hall to a mussel. The emperor presided in person. The decisions of the council of Nicæa were reaffirmed, the two wills in Christ were

SUPPRESSION OF THE MONOTHELITES.

several centuries every pope, at his coronation, had to renew the anathema on Honorius. Leo II even wrote to the Spanish bishops that Honorius and his accomplices in heresy were "involved in an eternal condemnation"—æterna condemnatione mulctati sunt. Mansi, xi, 1052. Barmby, in Smith and Wace, gives a fair and clear account.

declared, and the Monothelites were anathematized. Pope Leo II addressed a letter to the emperor in which he approved the action of the council.

FINAL EFFORT TO SAVE THE MONOTHELITES.

One more imperial effort was made to restore the power of the Monothelites. Here it must be said that the imperial administration, whoever was the occupant of the throne, was generally shaped by policy. The Monothelites were favored or opposed, as might be of most political advantage to the existing ruler. The emperor, Philip Bardanes (711–715), had reached the throne by the murder of Justinian II, and he thought that by favoring the Monothelites he might strengthen his feeble hold upon the throne. He gave orders to the Greek clergy to condemn the decisions of the sixth ecumenical council, and demanded that the Roman clergy should accept his view of the one will in Christ. This they not only refused to do, but excluded the emperor's name from the public prayer. The reign of Bardanes was brief, and with his death all imperial support of Monothelitism ceased.

FRAGMENTS OF THE MONOTHELITES.

Only in weak fragments the Monothelites now continued to exist. The most important was the little body which made its home in the monastery of St. Marco, in the Lebanon mountains. The Maronites continued as a Monothelite sect down to the Crusades, when, in 1182, they abandoned their peculiar view and recognized the primacy of the Roman bishop. They continue to exist down to our day, and while retaining their own ritual and a certain denominational independence acknowledge the decrees of the council of Trent. Their present number is about two hundred thousand.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRITUALISM AND REALISM—ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES.

GREAT as Origen was in life, his influence after death was far greater. Two important controversies arose concerning his doctrines. The first prevailed in the Scetic and Nitrian deserts, Palestine, and Italy, and continued from A. D. 394 to 399. The second was confined to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Palestine, and extended from A. D. 399 to 553. The mystical views of Origen were adopted by his supporters, while a crude anthropomorphism was adopted by his enemies. These two tendencies lay at the root of the great controversies that revolved around the writings of Origen.[1]

ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES.

Origen was in general favor at first with the great body of the Church, whose creed was expressed in the Nicene formula. But the followers of Arius claimed to find in Origen support for their denial of the divinity of Christ and lauded his opinions in their writings.[2] This gave great offense to the monks of the Scetic and Nitrian deserts, who went so far as to pronounce Origen a heretic, on the ground of his mysticism. Pachomius, of the Scetic desert, represented the opposition to the mystical speculations of Origen, while a monastic order of the Nitrian desert was as vigorous in defense of him. In Palestine the most vigorous supporter of Origen was John, Bishop of Jerusalem, while Epiphanius, took ground against Origen's views. Jerome, originally in sympathy with the Origenistic views, had now declared against them, and thrust himself with all zeal into the controversy. Rufinus was equally fervent in support of Origen. Between these two men the contest was bitter. The Roman bishop, Siricius, favored Rufinus, but his successor opposed him, and in a letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem condemned the opinions of Origen.

FRIENDS AND FOES OF ORIGEN.

In Alexandria and Constantinople the controversy was violent in

[1] Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, i, 317–328; ii, 249–258; Mercy and Judgment, 298–360. Doucin, Hist. de l'Origenisme.

[2] Origen was sound on the divinity of Christ. This is the opinion of Bull, Def. Fid. Nicen., c. ix; Waterland, Defense of Some Queries, xii, xvii. Athanasius appealed to him as authority for the Eternal Generation and Consubstantiality of the Son. See Huet, Origen, p. 128; Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, i, 321.

the extreme. Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, had publicly sympathized with the Origenistic monks of the Nitrian desert, especially in their spiritual conceptions of God. This so incensed the anthropomorphists that they assailed him with clubs and compelled him to oppose the Origenistic views. In a synod at Alexandria, A. D. 399, Origen was condemned. This resulted in the cruel expulsion of the Nitrian monks, who appealed to John Chrysostom of Constantinople. Chrysostom interceded for them. While the empress Eudoxia was favorable to the monks, the bold preaching of Chrysostom had offended her, and through her influence Chrysostom was banished. Because of a great popular uprising in favor of the great preacher his banishment was revoked. But it was again renewed A. D. 407, and he died on the way to Pityus, on the Black Sea. Yet his was the frequent history of the sufferer for conscience' sake. His greatest honors came after his death. Theodosius II, A. D. 438, had his bones brought back to Constantinople and placed in the vault reserved only for imperial dust.[1] The Origenistic controversies now ceased for a time. They were revived later, and the Origenists as a party do not finally disappear until about A. D. 560.

BITTER CONTROVERSY IN ALEXANDRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

The cause of these disputes over Origen was the profound and speculative character of much of his writings, his allegorical method of interpretation, and the freedom, breadth, and restlessness of his intellect. Besides, he threw out many things as tentative suggestions, *γυμνασίας χάριν*, as Photius says, "by way of exercitation, not positively or dogmatically."[2] Athanasius says that Origen had only written some things *ὡς ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων*, as a seeker for truth and as one wrestling with great thoughts.[3] None of his contemporaries called him a heretic. After his death forgeries were circulated in his name, and his genuine books were garbled. His enemies were mostly narrow and intense bigots, and one of them, Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, seemed destitute of any redeeming trait whatever. It is one of the strange anomalies of this crooked world that one whose whole life, as Westcott says,[4] "was, according to his own grand ideal, 'one unbroken prayer,' *μία προσευχὴ συνεχομένη*, one ceaseless effort after close fellowship with the Unseen and Eternal," should have been the occasion of one of the fiercest and most disgraceful controversies ever waged in the history of the Church.

CAUSE OF THE DISPUTES ON ORIGEN.

[1] Stephens, St. John Chrysostom, Lond., 1871, 3d ed., 1883, p. 388; Bush, Chrysostom, Lond., 1885; Faulkner, S. John Chrysostom, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1890, 237–253. [2] Cod., 296. [3] Def. Nic. Fid., vi, § 27.
[4] Religious Thought in the West, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, p. 205.

LITERATURE: PELAGIANISM.

For Pelagianism see the three works of Pelagius, printed in the works of Jerome, ed. Martianay, vol. v, ed. Vallarsius, vol. xi. Fragments of his other writings are quoted by Augustine and his other opponents. The writings of Julian of Eclanum are quoted in Augustine or preserved in part by Marius Mercator. The anti-Pelagian works of Augustine are the armory for this controversy. Of modern works, besides the Church Histories and Histories of Doctrines, the following may be mentioned:

1. Wiggers, F. Prag. Darstellung des Augustinismus und Pelagianismus. Berl., 1831–33. 2 vols., vol. i, tr. by R. Emerson. Andover, 1840.
2. Jacobi, J. L. Die Lehre Pelagius. Leipz., 1842.
3. Müller, Jul. Der Pelagianismus. Berl., 1854.
4. Worter, Fr. Der Pelagianismus. Freib., 1866.
5. Bright, W. Pelagianism, in Waymarks of Church Hist., Lond. and N. Y., 1894, pp. 182–205; select anti-Pelagian Treatises of Augustine, with Introd. Lond., 1877–80.
6. Warfield, B. B. Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1st series, vol. v; Augustine, Anti-Pelagian Writings. N. Y., 1887.

See Jewett in Meth. Quar. Rev., July, 1848; Schaff in Bib. Sacra, May, 1848; Princeton Theol. Essays, 1st series, pp. 80, ff; Ince, in Smith and Wace, iv, 282–295; F. Klasen, Die innere Entwickelung des Pelagianismus. Freib., 1882.

Donatism: The anti-Donatist works of Augustine; Optatus, De schismate Donatistarum. For modern writers: Du Pin, Monumenta vett. Donatistarum Historiam pertinentia, Paris, 1700. F. Ribbeck, Donatus und Augustinus, Elberf., 1858. This, like Fuller's article in Smith and Wace, is written with an animus against bodies that dissent from the State Church. M. Deutsch, Drei Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Donatismus, neu herausgegeben und erklärt, Berl., 1875. D. Voelter, Die Ursprung des Donatismus, nach den Quellen untersucht und dargestellt, Freib., 1883. A work of great importance, a keen historical analysis, with a disposition to be impartial.

Lincoln, H. The Donatists, in Bap. Rev., July, 1880. Excellent. Newman, A. H., in Bap. Rev., Oct., 1884, pp. 530–533. Profs. Lincoln and Newman show how radically the Donatists differed from the Baptists, with whom they have been compared, and with whom they have some points in common. S. M. Hopkins, in Presb. Rev., 1884, pp. 727, 728, says that he submitted the evidence concerning Felix of Aptunga to Judge Dwight of the New York Supreme Court. His conclusion was that Felix was entitled to a verdict of acquittal. Voelter decides the other way. Bright, in Waymarks of Church History, 51, ff. C. D. Hartranft, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1st series, vol. iv, Augustine's Anti-Donatist Writings, N. Y., 1887, pp. 368–404. Indispensable.

Augustine, Works. Ed. Benedicti, Paris, 1679–1700, 11 tom. in 8 fol. vols., and later by Gaumefraties, Paris, 1836–39, 11 tom.; by Migne, Petit-Montrouge,

1841–49, 12 tom. (Patr. Lat. xxxii–xlvii), best ed. Transl. of many of his works in Oxford Library of the Fathers, 1838–54, 12 vols.; in T. and T. Clark's Library (by Dods and others), 1871–76, 15 vols.; and in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Schaff, N. Y., 1886–88, 8 vols., best ed. Of the numerous works on Augustine the following may be mentioned:

1. Poujoulat, M. Hist. de s. Aug. Paris, 1843. 3d ed., 1852. 2 vols.
2. Bindemann, C. Der heil. Aug. Berl., 1844–69, 3 vols.
3. Schaff, P. Life and Works. N. Y. and Lond., 1886. In Church History, and in Post-Nicene Fathers, i, pp. 1–25.
4. Naville, E. Saint Augustine, Étude sur le development de sa pensée. Genève, 1872.
5. Ernst. Die Werke und Tugenden der Ungläubigen nach Augustin. Freib., 1871.
6. Dorner, Aug. Augustinus, sein theol. System und seine religionsphilosophische Auschauung. Berl., 1873.
7. Collette, C. H. St. Augustine, His Life and Writings as Affecting the Controversy with Rome. Lond., 1888. See Presb. Rev., 1884, 669.
8. Reuter, H. Augustinische Studien. Gotha, 1887. See Presb. Rev., 1888, 331.
9. Spalding, J. F. (High Church.) The Teaching and Influence of Augustine. N. Y., 1886.
10. Allen, A. V. G. As the founder of the Latin Theology, in Continuity of Christian Thought. Bost., 1884. New ed., with new pref., 1895, pp. 143–172.
11. Cunningham, W. St. Augustine and his Place in the History of Christian Thought. Lond., 1886. For full lit. see Schaff as above, and also Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, article Augustine.

CHAPTER IX.

SIN AND GRACE—THE PELAGIAN, DONATIST, AND OTHER CONTROVERSIES.

THE scene of the Pelagian controversy was largely the Western Church, while its duration was from A. D. 412 to 529. There were certain groups of doctrinal questions which agitated particular regions, and failed to attract attention in others. All questions which related to the divinity and person of Christ were of profound interest to the Eastern mind, and only incidentally disturbed the Latin Church. Wherever the question of Christ's character and person was concerned the West was almost invariably orthodox, while the East was at least divided, and often the laxer view predominated. In the West the question of man's moral condition, and his part in his own salvation, was very early of profound interest. The opinion concerning sin and grace which prevailed in the Eastern Church was favorable to a large share of human ability toward salvation. The corruption of human nature and the necessity of divine grace for salvation were admitted. But large place was given to the human will in making free choice of salvation. The Gnostic view was that, while there are certain evils in human nature, and the disposition is warped by inherited infirmities, man is at liberty to choose salvation and is responsible for neglecting the offer of divine grace.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING SIN AND GRACE.

Some teachers of the Eastern Church admitted the human tendency to sin and the need of grace in Christ, and yet denied an actual innate depravity. The neo-Alexandrian school admitted the inheritance of sin from the fall of Adam, but would not, with this concession, grant the original depravity of our human nature. The school of Antioch shared the same view in a general way, admitting that in man there is an original element of evil, but that his salvation is to be effected by both the human will and the grace of God. Chrysostom denied the guilty nature of man by birth, and admitted his guilt only by virtue of his own sinful acts.[1] The whole tendency of the Eastern mind was, therefore, toward synergism, or the cooperation of the

DIFFERENT TEACHING IN THE SCHOOLS.

[1] For an excellent exposition of Chrysostom's views on this, see Stephens, Life of St. John Chrysostom, pp. 394–401.

human and divine agents in achieving human salvation.[1] The Western view placed man's part in his own salvation in the background. He is sinful by nature. His condition is that of moral helplessness. The great representative of this view was Tertullian. He held that the human will was limited, and that divine grace was the chief factor in salvation. Monergism, or God as the only factor, was the central thought in his system of sin and grace. Tertullian's declaration—tradux animæ tradux peccati—was his solution of the whole question of the natural condition of the soul. The depth of its depravity was such that only divine grace could take the first and controlling part in the salvation of the soul.[2]

These conflicting tendencies were very decided, and gave color to the entire theology of the Eastern and Western sections of the Church. It was in the very nature of the times, while all fundamental theological questions were presenting themselves for discussion, that these views should come into closer conflict and should be represented by masterful teachers. In due time the leaders came to the front—Augustine as the champion of the Western, or monergistic, opinion, and Pelagius as the champion of the Eastern, or synergistic, view. In firm faith in the truth of Christianity, in purity of personal life, in zeal for the advancement of the Church, and in profound scholarship, Augustine stood not only in the front rank of the heroes for the faith in his own age, but possesses the same honorable position among the leaders of the Church in all ages.

AUGUSTINE AND PELAGIUS.

Aurelius Augustinus was a native of Numidia. His devoted mother, Monica, was compelled to witness the dissoluteness of his youth and his indifference to all moral principles. But she had firm faith in his final rectitude of life and in his usefulness to the Church. Augustine, when living in Carthage, taught rhetoric.

[1] See Lacroix, Wesleyan Synergism an Essential of Orthodox Catholicity, in Meth. Quar. Rev., Jan., 1880, pp. 5–31.

[2] Tertullian, De Anim., xl, xli. He speaks of vitium originis. But he still holds that evil has become only man's second nature, while his true nature is good. The divine in us is only overshadowed, not extinguished. With nearly all the Fathers before Augustine he defended the freedom of the will. Adv. Marc., ii, 6, 8, 9. They knew nothing of the later doctrine of the necessary servitude of the will to evil. "Even the opponents of the doctrine of human liberty, as Calvin, are compelled to acknowledge this remarkable consensus Patrum of the first period; and in order to account for it they are obliged to suppose a general illusion about the doctrine! 'It is any rate a remarkable phenomenon that the very doctrines which afterward caused disruptions in the Christian Church are scarcely ever mentioned in the Primitive Church.' Daniel, Tatian, s. 200."—Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctr., Edinb., 1880, i, 220.

For nine years he adhered to the Manichæan philosophy, opposed the Christian system, and the Platonic system was the only bond which held him within the least sympathy with Christianity. On leaving Carthage he proceeded to Rome, and afterward to Milan. His mother was at once his constant companion and devoted friend. In Milan his mind underwent a total transformation through the sermons, example, and personal influence of the venerable Ambrose. Simplicissimus was also helpful toward his departure from his Manichæan and pagan environment. He was thrown into the deepest contrition of heart, a picture of which he has given in his immortal book, the "Confessions." He seemed to hear a voice which said, "Tolle; lege!" It was his call to examine God's word. He was converted, and was baptized by Ambrose. He now gave up his work as a teacher of rhetoric, regarded Africa as his proper field of labor, went thither first as a presbyter, and later as Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Numidia. He died A. D. 430.

EARLY LIFE OF AUGUSTINE.

During the early period of Augustine's teaching he favored a larger place to the human will as an agent of salvation. But as he advanced in his system he gave greater prominence to divine grace, and finally gave it nearly the sole place. He regarded man as originally free, but that this freedom was forfeited by his own act, and that all which was left was his power to be saved by the operation of divine grace. Guilt is universal. All have sinned in Adam. Grace precedes the act of faith, and is given, not because we believe, but proceeds from God that we may believe. But there are many to whom this grace is never communicated. They are not condemned by God to eternal punishment, but God has passed them by. They are therefore left out of God's saving plan, and will be eternally punished. Man can never fully explain, or even understand, this mystery of the divine decree to salvation and the passing of the rest of mankind. We can only say that God is sovereign, and what he does is right.[1]

PLACE OF THE HUMAN WILL IN AUGUSTINE'S TEACHING.

Augustine enforced his system by such an array of learning, such force of logic, and such skillful use of the Scriptures that his opinions gained a wide circulation and were adopted by many in every part of the Western Church. The Augustinian system has possessed a strange and remarkable vitality. At different periods of the Church it has come out of its retirement, assumed control of great minds, and begun a new period

EXPANSION FROM AUGUSTINE'S THEOLOGY.

[1] A comprehensive exposition of the views of Augustine, in his own language, will be found in J. F. Spalding, The Teaching and Influence of Augustine N. Y., 1886.

of great influence over vast portions of Christendom. It gave the starting point to the whole theological system of the Roman Catholic Church, whose great mediæval scholastics were his admirers and pupils.[1] It seems to have possessed a singular power in the formation of new and free States. It gained power over the English Church in one of its most vigorous periods. It gave character, through the pen of Calvin, to the Protestantism of western Switzerland, with Geneva as the center. It followed the course of the Rhine, at Heidelberg assumed control of the theology of the Palatinate, and became the foundation of the controlling theology of Holland, Scotland, and the New England colonists.

PELAGIUS ADVOCATING THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL.

The strongest and purest champion for the freedom of the human will, as against the opinions of Augustine, was Pelagius, a monk of Britain. He early espoused the cause of synergism, holding that man is not guilty by nature, but that at birth he is innocent and has no inclination toward a vicious life. His mind is a blank, ready for whatever impressions are strongest. Leaving Britain for Rome, he began to teach his views in the latter city about A. D. 410. Cœlestius, a learned layman of Rome, adopted the opinions of Pelagius, and the two propagated their opinions in that center of thought with great industry and success. Pelagius made the masses the principal field for the propagation of his opinions, while Cœlestius aimed at the more cultivated people. The daily life of the two men was pure and commended itself to the confidence and admiration of the Church. In 411 they went to Africa, but Pelagius soon afterward set out for Palestine. Cœlestius became a presbyter. His opinions soon met with great opposition, and at a provincial synod held in Carthage in 412 he was excommunicated, through charges brought against him by Paulinus.

PELAGIUS FAVORED IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

Pelagius found favor in Palestine, where he united his fortunes with the adherents of the opinions of Origen. At the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis (Lydda), A. D. 415, the views of Pelagius were carefully reviewed, with the

[1] A brilliant statement of the relation of the teaching of Augustine to the earlier Greek theology and the later Latin is Allen, Continuity of Christian Thought, new ed., with new Pref., Bost., 1895, ch. ii. He shows clearly how all the main lines of the Roman system were drawn from Augustine. Spalding, though writing against Allen's praise of the earlier Greek theology and in disparagement of the gloomy and mechanical views of Augustine, does not deny this, but confirms it by showing their sacramentarian and churchly strain. Augustine anticipated the doctrines of the Tractarians. Schaff finely comments on the influence of Augustine in Catholicism and Protestantism, Church History, iii, 1018–1028,

advantage of his own explanations, and he was acquitted of heresy by both synods. In fact, the Greek Church found but little to criticise in Pelagius's emphasis on free will and personal responsibility, and his views on grace when explained by himself were more congenial to the Greek mind than were the exaggerated representations of Augustine. This justification of Pelagius by the two Eastern councils was confirmed by Pope Zosimus, 417, 418, who, after a formal hearing of the case, pronounced Pelagius a man of unimpeachable orthodoxy, 417. But in due time there arose opposition to him. The previous pope, Innocent I, had condemned him in strong language, and after the great African council of 418 Zosimus became alarmed and joined in the voices against Pelagius.

The synod of Carthage, A. D. 416, condemned Pelagius, and this conclusion was affirmed by a synod held in the same year at Mileum, in Numidia, and by a full council of the African Church in Carthage in 418. The general tendency in the Church, both East and West, was now unfavorable to Pelagianism. Nestorianism was coupled with it in popular disfavor. The ecumenical council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, condemned Nestorius, Pelagius, and Cœlestius, though without mentioning any heresies of Pelagius.[1] Important works were written against the

GENERAL TENDENCY UNFAVORABLE TO PELAGIUS.

[1] This condemnation by the third general council "seems to have been the result of an understanding between Cyril and the Bishop of Rome, by which Cyril anathematized the Latin heretic, while the pope gave his voice against the Greek heretic Nestorius."—Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 154, note. Wesley, with his accustomed candor and independence of judgment, rescued Pelagius from the common clamor, and believed that he stood for some valuable ideas. "I verily believe the real heresy of Pelagius was neither more nor less than this: The holding that Christians may, by the grace of God (not without it; that I take to be a mere slander) [in this Wesley was right. Pelagius certainly insisted on the necessity of the grace of God] 'go on to perfection;' or, in other words, 'fulfill the law of Christ.'"—Works, Lond. ed., vi, 328. "Who was Pelagius? By all I can pick up from ancient authors I guess he was both a wise and a holy man. But we know nothing but his name; for his writings are all destroyed; not one line of them left" (xii, 240). Wesley speaks hastily here. Pelagius's Ep. ad Demetr., Expos. in Ep. Pauli, and Libellus fidei ad Innocentiam, are printed in Martianay's ed. of the Works of Jerome, vol. v, Paris, 1706, 5 vols. The Libellus fidei was for a long time considered an orthodox work, and is quoted as such in the Libri Carolini, iii, 1. Ince, art. Pelagius, in Smith and Wace, confirms Wesley in the above remark on grace. He says: "It may fairly be doubted whether the Pelagians intended wholly to deny grace in its stricter sense as an internal agency. Pelagius anathematized all who said that the grace of God was not necessary, not only every hour and every moment, but also in each single action. Julian [Bishop of Eclanum, in Apulia, the disciple of Pelagius, who ably controverted Augustine] described the operations of grace as sanctifying, restraining, inciting, illuminat-

Pelagians. Augustine was by far the most active and skillful in his opposition, and his writings were powerful in causing the Church to abandon all Pelagian tendencies. But the Church in the East at no time adopted the extreme views of Augustine on election.

While the conclusions of the Western synods and councils were unfavorable to the Pelagians, there was a decided reaction in the Western Church against the extreme views of Augustine. The center of this milder type of Augustinianism was Massilia (Marseilles), in Gaul, where John Cassianus, and, later, his disciple, Vincentius, attacked the strict Augustinian doctrine. The latter claimed that Augustine was not at all a representative of the permanent doctrine of the Church, and that his theory of grace and the human will was partial, and should not be accepted. The opinions of Augustine were defended by Hilarius and Prosper Aquitanicus. At this juncture Aquitanicus died, A. D. 430, but after his death the conflict continued with varying success. Theodore of Mopsuestia, the greatest Greek theologian of the fifth century, severely censured Augustine, and charged him with bringing in novelties and dealing irreverently with God in asserting things which justice condemns and wise men reject.[1] It is thought by many that Vincent of Lerins was driving at Augustine's new views in his celebrated test of the true faith: that should be held for catholic truth which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all.[2] Judged by this standard, as Professor Allen says,[3] the teaching of Augustine lacked each one of the three essential marks of truth. Even the synods were not harmonious in their action, those of Arles and Lyons, both A. D. 475, declaring in favor of the Semi-Pelagians, and those of Orange and Valencia, A. D. 529, condemning the Semi-Pelagians.

MILDER TYPE OF AUGUSTINIANISM.

ing the human soul. This language implies more than creative grace; it speaks of grace assisting the created nature, and this by influences addressed not only to the intellectual faculties by instruction and illumination, but to the will and affections by incitement and restraint" (iv, 294). Here Ince agrees with Mozley, who thoroughly studied this controversy.

[1] See Gieseler, i, 339, note 36.

[2] Commonitorium pro catholicæ fidei antiquitate et universitate, c. 2. In Migne, L. 640. In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum sit. "A valuable criticism of the 'Quod ubique,' etc., may be found in Lewis's Authority in Matters of Opinion, c. iv. The history of theology, however, is the best criticism upon this much-vaunted test of truth."—Allen, Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 162, note. There is grave reason to believe that it was this Vincent who wrote formal treatises against Augustine. See the question discussed by Cazenove, in Smith and Wace, iv, 1154–1158. It is said that Lerins was a nest of semi-Pelagianism.

[3] Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 162.

But while the formal decrees were favorable to Augustinianism there was wonderful sympathy with certain modifications of his system. Prosper, while defending Augustine, had smoothed down some of the sharper points, while one of his opponents in an anonymous book, Prædestinatus, presented a caricature of Augustinianism, and in this created distrust among the people. With the decrees of the councils, however, against the Semi-Pelagians, they were deprived of all aggressive power. The whole question now lost all popular interest, and remained without discussion until A. D. 847, when Gottschalk, a Saxon, espoused the cause of the Augustinian theology and carried it far beyond the limits to which Augustine had confined it.

DESIRE FOR MODIFICATIONS OF AUGUSTINE'S VIEWS.

The Donatist schism was one of the most violent movements of this entire period. It was confined to North Africa, and extended from A. D. 311 to 411. It turned upon the question of the purity of the Church. During the persecution under Diocletian many Christians accepted martyrdom with a fanatical spirit. They went farther than the mere refusal of all compromise of opinion, and fairly rushed into death. This voluntary martyrdom pervaded large portions of the North African Church. There were some wise teachers, such as Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, and the archdeacon Cæcilian, who arrayed themselves against this fanaticism. In the appeal of the civil authorities to surrender the Christian books they surrendered only the works which had been declared heretical. This was enough to bring upon them the reproaches of the fanatical Christians, who called them traitors, or traditores. Donatus, ordained bishop A. D. 313, became the great representative of the fanatics, and he pushed their cause with great zeal and ability. His success among the common people was very decided. They were laboring under the burden of heavy taxes, and appeared to think that in the views of Donatus they could see the truth. Constantine, the emperor, was not favorable to the Donatists, and his opposition culminated in the decision against them by the clerical commission convened at Rome, by his authority, A. D. 313. In the following year the Western synod of Arles reached the same hostile conclusion.

THE DONATIST SCHISM.

In 316 the emperor heard representations from advocates of both parties at Milan, and also decided against the Donatists. At first Constantine adopted very rigid measures. He even went so far as to send the Donatist bishops into exile. But seeing that this vigorous course only led to more intense opposition he adopted a milder policy. But neither

CONSTANTINE OPPOSING AND JULIAN BEFRIENDING THE DONATISTS.

course allayed the popular frenzy. Donatist preachers went through the country and excited the people by such powerful appeals as led to an open rebellion against the imperial power. Soldiers were now called in, who suppressed the revolt. Such churches as belonged to the Donatists were taken out of their possession or entirely closed against them. This oppressive policy was in force at the time of the death of Constantine, but Julian, who rejoiced in the internal dissensions of the Church and in the success of any disintegrating force, pursued a policy favorable to the Donatists. He gave them all the rights accorded to other Christians. But under his successor, Honorius, the former policy of persecution was resumed.

AUGUSTINE AGAINST THE DONATISTS.

Augustine now entered the lists against the Donatists. At first he used mild measures to have them return to the Church. But his course was successful to only a limited degree. While some returned, the great body persistently refused to connect themselves with the Church again. The Carthage synod of A. D. 405 appealed to Honorius to force them to submission.[1] He oppressed them as forcibly as Constantine had done, and then summoned them to defend their tenets at a public disputation. This, the Collatio cum Donatistis, took place at Carthage A. D. 411. The Donatists were represented by nearly as many bishops as the orthodox, there being two hundred and eighty-six of the latter and two hundred and seventy-nine of the former. The imperial commissioner decided against the Donatists, and A. D. 415 the emperor declared that all who attended their services would do so on penalty of death. A peaceful understanding was reached on the invasion of North Africa by the Vandals, who persecuted all Homoousian Christians with equal ferocity. But in the course of time the Donatists disappeared from ecclesiastical life. Like all other great movements which fail of their main object, it is safe to say that the effect of the Donatist schism was to give a stricter view of the purity of the individual member throughout the African Church, if not the entire Church of both West and East.

[1] In his earlier days as a Christian, Augustine nobly defended the principles of toleration. In Joan. Ev. Tract., xxvi, 2. In later life he defended persecution. Ep. cxxxiii, clxxxv. Spalding, Teaching and Influence of St. Augustine, pp. 49–51. See excellent remarks in Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, ii, 400–406; Neander, ii, 248–252.

LITERATURE: MIDDLE AGES.

For literatur of the sources and for general histories, see above, pp. 10–18. We give here only a brief select list. Very convenient and indispensable are:

Chevalier, Ulysse. Repertoire des sources historiques du moyen age; Bio-Bibliographie; Topo-Bibliographie. 2 vols. Paris, 1876–96.

Potthast, Aug. Bibliotheca hist. Medii Ævi. Wegweiser durch d. Geschichtwerke des europ. Mittelalters bis 1500. Berlin, 1862. 2d ed., part I. Berlin, 1895.

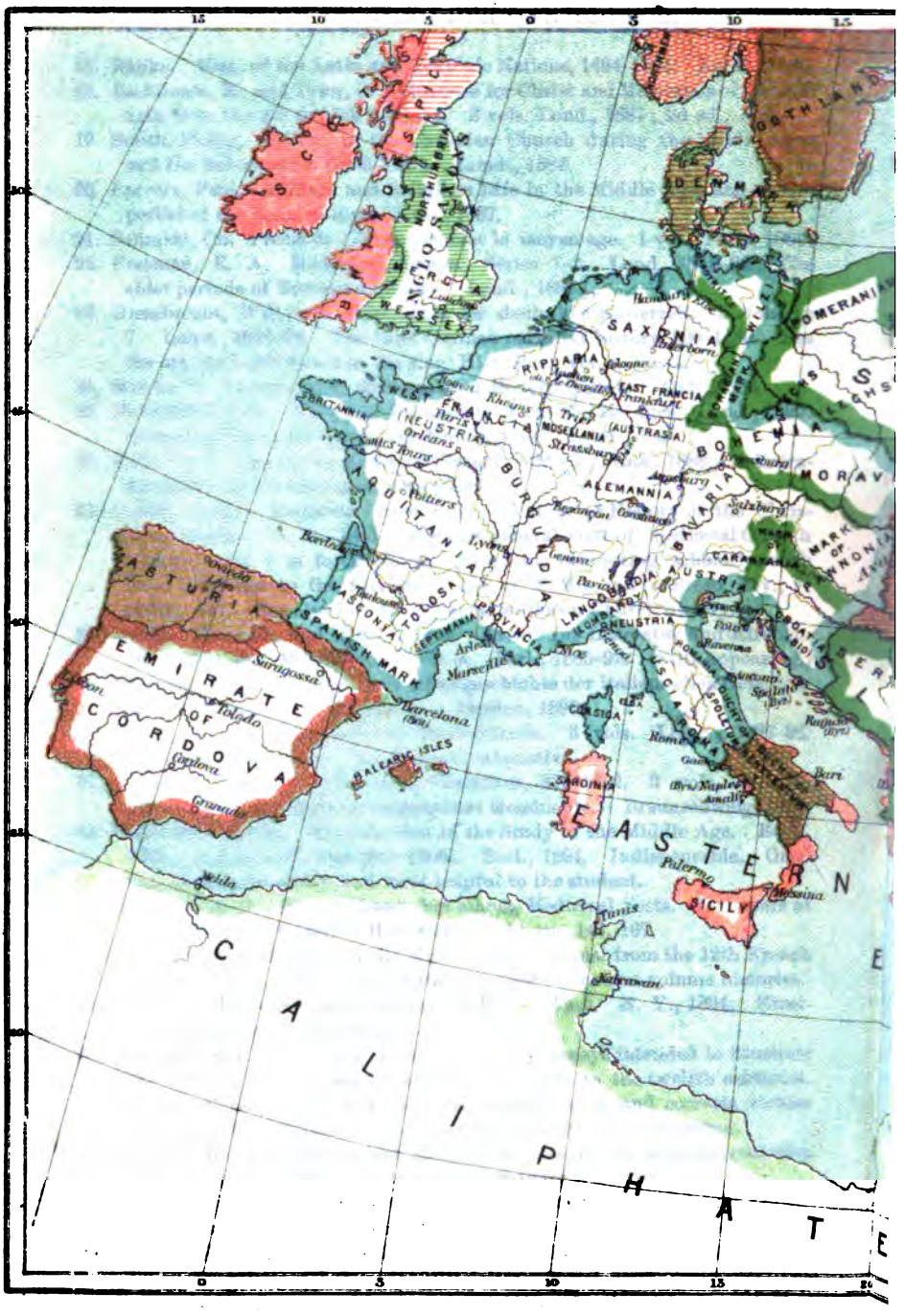
Oesterley, H. Wegweiser durch die Literature der Urkundensammlungen. 2 vols. Leipz., 1885–86.

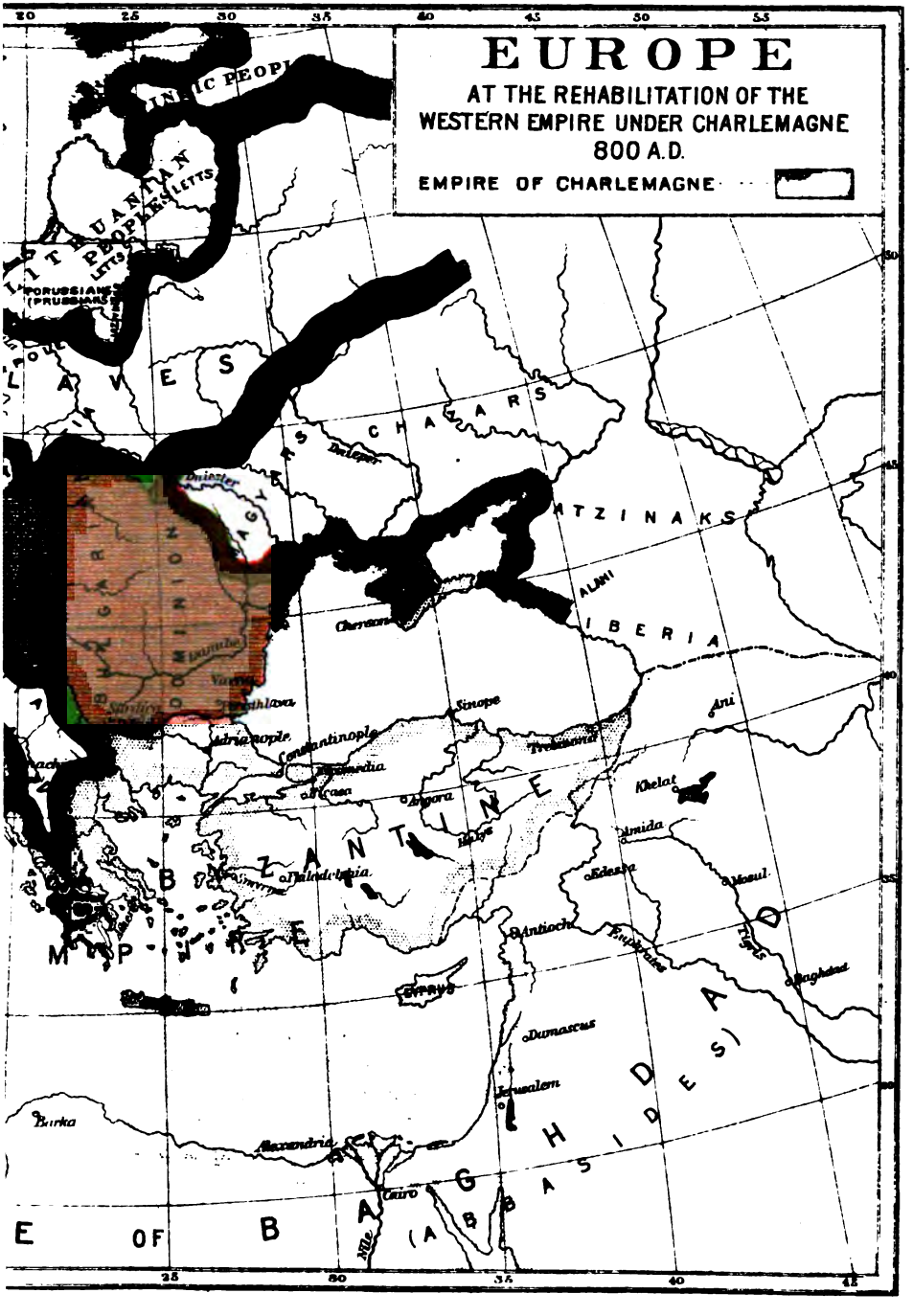
Emerton, Introd. to the Middle Ages, p. xviii, Mediæval Europe, pp. xix–xxv, and the list at the beginning of each chapter in both books; Adams, Hist. Literature, pp. 162–202; Schaff, iv, pp. 1–4; Hurst, Lit. of Theology, N. Y., 1896, p. 198.

1. Robertson, Wm. Progress of Society in Europe from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to 1500. Edinb., 1769, many later eds. It is the Introd. to the Hist. of Charles V, often printed separately. A comprehensive and learned survey, with sagacious generalizations, but corrected in detail by Maitland.
2. Berington, J. Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages. Lond., 1814; new ed., with Pref. by Hazlitt, 1846; last ed., 1888.
3. Krafft, W. L. Kirchengeschichte d. germ. Völker. Leipz., 1854.
4. Hemans, C. I. Mediæval Christianity and Art. 2 vols. Lond., 1869–72.
5. Draper, J. W. Intellectual Development of Europe. New ed. rev., 2 vols. N. Y., 1876.
6. Bryce, J. The Holy Roman Empire. Lond., 1866; 9th ed. rev., 1889. This fine historical study has been trans. into several European languages.
7. Church, R. W. The Beginning of the Middle Ages. Lond. and N. Y., 1877; new ed., 1896. With Emerton, the best introd. to mediæval history.
8. Hallam, Henry. View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages. 3 vols. Lond., 1854; N. Y., 1880. N. Y., 1883, 1 vol. The first correct English view, sober and learned, but lacks more recent authorities.
9. Milman, Henry Hart. History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. Lond., 1854–55; new ed., 9 vols., Lond., 1883. Learned, comprehensive, and impartial.
10. Allen, Joseph Henry. Outlines of Church History: A. D. 50–1880. Bost., 1885. Church history in its three great periods: Second period: Middle Ages. Bost., 1888. Emphasis as to the greater movements. Written by the late Unitarian professor of Church History at Harvard.
11. Hardwick, Charles. A Hist. of the Chr. Church: Middle Ages (575–1517). Ed. by Stubbs. Lond. and N. Y., 1872. Excellent notes and references.
12. Guizot, Pierre Guil. History of Civilization in Europe. 4 vols. N. Y., 1864. Bohn edition, 3 vols., Lond., 1887. 1 vol. edition, N. Y., 1890.
13. Trench, R. C. Lectures on Med. Church History. Lond. and N. Y., 1879.
14. Gregorovius, F. Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, vom V bis XVI Jahrhundert. 8 vols., 1875–82; later eds. rev. Trans., Lond., 1895–96. A work of immense research and of fine literary art.
15. Uhlhorn, G. Die christ. Liebesthätigkeit im Mittelalter. Stuttgart, 1884.
16. Robinson, A. Mary F. End of the Middle Ages. Lond., 1888.

17. Ranke. Hist. of the Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494–1514. Lond., 1887.
18. Backhouse, E., and Tylor, C. Witnesses for Christ and Memorials of Church Life from the 4th to 18th Century. 2 vols. Lond., 1887; 2d ed., 1894.
19. Smith, Philip. History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages and the Reformation (1003–1598). Lond., 1884.
20. Lacroix, Paul. Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages and at the period of the Renaissance. Lond., 1887.
21. Schmidt, Ch. Précis de l'église pendant le moyen age. 1 vol. Paris, 1886.
22. Freeman, E. A. Historical Essays. Series 1–3. Lond., 1878–80. The chief periods of European history. Lond., 1886.
23. Giesebrecht, Wilhelm. Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit. 5 vols. in 7. Leipz., 1876–90. The chief German narrative history, 900–1180. See the art. by Lord Acton in the Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. i, No. 1.
24. Stubbs, W. Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History. Oxf., 1886.
25. Henderson, E. F. Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. Lond., 1892. History of Germany during the Middle Ages. Lond., 1895.
26. Stillé, C. J. Studies in Mediæval History. 2d ed., Phila., 1868. Admirable lectures by a scholar of large views.
27. Schaff, Philip. Mediæval Christianity. (Vol. iv of History of the Christian Church.) N. Y., 1885. The best general view of mediæval Church history. Vol. v is forthcoming. Eloquent, interesting, scholarly, with large reference to the literature. See A. F. Mitchell in Presb. Rev., vi (1885), 741. See also his other general works on Church history.
28. Denifle, Heinrich, und Ehrle, Franz. Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. 6 vols. Berl., 1885–92. (Still appearing.)
29. Dresdner, Albert. Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit in 10 und 11 Jahrhunderten. Breslau, 1890.
30. Hauck, A. Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. 3 vols. Leips., 1887–96. Valuable in every way; detailed and exhaustive.
31. Assmann, W. Geschichte des Mittelalters, 375–1492. 3 vols. (Second part of his Handbuch der allgemeinen Geschichte.) Braunschweig, 1890.
32. Emerton, Ephraim. Introduction to the Study of the Middle Age. Bost., 1888. Mediæval Europe (814–1300). Bost., 1894. Indispensable. Original in plan, scholarly, and most helpful to the student.
33. Newman, A. H. Recent Researches among Mediæval Sects. In Papers of Amer. Society of Church Histories, vol. iv, pp. 143, 167.
34. Duruy, Victor. History of the Middle Ages. Trans. from the 12th French edition. N. Y., 1891. One of the very best of the one-volume histories.
35. Adams, G. B. Civilization during the Middle Ages. N. Y., 1894. Excellent discussion of the historic forces.
36. Maitland, S. R. The Dark Ages. A series of essays intended to illustrate the state of religion and literature in the ninth to the twelfth centuries. 5th ed., Lond., 1890. Travels unfrequented paths, and corrects various misconceptions, especially the hasty generalizations of Robertson.
37. Schmitz, W. Der Einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark. Freiburg i. Br. 1895.
38. Moeller, Wilhelm. Hist. of the Chr. Church in the Middle Ages. Lond., 1893. Trans. from the German. Best single volume for a critical student.
39. Koehler, F. Esthländische Klosterlectüre. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Pflege des geistigen Lebens im Mittelalter. Reval, 1892.
40. Grupp, G. Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1895.

A
C
T A H


SAXONIA
RIPUARIA
WEST FRANCIA
EAST FRANCIA
BURGUNDIA
ALEMANNIA
AUSTRIA
BOHEMIA
MORAV
BRITANNIA
AQUITANIA
VASCONIA
SEPTIMANIA
PROVINCIA
LANGOBARDIA
NEUSTRIA
CARANTANIA
CASTURIA
SPANISH MARK
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
EASTERN
CALIPHATE
Saragossa
Toledo
Cordova
Granada
Barcelona
Marseilles
Arles
Lyons
Tours
Orleans
Paris
Rheims
Metz
Strasburg
Augsburg
Salzburg
Ratisbon
Ravenna
Rome
Naples
Bari
Palermo
Messina
Tunis
Melita
Nahrawan
Aachen
Hamburg
Bremen
Paderborn
Cologne
Trier
Worms
Constance
Verona
Aquileia
Spalato
Ragusa
GOTHLAND
DENMARK
POMERANIA


EUROPE
AT THE REHABILITATION OF THE
WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER CHARLEMAGNE
800 A.D.
EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
25
30
35
40
45
PRUSSIANS
(PRUSSIANS)
LETTS
SLAVES
CHAZARS
PETCHENEGS
MAGYARS
BULGARIA
Dniester
Dnieper
Danube
Varna
Sardica
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Sinope
Trebizond
Ani
IBERIA
ALANI
Khelat
Amida
Edessa
Mosul
Antioch
Baghdad
Cyprus
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Nile
Barka
BYZANTINE
EMPIRE
ABBASIDES
CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD

CHURCH HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

FROM CHARLES THE GREAT TO THE REFORMATION.

A. D. 768–1517.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

No period of the Church is without great significance and an important bearing on the preceding and subsequent times. There is often unity where, at first sight, we see nothing but disintegration. Even the distributing forces, like those in the material world, have their appointed methods, limitations, and affinities, and are subject to the very same general laws as the combining and productive ones. The laws of cohesion and gravitation, for example, which to the tyro in natural science seem to be opposites, are, to the acuter eye, only different operations of one law. The Middle Ages have been regarded by the Protestant world, until recently, as a long period of unrelieved intellectual stagnation, and often of almost hopeless retrogression. We find protracted theological discussions from which there seems for the time to be no normal and promising outcome; the moral and religious life of the Church morbidly seeking reformation in retirement from the face and problems of society; a new faith, born in dreams and bred in blood, planting itself on one half the territory of Christendom; great expeditions, equally prodigal of life and treasure, fitted out for the bare purpose of rescuing the tomb of Christ from the Moslem; and, amidst all this, the spiritual rulers of the most hopeful part of the Christian world amassing to themselves prerogatives that belong only to God and claiming equal jurisdiction over the prince and his subject.

THE MIDDLE AGES IN REALITY A PERIOD OF PROGRESS.

But this is not a chaotic scene. There is an order which can only be properly estimated by a broad view of the centuries and comparing the beginning with the end. As no stream can be correctly judged by a quicksand here, a rapid there, or the placid waters which some friendly recess in the bank has invited to its repose, so in the current of history we are never safe in taking a glance

at a single section of its flow and making that the standard for our generalizations. Ranke says: "If the book of history lay open to our view in its authentic reality, if the fleeting forms of speech stood before us in the durability of the works of nature, how often should we discover in the former, as well as in the latter, amidst the decay we mourn over, the fresh and quick germ!—how often behold life springing out of death! However we may deplore the contamination of spiritual things with things of earth, the corruption of the institutions of religion which we have just contemplated, yet, without these evils, the human mind could hardly have received one of its most remarkable impulses—an impulse leading to vast and permanent results."[1]

Lightfoot says: "To those who take a comprehensive view of the progress of Christianity even the more lasting obscurations of the truth will present no serious difficulty. They will not suffer themselves to be blinded thereby to the true nobility of ecclesiastical history; they will not fail to see that, even in the season of her deepest degradation, the Church was still the regenerator of society, the upholder of right principle against selfish interest, the visible witness of the invisible God; they will thankfully confess that, notwithstanding the pride and selfishness and dishonor of individual rulers, notwithstanding the imperfections and errors of special institutions and developments, yet, in her continuous history, the divine promise has been signally realized, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"[2]

The Middle Ages occupy an important place in history, and had an important mission. They mark the passage of the world from the pagan to the Protestant age. "This whole period," says Baur, "can only be regarded by the observer as one of transition, at the close of which the varied elements which appear in different quarters concentrate into unity, and thus show forth the Church of the Middle Ages in the full significance of their universal grandeur."[3] And just because their character is purely transitional they present no complete forms of life. All the productions of the Middle Ages, whether in religion, science, or politics, bear the impress of a time of twofold character —of a time which laid the basis for a new age by the application of an old one.[4] The ancient Church had performed

THE MIDDLE AGES A PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

[1] History of the Popes, 4th ed., Lond., 1866, vol. i, p. 41.

[2] The Christian Ministry, in Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, pp. 287, 288.

[3] Die christl. Kirche des Mittelalters, 2d ed., Leipz., 1869, p. 6.

[4] Comp. Niedner, Kirchengeschichte, pp. 387, 388; Stubbs, Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, pp. 238, 239.

its mission—the development of doctrine; the mediæval Church was now to develop the new nations that, having migrated from the East as tribes, had settled in central Europe, as if controlled by an impulse to come near the faith that was to change their character and make them the bearers of the Gospel to all lands; and the modern Church was to expose the vagaries of its predecessor by the reassertion of the primitive doctrine, and then to appropriate all the rich products of the reawakened intellect of Europe for the spiritual permeation of every social stratum and to make the whole world the recipient of its benign ministrations.

We find, further, that the Middle Ages, with all their apparent irregularity, did observe a certain progressive course. If we look at the low state of the Church in the seventh and eighth centuries we shall find that the bonds of political and social life were loosed, that morals were everywhere depraved, and that there was a universal destitution of culture and of the aspiration for it. But there arose afterward a purer moral sense, and with it a higher appreciation of political and intellectual life. Taking the single department of history as an illustration, the advancement is remarkable. "We are astonished," says the writer who of all others in modern times has seen most clearly the historical relations of religious and secular interests, "when we note the difference between the historical productions of the eighth century and those of the former half of the ninth. Never has there been a greater progress in form. At the beginning of the eighth century the chronicles of the Frankish empire were monosyllabic and destitute of form, and in the successor of Fredegar we observe the roughness on the increase; but in the ninth century we find a beauty of expression which shows abundant traces of classical models."[1]

ADVANCEMENT OF HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

After the middle of the eleventh century a series of scientific inquiries began which no social disorders were able to interrupt. Monasticism, with all its misconceptions, preserved classical culture for permanent and universal use. Both Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus were mendicant monks. The climax of philosophical speculation was reached in the fourteenth century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the

SCIENTIFIC INQUIRIES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

[1] Ranke, Schriften der Berliner Akademie, 1854, p. 415; Giesebrecht, Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, vol. i, 2d ed., p. 827; and Wattenbach, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, pp. 66, 79. Comp. Baur, Christliche Kirche des Mittelalters, pp. 6, 7. Hatch has some excellent remarks on the eighth and ninth centuries as the turning point in the history of the world, in his Introd. Lect. on the Study of Eccl. History, Lond., 1885.

knightly poetry attained its highest forms of expression. It was in the thirteenth, likewise, that mediæval architecture culminated in a grandeur of conception and grace of proportion that have never been surpassed. Even the Crusades, notwithstanding their waste of blood and money, were the means of bearing to the East the treasures of the West, and, in the West itself, of creating a healthy restlessness and awakening new sympathies where sluggishness and stupor were the common temptation and a papacy greedy of gold was too much the representative of the Church. In the fourteenth century Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio composed works which will be read to the end of time. Meantime there was a process of political solidification going on. The bond of political unity was strengthened, and the disintegrating forces ceased in a measure as the Middle Ages drew to a close. Unity was secured in France by the fall of Burgundy, in England by the termination of the War of the Roses, and in Spain by the union of Castile and Aragon.

When the Reformation began we find that Germany and Spain and the Netherlands were under one head, but the forces which made this unity possible were in activity centuries before Luther burned the pope's bull under the elm at Wittenberg. As before the Christian era the conquests of Alexander had, by the distribution of the Greek tongue, made the promulgation of Christianity possible in the East, and at the beginning of the same era the unity of the Roman empire—every part of which was united to the capital by highways that have never been excelled—made its extension easy in the West, so did the Middle Ages prepare the very agencies which were to correct their own evils, and, by political unity and a popular love of liberty, to make an open door for the propagation of the revived truth. Christianity, indeed, is the only true solution of mediæval history—in fact, of all history.

PREPARATION FOR THE REFORMATION.

Ritter says with great force: "Christianity became the bridge over which the civilization of the old world passed into the new. In the very vortex of the storms of political strife, sweeping to and fro, itself making and unmaking kingdoms, while every ancient thing was menaced with ruin, while the crude yet simple manners of the German conquerors ran wild in party strife, and barbarism threatened to break in everywhere, the Christian Church rescued at least the remnants of the early learning and art as the seeds of a later civilization, and held fast to the divine law both as the ideal of common life and for the highest good of humanity. Since that time it has always obtained that the beginning of every people and of every community within the circle of European civilization

has been marked by its reception of Christianity. Moreover, other nations of another religion during the Middle Ages and in the modern period have dwelt in Europe and ruled a part of it. Of these the Arabs and the Turks have been most distinguished for power. But they do not belong, and never did, to our common and customary manner of life. They have touched us as foreigners. Only as an irritant have they by great exertion wrought upon us. Some little of their character has come also as a leaven into our life. But we have never been able to acquire anything worthy the name of progress in common with them."[1]

[1] Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, iii, 8, 9.

CHAPTER II.

PERIODS OF MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

THE exact limits of the Church in the Middle Ages have been variously assigned by both ecclesiastical and secular historians. The close of the ancient and the beginning of the mediæval have ranged, according to the point of view of the observer, over a space of five centuries, or from the fourth century to the ninth. Even the close, concerning which there is a much nearer approach to unanimity, has been a matter of dispute. The remark of Ritter,[1] that "the Middle Ages terminate in each country with the appearance of a popular literature," is true only in part. The rise of humanism in Italy, the revival of letters in the countries north of the Alps, and the diffusion of intelligence among the people, form but one of the factors, and that by no means the most vital, in the great movement which culminated in the Reformation. The scattered threads of the eighth century were to be caught up and woven into a fabric of spiritual unity. The mission of the mediæval Church was to conduct humanity from the narrow limits of the pagan to the broad and elevated plane of the Protestant world; to sift out and preserve the best that remained of the ancient time and to pass it safely down for modern use.

BOUNDARY LINE OF THE ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL PERIODS NOT DEFINITE.

Placing ourselves in the middle of the period beginning with the final conversion of the northern European nations, and ending with the German protest against papal enormities, we are able to see clearly, as we look backward, the transition of the Church from its apostolical and classical relations to its absorption by temporal interests, and, in looking forward, the passage of the Church out of the hands of its hierarchical authorities into the broader sphere of an enlightened public conscience.

The history of the mediæval Church has its general landmarks, which, if we contemplate the prevailing spirit of the age, are not difficult to recognize. The entire history is divided into three parts, as follows:

FIRST PERIOD.

From the emperor Charles the Great to the papacy of Gregory VII, A. D. 768–1073. The period of the appropriation and unifi-

[1] Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie, vol. iii, p. 24.

cation of the German and other northern elements; the growth of the Mohammedan counterforce to Christianity; and the rise and consolidation of the papal supremacy in Church and State.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the papacy of Gregory VII to the removal of the papal see into France, A. D. 1073–1305. The climacteric period of papal absolutism; of the organization and increase of monastic orders; of speculative science brought into the sphere of theological thought, or scholasticism, which was a direct product of the mediæval times and perished with them; and of the Crusades.

THE THREE PERIODS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the removal of the papal see into France to the Reformation, A. D. 1305–1517. The time of the internal and external division of the Church in its papal unity; of the loosing of its hold upon the popular mind; of the rise of humanism; and of the growth of a general desire for ecclesiastical and political liberty.[1]

[1] For suggestive divisions, see Scott, in Current Discussions in Theol., i, 112–116; Schaff, iv, 14.

LITERATURE: CHARLES THE GREAT.

Pertz, Monumenta Germaniæ Historicæ, the biographies and chronicles in Scriptores division, i and ii, 1826 and 1829; the capitularies in Leges, i, 1835. Jaffé, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, iv, 1867, which also contains Charles's letters. His complete works in Migne, Patrologia, 97, 98, 1851. Eginhard's Life in trans. by S. E. Turner, with notes and maps. N. Y., 1880. The Year Books of the Carolingian Kings are published by the Historic Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Ranke holds that these are contemporary court annals, and von Sybel that they are later productions; in any event they are of great value: Jahrbb. des fränk. Reiches unter Karl d. Grossen, von S. Abel, fortgesetzt von B. Simson, Leipz., 1888. Comp. Mittheilungen aus der hist. Litteratur, herausgb. v. d. hist. Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1884, H. 8, p. 246; Kaufmann, in Hist. Zeitschrift, 1885, H. 4. See H. M. Scott in Curr. Dis., iii, 156.

1. James, G. P. R. Life of Charlemagne. Lond., 1832.
2. Gaston. Historie poétique de Charlemagne. Paris, 1865.
3. Waitz, G. Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, iii, iv. 1869.
4. Wyss. Karl der Grosse als Gesetzgeber. Zürich, 1869.
5. Mullinger, J. B. The Schools of Charles the Great. Lond., 1877.
6. Cutts, E. L. Charlemagne and his Times. Lond., 1882.
7. Mombert, J. I. The History of Charles the Great. N. Y., 1888. See S. M. Jackson in Presb. Rev., 1889, pp. 674, 675. This is the best life of Charles the Great in any language. It is written by an industrious scholar from the sources, and is provided with chronological tables, notes, and valuable appendices. Mombert holds that Charles intended to put the crown on his head with his own hands, but that the pope was too quick for him. Simson, on the other hand, thinks that the coronation was a surprise to Charles.
8. Buchanan, T. R. Art. Charles the Great, in Smith and Wace.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

THE reign of the emperor Charles the Great was of such influence upon the interests of the Church that, while it began simultaneously with the commencement of the mediæval period, it did not terminate with that time, but has reached into modern history and affected the relations of Church and State in Europe down to the present century. He is one of the permanent characters in history. When, in the year 1165, the mortuary chapel in the great cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of his love and death, was opened for the second time in three hundred and fifty-one years, the body of the great ruler whom Paschal III had canonized was found sitting erect as a living monarch, clad in his imperial robes, with scepter in hand, the sword "Joyeuse" at his side, and the Frankish crown upon his fleshless brow. And the German conception of the founder and organizer of Teutonic greatness has ever been in harmony with this circumstance—not as of the dead, but of the living, *Karl der Grosse,* Charles the Great.

On the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768, he ascended the throne as inheritor of Austrasia, Neustria, and other portions of the eastern part of the Frankish empire, while his brother Carloman ruled over France and a large part of Germany, which constituted the western part of the empire. Carloman dying in 771, Charles took possession of the whole without regard to the rights of his deceased brother's family. From the moment of his assumption of supreme control he established a policy from which he never departed, and to which he made all his prerogatives and measures subservient. This was the combination of the theocratical idea with the monarchical. While he regarded himself as the civil ruler, his notion of his imperial functions extended to the sphere of religion and theology, and he felt that so far as these related to his government he was of right their supervisor and disposer. Taking the kings of Israel and Judah, and not the Roman rulers, as his prototypes, he imagined that he was rather a David, a Hezekiah, or a Josiah than a Cæsar Augustus or even a Constantine.

But his attitude toward the Church and its spiritual head was friendly, nay, even fraternal. Never has a monarch, with, per-

haps, the exception of Queen Elizabeth of England, been at once more decided in personal convictions and yet more wise in concessions in the proper quarters and in the supreme moment. Toward the pope he acted with such unfailing respect and consideration that it seemed as if he were claiming nothing for himself, and yet all the while he was receiving from the pope such boons as strengthened his hold at once upon his subjects and the Church. Never have two opposing players solved with greater adroitness the problem of ever winning the same game than did Charles the Great and Leo III. Each gave what he could dispense with, while each received what was necessary to his personal interests. Charles's motto, "The Church teaches, but the emperor defends and increases," was as much the pope's as his own, while no papal ear before the time of Hildebrand could be offended by the Frankish ruler's candid statement to Leo III of their relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers, and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God as Moses did and to support my military service by your prayers."

CHARLES AND LEO III.

This intimate relation between Charles the Great and the papacy was not altogether a novelty, but was an intensification of what had already obtained between the Frankish imperial house and the immediate predecessors of Leo III. A common interest had drawn these together, even before the birth of Charles, though, later, this alliance assumed a much wider scope and more attractive forms. Pope Zachary, by causing Pepin le Bref to be anointed as King of the Franks—whether by Boniface or not is not known—placed the Carolingian dynasty, of which Pepin was the founder, under perpetual obligation to the papacy. And it was an obligation which was promptly acknowledged and, with excellent memory, carried into practical effect. The Greek emperors were holding their possessions in Italy against the Lombards with a loose hand, and the popes, unable to secure from abroad proper protection against the devastations of the Lombards, implored the help of the Frankish rulers. Gregory III besought Charles Martel in vain to come to his aid against Luitprand, the King of the Lombards. According to the Lombard historian this ruler was a chaste, beneficent, and liberal-minded man.[1] Subse-

CHARLES AND THE PAPACY.

[1] Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis sequandus.—Paul Diac.

quently Stephen II proceeded on a personal visit to Pepin, at that time at the palace of Pontyon, in France, where he was treated with every mark of respect and gained the object of his laborious and hazardous journey, namely, the promise of the King of the Franks to defend him against the new Lombard leader, Astolph, who had crossed the confines of the exarchate, seized Ravenna, and besieged Rome. Having far less respect for the religious feelings of his enemies than Luitprand, Astolph dug up the dead bodies of the Roman saints that he might carry them off, not, it is true, as a mark of scorn, but for tutelary deities in his own Lombardy. Pepin defeated Astolph, and the latter promptly surrendered the whole of the contested territory to his conqueror. The Byzantine empire, to which it had belonged ever since the reign of Justinian, and which had ruled it by exarchs, sent ambassadors to demand its restitution—a requisition which Pepin refused on the ground that his sole object in the war was veneration for St. Peter.

Pepin, claiming the prerogative of the conqueror, gave the pope the entire territory of the exarchate, the Pentapolis (that is, the coast region extending from Rimini to Ancona), and the city of Comiaclum.[1] Pepin made the pope the patrician of the exarchate, and himself the patrician of Rome.[2] The pope willingly accepted the boon without seeming to spend a thought upon the fact that it was an integral part of the

PEPIN'S GIFT OF THE EXARCHATE.

[1] The exact geography of the transfer is an undecided point in mediæval history, since the donative documents have been lost. From letters of Pope Stephen II and Paul I we learn that the territory comprised the cities of Faventia, Imola, and Ferraria, with their marshes and the lands and forests, Auximum, Ancona, and Numana, with their environs, and Bononia, so far as its limits extended. According to Baronius the region was much more extensive, comprising the cities of Ravenna, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Cesena, Senogallia, Æsium, Forum Pompilii, Forum Livii cum Castro Sussubio, Mons Feretri, Acerragium, Mons Lucari, Serra Castellum sancti Mariani (Marini), Bobium, Urbinum, Callium, Luceoli, Eugubium, Comiaclum, and Narnia. Others make the donation still larger. The entire territory was about one hundred and fifty miles long and from sixty to eighty broad, extending back to the Apennines. Comp. Wiltsch, Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 264.

[2] The patriciate, a dignity instituted by Constantine, was bestowed for life. The Patricius Romæ was properly governor of Rome, but could hold subordinate offices, and had the authority of a patricius. German kings received the title from emperors. Gieseler, Church History, vol. ii, p. 85, note 11. The Franciscan Pagi makes the patrician a lieutenant of the Church rather than of the empire. On the title and authority of this office comp. Ducange, Gloss. Lat., tom. v, pp. 149–151; Pagi, Critica, A. D. 740, No. 6–11; Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi, pp. 308–329; and St. Marc, Abrégé Chronologique de l'Italie, tome i, pp. 379–382.

Byzantine empire.[1] The district thus formally transferred to the papacy was the first temporal possession of the popes of Rome, the founding of the States of the Church. The gift was made and accepted in defiance of all right; was later confirmed and extended in the same spirit; became the seed of innumerable ills to Christendom; and, after an existence of over eleven centuries, has at last come to an end in the present generation by the formal entrance of Victor Emmanuel into Rome and the adoption of the city as the capital of the kingdom amid the rejoicings of the long-enslaved people.

FIRST TEMPORAL POWER OF THE PAPACY.

The donation to the papacy became seriously endangered subsequently to the death of Pepin by alliances between the Lombards and the Carolingian dynasties. Bertha, whose sons, Carloman and Charles, were the joint rulers of the Frankish empire, sought to strengthen their power by a combination with the Lombard kings, while, on the other hand, Desiderius, the new Lombard sovereign, successor to Astolph, was desirous of propping up, by similar alliances, his sovereignty, which for twenty years had been languishing between life and death.[2] His son Adelchis was betrothed to Giesela, the sister of the Frankish brothers, while Charles divorced his own wife, whose name is not preserved by history, to marry Hermingard, the daughter of the Lombard king. The papal possessions were now in great danger, according to all appearance, and Stephen III was not slow in remonstrating against such an iniquitous alliance in such language as Milman says is "hardly to be equaled in pontifical diplomacy." The pope protested as follows:

CHARLES'S ALLIANCE WITH THE LOMBARDS.

"The devil alone could have suggested such a connection. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the fetid blood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land! What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion?"

[1] It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek emperor—probably through the emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks he desires to know what answer had been given to the silentiary commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*, no doubt, the iconoclastic opinions of the emperor), and keep her property secure (*omnia proprietatis suæ*). Milman, History of Latin Christianity, vol. ii, pp. 427.

[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Murray's Lond. ed., 1872, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith, vol. vi, p. 157; Milman, History of Latin Christianity, vol. ii, pp. 438, ff.

It was not on moral grounds, but on grounds of mere papal interest, that the remonstrance was made, as may be seen in every word. Charles, however, whose empire was still divided with his brother, had policy in view, for, in case of conflict with Carloman, he could reasonably expect the aid of the Lombards. So soon as his interests permitted he divorced Hermingard, sent her back to her father's court, and took to wife Hildegard, a Swabian princess. Carloman, who died in 771, left two sons, but their rights were ignored, and Charles became sole ruler over the Frankish empire. The old relations with the papacy, never interrupted, were once more friendly even to the public eye.

Desiderius, stung by the wrong done his daughter, excited by the threatening attitude of Charles, and espousing the cause of the two disinherited sons of Carloman, appealed for redress to Adrian I, the successor in the papacy to Stephen III, and invited a visit from him with the understanding that he should anoint Carloman's sons as Frankish kings. This being declined, and the pope refusing to dissolve his alliance with Charles, the Lombard king invaded his dominions and possessed himself of the territory acquired by Pepin. He sacked some cities of the Romagna, stripped the country of its wealth, perpetrated a massacre in the Tuscan town of Blera, and marched toward Rome. Adrian I appealed to Charles for help. The response was prompt and direct. The first measure was pacific, in the double form of a request that Desiderius surrender to the pope the territory which he had captured but receive a large sum of money as an equivalent. Desiderius evaded any action, thinking that Charles was too much engaged with the Saxons in the north and with the consolidation of his own territory to follow up his verbal propositions by forcible measures. Here he mistook the temper of the Frankish ruler. Charles, with that promptness which characterized all his movements, held a council of war in Geneva, March, 773, and then, dividing his army into two bodies, led the one himself over the Mont Cenis pass of the Alps and gave the other in charge of his uncle Bernhard, who led it over the Mont St. Bernard pass. The Alps on the north and the strong walls of the Lombard capital, Pavia, were the defenses of Desiderius; but Charles, though suffering a temporary defeat by the troops of Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, reached Pavia and began the siege of the city. The poet Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," draws a beautiful picture of the terror which the hosts of Charles the Great inspired as the Lombard king saw them approach from the southern declivity of the Alps. Desiderius, standing upon a Pavian

CHARLES'S WAR WITH THE LOMBARDS.

tower with Olger, the Dane, who had passed his youth as a hostage at the Frankish court, is represented as asking which is Charles as often as each new body of troops comes into view.

And Olger said:
"When you behold the harvests in the fields
Shaking with fear, the Po and the Ticino
Lashing the city walls with iron waves,
Then may you know that Charlemagne is come."
And even as he spake, in the northwest,
Lo! there uprose a black and threatening cloud,
Out of whose bosom flashed the light of arms
Upon the people pent up in the city;
A light more terrible than any darkness;
And Charlemagne appeared—a man of iron!
His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
Of iron, and his breastplate and his greaves
And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
In his left hand he held an iron spear,
In his right hand his sword invincible.
The horse he rode on had the strength of iron
And color of iron. All who went before him,
Beside him, and behind him—his whole host—
Were armed with iron, and their hearts within them
Were stronger than the armor that they wore.
The fields and all the roads were filled with iron,
And points of iron glistened in the sun
And shed a terror through the city streets.
This at a single glance Olger the Dane
Saw from the tower, and, turning to the king,
Exclaimed in haste: "Behold! this is the man
You looked for with such eagerness!" and then
Fell as one dead at Desiderio's feet.

Charles immediately became master of all northern Italy except the cities of Pavia and Verona, which bravely resisted, but whose submission could only be a question of time. Leaving sufficient troops to continue the siege of Pavia, he proceeded in the holy week of 774 to Rome to confer and receive such honors as would cement anew the union between his dynasty and the papacy, or, if the Frankish annalist, Eginhard, be reliable, "to pray at St. Peter's tomb." His approach to the city was signalized by the rejoicings of the pope, the clergy, and all the inhabitants. Thirty thousand citizens, with the senate, the nobility, and the school children, received him with flying colors, crosses, branches of palm and olive, and rapturous shouts. The conqueror dismounted on seeing the cross; walked with his warriors, nobles, and courtiers through the city to the steps of the Vatican; on his knees climbed the steps of St. Peter's, kiss-

PEPIN'S GIFT CONFIRMED BY CHARLES.

ing them as he ascended, and at the top was received by the pope with affectionate embraces. They then proceeded together into the crypt where St. Peter's body is claimed by pious Romanists to lie, and there swore to each other indissoluble fraternity. On Wednesday, April 6, 774, he renewed, by virtue of his right as conqueror, his father's territorial donation to the papacy, and, to give the act peculiar solemnity, laid the document on the altar of St. Peter. This record, so important to papal interests, has long since disappeared, but its conditions are conceded to have been the termination of all claims of the Greek empire on the exarchate, and the confirmation and enlargement of the donation of Pepin.[1] Whether the gift was without limitation, or only a formal and feudal tenure, under certain circumstances reversible to the Frankish empire, has never been fully decided.[2] However this may be, the territory before long was universally conceded to be the unconditional property of the papacy, and was accordingly so governed, the popes assuming the dignity and demanding the recognitions of temporal sovereigns, the city of Rome alone sustaining a measure of independent government. The revenues, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed into the papal treasury.

Charles returned to Pavia and brought the siege to a triumphant close. Desiderius presented himself as a submissive penitent at the conqueror's camp, and Charles, after the usual rejoicings and distribution of rewards to his soldiers, took with him the Lombard king and his wife, who ended their days in the cloister of Corby, while their son Adelchis escaped to Constantinople, where he hoped to regain the lost throne. Thus ended, as an independent power, the Lombard kingdom, which had been founded by Alboin on the banks of the Po; and Charles took to himself, in the years 774 and 775, the title of "King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome."[3]

LOMBARDS CONQUERED.

[1] Protestant writers, and some Roman Catholics, claim, and with excellent grounds, that the donation was an enlargement of Pepin's. Wiltsch, the best authority on ecclesiastical geography, says: "Whether Charlemagne merely confirmed the Roman see in its former possessions, as some writers assume, or whether he added new ones to them, is a matter which, in my opinion, ought not to raise the slightest doubt, as the words of Adrian I, in his first and thirteenth letters to Charlemagne, speak most distinctly of cities of Tuscia, of Spoletum, Beneventum, Corsica, and Sabina."—Geography and Statistics of the Church, vol. i, p. 265.

[2] For a careful examination of this question, with the views of conflicting writers, comp. Baxmann, Politik der Päpste, vol. i, pp. 276, 277.

[3] Döllinger says: "Charlemagne never called himself King of Italy, but only King of the Lombards, but he was really King of Italy."—Münch. Hist. Jahrbuch, 1865, p. 329.

There were two more attempts to revive the Lombard kingdom by the arrest of the united power of the papacy and the Frankish ruler. A Lombard league, with Arigiso, the son-in-law of Desiderius, at its head, gained strength by the patronage of the Greek ruler and the schemes of Adelchis, and threatened to restore the old condition of things. But Charles the Great responded to the importunity of Adrian I, and, crossing the Alps again, subdued the foe, took as hostages the two sons of Arigiso, and required an annual tribute of seven thousand pieces of gold. The second struggle was the vain effort of Adelchis, who, while commanding a Greek force which had been fitted out by the direct order of Constantine, the Greek emperor, was deserted by his men and compelled to flee for safety.

Charles had already made three visits to Rome. Of the first, in 774, with its bearing on the future territorial possessions of the papacy, we have already spoken. The second and third, in the years 781 and 787, were hardly of less moment, each being characterized by great benefactions "for the good of his soul," and by equally great concessions from the pope. But the visit of the year 800 was by far the most significant.

Pope Adrian I, after a long reign of twenty-four years, had died in 795, and was succeeded by Leo III, whose election was a great surprise to the people and aroused a very strong opposition. He continued toward Charles the Great the friendly policy of his predecessor, and was prompt in sending to him as the recognized Patrician of Rome the standard of the city and the keys of both the city and the tomb of St. Peter. The hostility to Leo III culminated in the fourth year of his reign, on the ground of alleged irregularities and crimes, in the form of an attack by a band of armed men, who attempted to mutilate him, and only left him when life was nearly extinct. The pope was rescued, however, and finally recovered. His reign was nevertheless in danger; and while he had the sympathy of many, there were others who believed him a great offender. The presence and aid of Charles the Great were loudly called for in Rome; but the Frankish ruler, who at that time was holding his court in the German city of Paderborn, invited the pope, then a fugitive in Spoleto, to make him a visit. The reception was worthy of both host and guest. There were great rejoicings and much feasting. Each manifested to the other the recognitions becoming his official dignities. During the festivities charges against Leo III, in the name of the Roman people—*quæ a populo Romano ei objiciebantur*, as Eginhard relates—were preferred to Charles, who postponed all

CHARLES'S FOURTH VISIT TO ROME.

final adjudication until he might himself visit Rome. Leo III, attended by an escort of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, returned to Rome, not only without opposition, but amid general rejoicings, for it was clear to all that he had the sympathy of Charles, and would most likely profit by his future decision. It seems that Charles had some object in view in starting for Italy far more important than a mere quarrel of the pope with his rivals and enemies. He seems to have surrounded every movement with an air of unusual solemnity, and to have proceeded with a slowness quite new to him. He went first to Rouen and then to the city of Tours, already renowned in Carolingian history, where he worshiped at the shrine of St. Martin and received at the hands of Alcuin, his faithful friend, a copy of the Bible, with corrections by the learned abbot himself. He thence again crossed France to the Rhine and held a diet at Mayence. It was only in the following year, 800, and toward the end of it, that he went southward to Rome. He was met by Leo III at Nomento, where they took breakfast together and the most cordial salutations were exchanged. Then the pope returned to the city, that he might give official sanction to the popular demonstration. On the next day, November 24, Leo III, surrounded by a great array of clergy, received him with all the honors due a king and conqueror amid the singing of psalms and general rejoicings. For seven days the Frankish ruler, acting the part of judge, and surrounded by the clergy from far and near, the Roman civil dignitaries, and his own Frankish counselors and chiefs, held a solemn synod in St. Peter's Church. The two plaintiffs, Paschalis and Campulus, were requested to prove their charges against Leo III. They were silent, only excusing themselves on the ground of reverence for the office rather than the person of the pope.[1] Charles rendered his decision, which could be only favorable to Leo III, whereupon the latter made a public declaration of his innocence in the following language:

CHARLES RECEIVED BY LEO III.

"I, Leo, pontiff of the holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God, who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter, in whose presence we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated, the wicked deeds of which I had been accused. This I call God to witness, whose

[1] According to the Book of the Popes, they said: "We do not venture to condemn the apostolic see, the head of all the Churches of God, for by it and its representatives we shall all be judged; but it shall be judged by no man."

judgment we must all undergo; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself."

There was now performed an act toward which both the victories of Charles the Great and the relations of the papacy to the Carolingian dynasty had been steadily tending for years, and which was destined to affect alike the ecclesiastical and secular history of the civilized world down to modern times. It was on Christmas Day, 800, or, according to the reckoning then in use in the West, the first day of the year 801. Charles, the members of his great court, the nobility of Rome, a multitude of private citizens, and the clergy from Italy and distant parts of the known world were present in St. Peter's, and the now exculpated Leo III performed in person the high mass in commemoration of the nativity of the Redeemer. The scene was one of great splendor, and such as Rome, wont to be splendid alike in her miseries and her joys, had not witnessed since the days of the Cæsars. The pope's voice fell; its cadences died away in the distant recesses of St. Peter's, and the vast multitude were mute and motionless. Amid the pause Leo III advanced toward his royal visitor, bearing a magnificent crown, which he placed upon Charles's head, saying: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor."[1] The multitude shouted their acclamations, and the pope, who was the first to bow the knee as subject to the emperor, concluded his act by anointing Charles, and then his son Pepin, with the holy oil of imperial consecration.

CORONATION OF CHARLES.

What, now, was the meaning of this papal conferring of imperial dignities? Far more than the outward circumstances, brilliant as they were, would seem to indicate. Charles affected to be surprised, and Eginhard, his secretary, wrote that the displeasure of the Frankish monarch at the act was very great, and that such a desecration of the place and the occasion would not have been tolerated if he had known of the pope's design; nevertheless, that he bore the contumacy "with great patience."[2] The affair was, in all probability, a fine piece of stage effect. Never was a public surprise more carefully prearranged. Without doubt it had been adroitly concerted over the winecups at Paderborn; for every step

[1] Anast. 199: "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria."

[2] Insidiam tamen susceptí nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientia, vicitque eorum contumaciam magnanimitate. Vit. Kar., xxvii.

that the king and pope had taken since the papal visit to Germany had been tending that way, and is only explicable by the consummation in St. Peter's. It was the climax of tedious, careful, unwearied good management on both sides.

The coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III was, on the one hand, an affair of unblushing arrogance in the pope, for it claimed the necessity as well as right of papal consecration to imperial honors; but then, on the other, it was the selection and endowment, with all the traditional sanctities of the Church, of one man, with his family after him, as the fit and legitimate successors to the throne of the Cæsars. It is difficult to say which, king or pope, was the greater gainer by the act. Both profited beyond computation; and yet the historian is seldom so fortunate in tracing evils to a positive and direct source as in ascribing the oppressions of the papal see, the arrogation of rights never contemplated in the early Church to spiritual guides, gross immorality in both clergy and laity, and all this for many centuries, to the coronation of Charles the Great, and the anointing which immediately followed, at the hands of Leo III. The new emperor, in recognition of his changed relation, laid aside his barbarian costume, and clad himself in the tunic, chlamys, and sandals of the Roman.[1] The whole Western empire was now under one mighty ruler, while the papacy, with Rome as the ecclesiastical metropolis of Latin Christendom, was supplied with complete and perpetual guarantees to territorial ownership. The bonds of emperor and pope were now intimate as never before; and as Leo III gave the new-crowned Charles his final embrace and lost sight of his splendid escort behind the outlying hills of the Campagna, each, for himself and his successors, entered upon a different career, and a new chapter in mediæval history and European civilization was introduced.

[1] Milman, History of Latin Christianity, vol. ii, pp. 459, ff.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL RELATION OF THE CIVIL TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY DURING THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD.

WHILE the immediate effect of the reciprocal approach of Charles the Great and the papacy was to give to the latter both territory and influence, and to the former the sanction of the Church to his dynasty and general policy, there was no disposition on the part of the Frankish ruler, though now endowed at the hands of a pope with all the prerogatives of Roman patrician and emperor, to sacrifice any of his rights as the ecclesiastic head of his empire. But this was no new relation. Charles the Great was only pursuing the same policy that was marked out by the first Christian emperor, and continued, though with less consistency and capacity, by his successors. Constantine, as much after as before his conversion to Christianity, never once thought of renouncing a tittle of his imperial authority. Justinian was equally far removed from compromising with any spiritual ruler, and so defined the supremacy of the imperial sovereign in all matters of government, whether temporal or spiritual.[1]

CHARLES THE GREAT IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF CONSTANTINE.

How completely the Church was governed by civil rulers may be seen in the subordination of the ecclesiastical councils to their authority. These bodies, convened not only to regulate the internal polity and discipline of the Church, but for the august determination of its fundamental doctrines, were as much a part of the machinery of the State as the privy imperial council. The decrees, though believed to be reached only by special direction of the Holy Spirit, were not valid until indorsed by the civil head. Count Dionysius, the commissioner of the emperor Constantine, told the Catholic bishops, who appealed to him on the Arian question, at the council of Tyre, in 335, that he must reserve for his master the final decision of the case, as it was his province to legislate upon all matters relating to the Church and its members.[2] A rescript of Theodosius II and Valentinian III

THE CHURCH COMPLETELY GOVERNED BY CIVIL RULERS.

[1] His language is unequivocal: "Sed et quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem, cum, lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omnem imperium suum et potestatem concedat."—Institt. I, ii, 6.

[2] Concil. Tyrium, ann. 335, Hardouin, i, 543; Lea, Studies in Church History, pp. 13, ff.

censures the disorders of the bishops at the opening of the council of Ephesus, in 431; threatens to send an imperial officer to review the proceedings and annul what is improper; and prohibits the members of the council from leaving Ephesus under any circumstances. When the progress of the council of Chalcedon seemed to be rather tedious the imperial deputies told the bishops that they must expedite their affairs, as graver matters of State required their own presence at the capital.[1]

But much greater proof of the supreme power of the State over the Church is to be seen in the imperial legislation. "The laws of the Christian emperors," says Lea, "from Constantine to Leo the Philosopher, manifest the absolute subordination of the spiritual to the temporal authority. The minutiæ of Church government, the relations of the clergy among themselves and to the State, their duties, their morals, and their actions, monastic regulations, the suppression of heresies—all the details, in fact, of ecclesiastical life, internal and external, are prescribed with the assurance of unquestioned power and with a care which shows how large a portion of the imperial attention was devoted to the management of the Church."[2] We shall see, presently, how fully Charles the Great and his successors adopted this same method in dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, and yet, by adroit conciliation, without causing offense at Rome.

IMPERIAL LEGISLATION SUPREME OVER THE CHURCH.

Various agencies contributed to bring about a change in the subordinate position of the Church. The civil authority underwent serious diminution, while that of the Church proportionately increased. One cause of the revolution was the growing weakness and corruption of the Roman emperors, and, simultaneously with it, the talents, daring, and consistent arrogance of the popes. To this must be added the fact that, in the struggle for existence and autonomy against the Greek on the one hand and the barbarian on the other, the Italian regarded the pope as the only representative of the national life and the patriotic principle, while the new transalpine Churches were in constant need of reference to him, and were in the habit of regarding him as umpire and sympathizer in their troubles.

The appellate power of Rome, long wavering, became supreme after the year 445, when Leo I wrung from Valentinian III an imperial edict, by which the Roman Church was strengthened in its most extravagant pretensions.[3] Yet at no time was there any

[1] Concil. Chalced. Act., xii (Hardouin, ii, 559).

[2] Studies in Church History, p. 16.

[3] Lea, Studies in Church History, pp. 128, 129. In this work there is the best available account, to English readers, of the appellate jurisdiction of Rome.

general withdrawal of prerogatives on the part of the emperors, and wherever a concession was made by one of them to the Church it was treated soon afterward, either by himself or his successor, as an incident rather than a rule. The relation between the temporal and ecclesiastical authority was determined, generally, by the amount of energy and talent that characterized the exercise of the one toward the other. As soon as the Frankish elements in the North began to consolidate, however, and the utter weakness of the papacy to counteract the inroads of the Lombards became apparent, the authority of the Church declined to a low degree; and it required much greater energy and genius than fell to the lot of even a Boniface to restore the reverence which Rome had once enjoyed. Even Gregory the Great, long before the apostle of Germany was born, knew where his limits lay, as we have abundant proof in the following humble confession accompanying his remonstrance against the edict of the emperor Maurice, in 593, which prohibited the abbots of monasteries from receiving soldiers: "What am I but a worm and dust, thus to speak to my masters? . . . I have done what was my very duty in every particular; I have charged the emperor, and have not hushed in silence what I felt to be due to God."

APPELLATE POWER OF ROME.

But while such was the traditional relation of the Church to the State it became more intense during the Carolingian period. Charles the Great never made a concession to the papacy in a manner which indicated that he was prompted by any other sentiment than complacency. He never acknowledged that any one in the Church could claim equality, or even important participation, with him in his administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Between him and Constantine there were many striking points of resemblance, but in no respect were they more alike than in their common conception of the empire as a unit; that the office of civil head carries with it all-controlling functions, and, as a consequence, that Christianity sustains the same relation to the State as the old pagan faith had borne to the Roman emperors. With all the apparent policy of conciliation on Charles the Great's part toward the popes, with whom he stood in intimate relation, his notion of his own rights as head of the Church was just as severe and inflexible as that of any Roman predecessor concerning his rights as pontifex maximus. The appellate power of Rome was never once made use of, or even recognized, during the reign of Charles the Great and his son; and the first Frankish emperor was not merely Roman patrician, but as much suzerain of Rome's

CHARLES THE GREAT MADE NO REAL CONCESSION TO THE PAPACY.

bishop as of Rome itself.[1] Leo III, having announced to Charles the Great his election to the papacy, in the year 796, received in reply an acknowledgment of the new pope's pledge of humble obedience and fidelity, and the emperor gave instructions to his envoy, who should be present at the consecration, to admonish the pope to live properly and obey the canons.[2] How much importance Charles the Great attached to the necessity of the papal coronation may be seen in the fact that, in 813, he crowned his own son Louis with his own hands, on associating him with him in the imperial rule; and when, after the father's death in the following year, Stephen IV both crowned and anointed the same son as Charles the Great's successor it was purely a piece of spontaneous papal action, and the diadem had been brought from Rome for that purpose by the pope himself. It was this same pope, on the other hand, who deferred so completely to the imperial authority that he caused a synodal canon to be passed requiring that, in future, no newly elected pope should be consecrated except in the presence of imperial delegates.[3]

These are but minor proofs, however, of the completeness of the vassalage of the papacy to the empire during the Carolingian period. But it was a willing subordination; for the popes, taught by experience the sublime virtue of patience, knew how to await the day of complete deliverance. And the day came more swiftly than their aspirations; for with the downfall of the Carolingian dynasty came the complete rupture of every bond that made the Pope of Rome a subject to any earthly sovereign.

We now come to the still stronger evidences of ecclesiastical

[1] Charles the Great's "unwearied and comprehensive activity made him throughout his reign an ecclesiastical no less than a civil ruler, summoning and sitting in councils, examining and appointing bishops, settling by capitularies the smallest points of Church discipline and polity."—Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 8th ed., p. 65.

[2] "Valde, ut fateor, gavisi sumus, seu in electionis unanimitate, seu in humilitatis vestræ obedientia, et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate."—Epist. ad Leonem Papam (Baluz.). Carol. Mag. Commonitor., ann. 796 (Baluz., i, 195, Ed. Venet.). Lea, Studies in Church History, p. 34. For the General Admonition of Charles in the Diet held at Aix-la-Chapelle, which confirms the remark of the monk of St. Gall that Charles was a "bishop of bishops," see Mombert, Charles the Great, pp. 316, 317. "The Church had to obey him," says Mombert, "not he the Church." "Never," says Dean Church, "in modern Europe has the union of Church and State, exhibited in the supremacy of the king, been carried to so high a point."—Beginning of the Middle Ages, p. 129.

[3] Lea, Studies in Church History, p. 38. This author replies very well to the objections to the genuineness and date of this decree by citing the allusion to it by Nicholas I in the council of Rome in 862.

subjection in the internal management of the Church by the direct measures of the Carolingian rulers. Charles the Great has seldom been surpassed in history as an organizer, and he was capable of managing affairs as discreetly and promptly in their detailed as in their broader and related bearings; and in no department of his administration is there a more admirable adaptation to the exigencies of the time, as he conceived them, than in his methods of regulating the ecclesiastical and religious interests of his empire. His whole government was one vast theocracy, the character of which was as little disturbed by war as by peace. He never justified his wars with the Saxons on any other ground than a desire to make Christians out of those wild and idolatrous followers of Wittekind.

FURTHER EVIDENCES OF ECCLESIASTICAL SUBJECTION TO THE EMPIRE.

The appointment of bishops by the Carolingian rulers is one of the strongest proofs of their almost absolute control of the Church within their dominions. The bishops, in the early Church, were elected by the joint clerical and lay votes of the community.[1] In certain localities the people, having elected their bishops, were held responsible for such as proved unworthy, and were even expected to dispossess them of their miters. This was when the Church was young and pure, and possessed too little power and wealth to make it the object of royal ambition, fear, or flattery. But as its relations to the State became more intimate, and the civil rulers themselves were Christian, it gathered about it a prestige and influence that the proudest princes might well be at pains to win to their support. The interference in the appointment of bishops was one of the first attempts made by the temporal sovereign to exercise controlling influence upon the Church. The bishops in the large commercial and political centers, and especially in the capital, were men of vast power, and the rise and existence of a dynasty were often determined by them. But the Christian emperors of the old Roman empire limited their exercise of investiture to filling the vacant sees in the most important cities.[2] However, the evil grew with the increase of worldliness in the Church. It could not be expected that such an engine of influence should long escape the attention of the civil ruler and that in due time the most important sees should not fall largely under their management.

BISHOPS APPOINTED BY THE EMPEROR.

Before the accession of Charles the Great there were many gross

[1] Qui præfuturus est omnibus ab omnibus eligatur. Leon., pp. i, Epist. 10, cap. 6; Cyprian, Epist. 67 (ed. Oxon.). Comp. Lea, Stud. in Ch. Hist., p. 81, and notes.

[2] Neander, Hist. Christ. Rel. and Ch., vol. v, p. 123.

instances of the nomination of bishops by the Frankish rulers, not to mention the outright purchase of the prelacy by gold or personal attentions. Two parallel bishops, Theodorus and Proculus, were appointed by Queen Clotilda, in 520, for the diocese of Tours. These were succeeded in a year by another civil appointment, Dionysius, and, after a lapse of two years, the see was in turn occupied by Ommatius, made bishop by order of King Clodomir.[1] The practice of purchasing the episcopal office became so common, and the nomination to the same so much the habit of the ruler, that the councils took the matter in hand. But the strong protests of the council of Orleans in 549, and of that of Paris in 557, had but little effect in remedying the evil of royal investiture, as the Merovingians first, and the Carolingians later, came into power. Dagobert I, in 630, appointed his treasurer, Didier, who was only a layman, to the see of Cahors, and gave the archbishop orders to consecrate him. The new bishop accepted the office in these words: "By your order, God being the author, I preside over the see of Cahors." The formulas for consecration were so worded that the king was represented as the real disposer of the office.[2]

PURCHASE OF THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE.

The canons of the Church were set aside with impunity by the barbaric sovereigns, and such men as Clovis and Childeric regarded the bishoprics as fully a political affair as the collectorship of revenue or the governorship of a province.[3] In such portions of Germany as had been evangelized the same prerogative was exercised by the king. Boniface, the great champion of ecclesiastical prerogatives, was himself made archbishop of Mainz at royal hands. In Spain, at the twelfth council of Toledo, a canon was established by which neither the laity nor the clergy were permitted the right of suffrage at an episcopal election.[4] Gallus, Bishop of Arverna (Clermont), boasted that he obtained his office from Theodoric, son and successor of Clovis, by giving as a *douceur* to the cook who waited on the king's table a single triens (about a penny, see Anthon), or one third of an as. The common means of obtaining a bishopric was reduced to the following terse direction: offerre multa, plurima promittere. The English prelates were likewise appointed and ejected according to the will of the sovereign, and such royal chaplains as were so fortunate as to win the favor of their masters were rewarded by the gift

THE EPISCOPACY REGARDED BY THE RULERS AS A POLITICAL AFFAIR.

[1] Greg. Turon., Hist. Franc., lib. x, cap. 31; lib. iii, cap. 17.
[2] Marculfus, lib. i, Nos. 5, 6, 7.
[3] Hardwick, Hist. Christ. Ch. in Mid. Ages, p. 54.
[4] Concil. Toletan., xii, can. 6.

of bishoprics.[1] Charles Martel rewarded his soldiers with the best sees in his realm.[2] Many a scarred and bronzed warrior of those days braved the dangers of the field and the fatigues of the forced march with the sole hope that he might receive, as his richest spoils, an exchange of the camp for the episcopal palace, and his military uniform for the pallium, the crozier, and the miter. There were men in the Church who offered a stubborn resistance to this secularization in the nomination of bishops—and with the bishops must be reckoned a vast number of other ecclesiastical officers—but they were utterly unable to cope with the civil power and the traditions that had come down from the time of Constantine the Great.[3]

CHARLES THE GREAT'S RESTORATION OF THE OLD WAY OF ELECTING BISHOPS A MERE MAKE-BELIEVE.

Charles the Great, according to the letter of his act, restored, in 803, the old method of electing the bishops by the suffrages of the clergy and the people.[4] But the very way in which he did it proves that he regarded his act as a demonstration of imperial grace and condescension, while he rendered the whole outward concession null by reserving to the prince the right of ratification. It was a special concession on the part of Louis le Débonnaire shortly after his accession in 816, when he repealed the privilege. Charles the Great did nominate bishops himself, and freely, too, but the prestige of his name, his favor toward the papacy, and his general interest in the welfare of the Church relieved him of all unfriendly criticism, which, however, in his case, would have been powerless in any event.[5] No civil offices were more coldly and perfunctorily filled by Louis than the bishoprics, and the sixth council of Paris, in 829, formally recognized his right, but humbly suggested that the power be used becomingly. In case of the permission of elections in the old way the ruler was represented by an imperial commissioner, and in case an election was accompanied by irregulari-

[1] Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. ii, p. 377.

[2] Lea, Stud. in Ch. Hist., pp. 86, 87.

[3] Lea gives some interesting instances of the conflict of the Church with the sovereigns in the matter of official appointments. Stud. in Ch. Hist., pp. 84–86. Later he discusses at great length the question of the authenticity of Gratian's declaration that Adrian conceded to the emperors not only the right of choosing the popes but all archbishops and bishops: "Insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definivit: et ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopos a nemine consecretur." Stud. in Ch. Hist., pp. 87–89, notes.

[4] Döllinger seems to think Charles the Great's restoration of the old mode of electing bishops pretty thorough. He describes the process of election as regulated about the middle of the ninth century.

[5] Guericke, Kirchengesch., vol. ii, p. 26.

ties the new incumbent was at once ejected and his place filled by direct appointment of the emperor.[1]

This method of appointing bishops continued down to the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, rather because of the luster which the example and name of Charles the Great gave to his successors than because of any great capacity on their part or readiness of the Church to acquiesce perpetually in the imperial will. Even after the empire became convulsed in civil wars the popular election of bishops was more a fond tradition than a living fact. The synod of Thionville, for example, in 845, requested the sons of Louis the Pious to nominate new bishops for the vacant sees, and, later, the synod of Vernon petitioned Charles the Fat to fill the long vacant see of Rheims. The natural result of this mode of appointing bishops was that they should consider themselves subjects of the empire, and take the oath of fidelity to the sovereign. This was done to both Charles the Great and his son Louis, by the popes who crowned and anointed them, and Gregory IV appealed to the example of Frankish bishops as his apology against the charge of perjury for taking part against Louis. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, declared that the penalty for the violation of the oath of fealty to the sovereign should be degradation and the forfeiture of the bishopric.[2]

NATURAL RESULT OF IMPERIAL APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS.

In legislating concerning the Church, during the reign of the Carolingians, there was the same predominance of the imperial authority that existed in the appointment of the highest ecclesiastical officers. Under the Roman emperors the provincial synods were not controlled in their legislation for the Church, but in the new States that arose on the ruins of the old empire the synods were convened at the wish of or on consultation with the rulers.[3] The latter were sometimes participants in the proceedings, and the decrees were published on their authority. Subsequently these synods were merged into the general legislative bodies, where civil and ecclesiastical laws were enacted simultaneously. Formal assemblies of bishops were very uncommon during the rule of the Frankish sovereigns. Boniface, the Jeremiah of his age, lamented that no synod had been convened for a great while. Under Pepin and

IMPERIAL AUTHORITY CONTROLLED LEGISLATION ON CHURCH AFFAIRS.

[1] Lea, Stud. in Ch. Hist., pp. 89, 90.

[2] Concil. Aquisgr. ii, ann. 836, cap. ii, can. 12.

[3] "Sine nostra scientia synodale concilium in regno nostro non agatur."—King Sigebert's letter to Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors, A. D. 65. Baluz., Capitular, t. i, p. 143; Neander, Hist. Christ. Rel. and Ch., vol. v, pp. 126, ff.; Diocesan Synods, etc., in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1879, pp. 154, ff.

Charles the Great the body which legislated for the State took the same care of the Church.

THE CLERGY REPRESENTED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.

We do not see, however, that there was here any ground of complaint, for the clergy were represented in the general assemblies, and frequently exerted as much influence on ecclesiastical questions, and sometimes on those purely civil, as the English bishops of our day in the House of Lords. Charles the Great, who could do nothing without system, divided the members of the general assemblies into three groups or chambers, bishops, abbots, and counts; the first two to attend to matters of the Church and the monastic life, and the third to care for political matters. The council of Metz, of 813, may be regarded as an illustration of this systematic arrangement of the business of the Church and the State in the legislative bodies of the Carolingian period. Then the decisions of these bodies went forth in the name of the emperor, without which indorsement they would have had no validity. The Spanish Gothic kingdom was an exception to this policy of combination, where, by a decree of the council of Toledo, in 694, a permanent arrangement was made by which the affairs of the Church should first be discussed for three days by the clerical members alone, and then the secular matters should be considered conjointly by the clerical and secular members.[1]

CLERICAL EXEMPTION FROM STATE BURDENS.

The exemption of the clergy from the burdens of the State—munera publica—underwent revision, like everything else, by the Carolingian princes. While Charles the Great's notion of the sanctity of the clerical office was higher than that of many of his predecessors, it was not too elevated to prevent him from requiring that the bishops and abbots should furnish a contingent for his armies, in due proportion to the amount of property which they held officially. In 801 he forbade the clergy from all participation in military life. Under the old Roman empire the soldiers had been taken altogether from the citizen or free class of the population, and this law, of long force, no doubt had its influence on Charles the Great. The Church had for some time been drawing upon the slave class for her clergy, but during this period the custom grew to such frightful proportions that official measures had to be adopted against it. In a rule adopted by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 816, we read the following: "Many select their clergy exclusively from the bondmen of the Church, and they seem to adopt this course because such persons, when injured by them, or deprived of the salary due to them, cannot complain, for fear of being subjected to corporal punishment

[1] Guericke, Kirchengesch., vol. ii, p. 27.

or of being reduced again to servile labor." This council, however, gave its voice against the habit.

But there was one great end served in thus bringing the slave class into intimate relations with the clergy. The bondmen of the Western world were inspired with hope of deliverance. The Church regarded it a part of her mission to relieve their condition and prepare the way for the dissolution of their bonds. The clergy who had been slaves never forgot the chains of their brethren and their own earliest history. The idea of universal human freedom was more in force then in the Frankish empire than in some parts of Europe and America a thousand years later. The manumission of slaves became a pleasure and a practice of the age, and the Church gave to it her fullest encouragement, as she had done in the fourth and fifth centuries. Gregory the Great gave all the force of his example to the freedom of slaves, and drew a deed manumitting his two slaves.

GREAT END GAINED BY CLOSE RELATIONS OF THE SLAVES AND THE CLERGY.

There were numerous evidences that the predominance of civil authority in ecclesiastical matters was undergoing a rapid decline. The Carolingian rulers were growing weaker, and their empire was gradually slipping from their grasp. Charles the Fat was a poor shadow of his grandfather, and just such a man as a bold and unscrupulous papacy knew how to manipulate. In 858 we find the Neustrian bishops declaring to Louis the German that they were not obliged, as laymen were, to do homage or swear fidelity to their sovereign.[1] Think of such language used to the conqueror of Desiderius and Wittekind! He would have deposed them immediately and put a speedy silence to those demands. No pride is of more rapid growth than that which makes religion its basis. Synods, councils, and popes were becoming clamorous for the restoration of the primitive mode of electing bishops, and, by the time that the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as insignificant and weak functionaries in the city of Laon, the Church found herself proprietress of more than all her old prerogatives, and holding her new territory with an iron grasp, paying back the princely gift of land at the hand of Pepin and Charles the Great by an independence and haughtiness quite new even on the banks of the Tiber. The serpent had been warmed at the genial Carolingian fireside, and now it was ready to use its fangs on the saviour of its life.

DECLINE OF PREDOMINANCE OF CIVIL OVER ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY.

[1] Capit. Carol. Mag., ann. 794, cap. 7.

LITERATURE: PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

Editions: Merlin, in Coll. Concil., vol. i, Paris, 1523; Denzinger, in Migne, Patrol. Lat., vol. cxxx—a reprint of Merlin; Hinschius, Leipz., 1863—best ed., based on critical research into all the MSS.

1. Blondel, D. Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulantes. Geneva, 1628. A work of great acuteness and learning.
2. Theiner, A. De Pseudoisid. canonum collectione. Breslau, 1826.
3. Kunst. De Fontibus et Consilio Pseud. collect. Gott., 1832.
4. Wasserschleben, F. W. H. von. Beiträge zur Geschichte der falschen Dekretalen, Bresl., 1844; Die Pseudo-isidorische Frage, in Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, iv, pp. 273, ff.; art. in Herzog, Real-Encyclop.
5. Weizsäcker, K. Hinkmar und Pseudo-isidor. In Zeitschrift für hist. Theol., 1858, 327.
6. Newman, J. H. Essays, Crit. and Hist., 2 vols. Lond., 1871; 8th ed., 1888, vol. ii, 271–275, 320–335.
7. Schrörs. Hincmar Erzbischof von Reims, sein Leben u. seine Schriften. Freib., 1884.
8. Ueber das Vaterland der falschen Decretalen, in Hist. Zeitschr., 1892, H. 2.

CHAPTER V.

THE FORGED ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

EVERY period of ferment has been characterized by a disposition to fortify the opinions of the present by an appeal to the testimony of the past. The modern Church is abundant in illustrations, among which may be reckoned the Tractarian movement in the Anglican Church in the former half of the present century, and, more recently, ritualism, the natural offspring of the dusty but energetic Tractarianism of Oxford. In the Carolingian period the reputed authority of the primitive Church was made the apology for every new notion that was presented for the indorsement of the Christian world. The papacy was athirst for power. The slight taste of temporal sovereignty only whetted its teeth for a perpetual feast. Nor was this disposition to rule limited to the highest officer in the Church, but was shared by those next to him in power and station, by the mass of the priesthood, and even by a large body of the faithful among the laity. There were too many dangerous contingencies connected with the authority of the civil sovereign, even though he be a Charles the Great, and particularly with his interference in matters ecclesiastical. The great thought of the Church was to offer resistance to, and put a perpetual quietus upon, all power of the State, or any representative of it, over the Church in any branch of its polity, doctrines, or officers. The power of the Church must be so increased that the officers of the State should be harmless; nay, the Church must be so strengthened as to place even the civil ruler in a subordinate relation to the Church.

ATTEMPT TO FORTIFY THE PAPACY BY APPEAL TO THE PAST.

The practical form which the general aspiration to strengthen the authority of the Church assumed was the forgery of the Isidorian Decretals. Isidore, Archbishop of Hispalis, was one of the leading writers of the day, and performed for the Spanish Church the distinguished service of making it acquainted with a number of important classical and patristic works. He died in the year 636, and left behind a name of high repute, both for mental and moral endowments. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in an age rich in forgeries, where every honored man who had long since passed away was used by inter-

THE FORGERY OF THE ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

ested writers as the basis for opinions of which the departed never dreamed, Isidore should be made responsible for a system of defense of ecclesiastical authority.[1] The decretals ascribed to him combined all the qualities of a complete delusion, and they have proved the most adroit, bold, direct, and successful piece of forgery in the history of mankind.

DECRETALS ALREADY IN USE.

Decretal epistles of various dates were already in circulation, for example, the collection of canons and epistles of Dionysius Exiguus, which had been generally used in the West, and the collection which passed under the name of Isidore, of Hispalis, and was probably the work of his pen.[2] This latter compilation contained important canons not found in the work of Dionysius, and, inasmuch as it contributed to the support of the growing demands of the Church, its circulation was rapid and influential. The same name, Isidore, was now used as the alleged author of a new volume of decretals. The compiler of no other collection had had the effrontery to go farther back into the early Church for authority than to Pope Siricius, whose pontificate extended 384–398, but the deviser of this new compilation, calling himself Isidore, brought out various decrees by unknown councils and mazy letters claiming to be written by Clement and Anacletus, bishops of Rome contemporaneous with the apostles, and by nearly thirty of the apostolic Fathers.

CONTENTS OF THE WORK.

The work was in three parts. The first contained, in addition to the authentic fifty canones apostolici, fifty-nine spurious decretal writings of Roman bishops from Clement I to Melchiades, from the end of the first to the beginning of the fourth century. Even the reputed donation of territory by Constantine—the donatio Constantini—to the papacy was, without much dexterity, brought in to help the common cause. The second part comprised only authentic synodal canons. The third part presented some real decretals, but, besides these, thirty-five false ones, which were held to have been written at various times,

[1] The taste for forgery went so far during this period that decrees of a council that never took place—the alleged Roman council under Sylvester, A. D. 324—were never heard of until the ninth century. Roman Catholic writers decided the whole affair a pure fiction. See Jo. Launoy, De Cura Ecclesiæ erga Pauperes et Miseros, cap. i, observ. i, p. 576, of his opp., t. ii, pt. ii. Jo. Cabassut, Notitia Ecclesiast., p. 182, and Pagi, Critica in Baron. ad. Ann. 324, §§ xvii, xviii.

[2] Eichhorn, whose opinion of the date of the issue of this collection has been generally accepted, holds that it was made between 633 and 636. It was not published until 1808, by Gonzales, in Madrid. Robertson, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. ii, p. 267.

from Sylvester I, who died 335, to Gregory II, who died in 731. Such was the strange mixture of truth and error, thrown into diverse forms of instruction and command, which was palmed upon the world in the name of Isidore. Never was there a nicer adaptation to the thirst of an age,[1] and never were men more disinclined to examine into the internal character of a work presented for their confidence. "The Pseudo-Isidore," says Neander, "was but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit which prevailed with the great mass of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code, but only of presenting in a connected form the principles which must be recognized by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the Church. . . . In truth, even what had been said by Leo the Great concerning the pope's primacy over the whole Church involves the principle of all that is to be found in these Decretals."[2]

OBJECT OF THE DECRETALS TO MAKE THE CHURCH INDEPENDENT OF THE STATE.

With the one purpose pervading the whole of the great forgery, of making the Church independent of the State, by an appeal to the earliest examples and rules, it was insisted upon that Rome, and not a king's palace, must become the center of all ecclesiastical power. The Church must protect itself, for the priesthood is infinitely superior to the civil authority. Between the papacy and the bishops had stood the metropolitans, and, according to the Frankish system, the bishop was always amenable to his metropolitan. But the metropolitans were only human, often creatures of civil authority, and ought not to enjoy this high function. Under the Carolingians they had frequently taken side with the State against the bishop. The Decretals produced authority—such as it was—to show that the bishops are of supreme authority, second only to the pope, with whom they stand related as the other apostles to Peter. Much space is given to processes against the bishops. Charges against a bishop can never come before a metropolitan or a secular tribunal, but only before the pope. Even a clerk must be tried before an ecclesiastical court. A wicked bishop, for the sake of his holy office and efficacious consecration, must be borne with. Priests are God's spiritual intimates (spirituales, familiares Dei), the apple of his eye, while laymen are only carnal creatures (carnales). An offense against a priest is a crime against Deity. No charge can be entertained against an ejected bishop until he is reinstated, and not less than seventy-two witnesses can substantiate a charge against him, and these must answer so many conditions as to make it almost impossible ever to find that number bearing evidence against a

[1] Newman, Essays, Crit. and Hist., ii, 271-275, 320-335. [2] Vol, iii, p. 350.

prelate. The court must consist of twelve other bishops, with reference to the number of the apostles. No layman can bring charges against a bishop or a clerk, neither can a clerk make accusation against a bishop.[1] The pope is the only one who can convene provincial synods, and his approval is necessary for the efficacy of their decrees.

PAPAL SUPREMACY THE REAL CLIMAX.

That the pope, the bishops, and the lower clergy were the chief gainers by the forgery is very clear. Never had the papal authority found such a shrewd and specious defense, and yet it was a plea for the entire priesthood. Though the fundamental object was the protection and independence of the whole clerical order, in its relation to the civil authority, the support of the papal power was the natural, though unintended, climax.[2] The author or authors of the Decretals professed to put them forth as a digest of laws already in existence, and with the object of advancing the cause of morality and religion. It requires no great discernment to perceive how little such a profession was in harmony with the magnitude of the deception. One way of accounting for the authorship has been that they were forged by some bishop in jealousy or resentment; certainly their general reception can be accounted for in great measure by this sentiment.[3] Among the many evidences, both internal and external, of the spuriousness of the Decretals may be enumerated the prevailing uniformity and impurity of style, which limit the authors to a very small number and the language to the barbarous Latin; the evident use of, and even citations from, works of very late authorship; the clumsy anachronisms abounding throughout the collection; the total absence of all other testimony to the authenticity of the more ancient portions of the Decretals, particularly the fifty-nine older ones; the evident attempt to meet contemporaneous prejudices; and the improbability that so much matter of the alleged impor-

[1] Kurtz, Church History, vol. i, pp. 340, ff; Robertson, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. ii, p. 269.

[2] For authorities in support of this opinion, see Robertson, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. ii, p. 270, notes. The old view that the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were fabricated for the purposes of papal aggrandizement is now given up by scholars. Their chief intention seems to have been to emancipate the bishops from the control of metropolitans and councils. See an excellent summing up of the case by Hunter in art. Canon Law, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed. Wasserschleben, who in various works has most thoroughly investigated this subject, holds that the primacy of Rome was advocated most of all in the interest of the bishops. See his Geschichte der falschen Dekretalen, Bresl., 1844, and his art. in Herzog. This is also the opinion of Schrörs, in his Hincmar Erzbischof von Reims, sein Leben u. seine Schriften. Freib., 1884.

[3] Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. ii, pp. 160, f.

tance here attached to it should have escaped the notice of Dionysius Exiguus.[1]

The hopeless uncertainty as to the actual authorship and date and place of publication of the Decretals is another peculiar feature of the remarkable forgery. Never, in the whole history of literature, was a fabrication obscured by more doubt or permitted to pass so long without challenge. The date of issue has been made to range from 829 to 857—the majority of writers holding, however, that the limit can be narrowed down to sixteen years, or from 829 to 845.[2] The nearest approach to definite locality of publication is that it was either eastern France or Rome, the weight of evidence being with the former.[3]

UNCERTAINTIES CONCERNING THE DECRETALS.

Wasserschleben has narrowed the margin of possible dates to sometime between 844 and 857. He has shown good reason for believing that the older and minor collection issued from Mayence; while the later and larger collection seems to have been made at Rheims. On the other hand, Schrörs holds that they arose in the diocese of Tours, and that they were framed by Rothad, of Soissons, and Wrelfad, of Rheims, in their conflict with Hincmar, of Rheims (845–852). Rothad and Wrelfad upheld the episcopal claims against the metropolitan claims of Hincmar.

The question of authorship, after weighing all the evidence, reduces itself to this: That Archbishop Riculf (786–814) brought the genuine Isidorian collection from Spain, and this was afterward enlarged and corrupted into the Pseudo-Isidorian by the Archbishop Autcar and published at Mayence during his archiepiscopate (826–847), and that the work of copying was done by Benedictus Levita, who may have had no sus-

MOST PROBABLE AUTHORSHIP.

[1] Niedner, Christl. Kirchengesch., p. 394. As examples of the many absurdities may be cited: Bishops of the second century cite biblical passages from the much later translation of Jerome. Pope Victor I († 202) writes a letter to Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria († 388). Pope Anacletus († 100) speaks of patriarchs, metropolitans, and primates. Pope Melchiades makes mention of the Nicene Council (825), which did not meet until eleven years after the author's death. Pope Zephyrinus († 218) appeals to the laws of Christian emperors before Constantine, the first one, was born.

[2] Niedner seems to think, though he leaves his readers to draw their own inference, that the Pseudo-Isidoriana did not appear in their full form before the beginning of the eleventh century. Kirchengesch., p. 397. Some of them had unquestionably been circulated in separate form even during Charles the Great's reign. Hardwick, Ch. Hist. (Mid. Ages), p. 145, note.

[3] Eichhorn contends that they were first issued at Rome, in the eighth century, and were incorporated into the Isidorian collection in the Frank empire. Grundsätze d. Kirchenrechts, vol. 1, p. 158. Later criticism rejects the Roman origin.

picion of the fraud.[1] Autcar, instead of being prompted by purely theological or literary motives, had become involved in the rebellion of the sons of Louis the Pious against their father, and took this course of defense for himself and his party against the power of the emperor and the synods that would do his bidding.[2]

The fatal weaknesses to which we have already referred, besides many minor ones, were altogether overlooked at the time the Pseudo-Isidoriana were first made public. "They were so clumsily contrived," says Neander, "and ignorantly executed that, had the age been a little more fitted for or more inclined to critical investigations, and had the deception itself not fallen in with a predominant interest of the Church, it might have been easily detected and exposed."[3] Hincmar, of Rheims, was the only one who protested against their application to existing questions. And this he did from the standpoint of a partisan. He called them a mousetrap, a cup of poison with the brim besmeared with honey, and commenta et figmenta compilata.[4] They nevertheless immediately took their position as an authority in the canonical law of the Church, and played a highly important rôle in councils, synods, and the entire administration of the Church. By the year 857 they were used to decide important questions and settle disputes that shook the whole Western Church, and, after 864, when they were used by Nicholas I immediately after he became acquainted with them, they were habitually adduced, as having binding force, in the papal rescripts.

WEAKNESSES IN THE DECRETALS OVERLOOKED AT THE TIME.

Their genuineness was never questioned until the twelfth century, by Peter Comestor, but the confidence of the world in them was not disturbed until the fraud was fully exposed by the first Protestant writers of ecclesiastical history, the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries.[5] Leading Roman Catholic writers have subsequently taken pains to abandon the Decretals as a complete, but still pious, fraud.[6] Möhler,

GENUINENESS NOT QUESTIONED UNTIL TWELFTH CENTURY.

[1] Gieseler, Church History, vol. ii, p. 114, note 12.

[2] Kurtz, Abriss d. Kirchengeschichte, p. 76.

[3] Church History, vol. iii, p. 347.

[4] Hincmar at times protested that they were spurious, and at other times used them for his own purposes. Schrörs says that he accepted them. They seem to have been practically unchallenged. See Weizsäcker, Hinkmar und Pseudo-Isidor, in Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol., 1858, p. 327; Wasserschleben, in Herzog.

[5] Cent. Magdeb., ii, c. 7; iii, 7.

[6] This course is taken by Bellarmine, De Pontif. Roman., lib. ii, c. 14; Baronius, Annal. Eccles. ad annum 865, § 8; Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, vol. xiii, Disc. Prelim., p. 15. Marchetti is about the only writer of any standing who defends the Decretals. Saggio crit. sopra la storia de Feuri. Roma, 1781.

without question the best Roman Catholic writer of the present century, seems disposed to change the whole ground by calling the author of the Decretals a romanticist.[1]

If the Pseudo-Isidore had made his appearance and advanced his claims during the mature glory of the descendants of Charles Martel they would have been suppressed with a violent hand. But the Carolingian dynasty had reached its zenith, and was hastening into perpetual obscurity and extinction as rapidly as it had emerged at Poictiers, with a meteor-like splendor, to change the whole course of European life and lay the foundations of modern history—or, according to Newman, of modern civilization.[2] The confirmation of the donation of Pepin to the papacy, by representing Constantine as the original author of the measure, was one of the cardinal services of the Decretals to the authority of the Church.[3] The subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power was advocated on so many grounds, and made to cover so many cases, that the elevation reached every ecclesiastic, from the pope on his throne—now proved anew, as it seemed, to be that of St. Peter—to the lowest clerk of Latin Christendom.

A CARDINAL SERVICE OF THE DECRETALS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

[1] Schriften und Aufsätze, vol. i, p. 309.
[2] Historical Sketches, vol. i, p. 150.
[3] Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, p. 157.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF LEARNING.

In no respect was the Carolingian period more distinguished from the immediately preceding and succeeding times than in both the promotion of general intelligence and the restoration of classical culture. The ignorance of the European rulers before the reign of Charles the Great was of a piece with the lamentably low state of learning among the clergy and the masses. The barbarian rulers who had come into possession of southern Europe were as little inclined to respect the literary treasures which were a part of their spoils as they were to appreciate the civilization of which those treasures were the fruit. The literature of Gaul, Spain, and Italy was well-nigh destroyed by the utter disregard, and even outright hostility, of the barbarian kings, who almost without exception were innocent of the least sympathy with or taste for liberal culture. Theodoric, a man who could not write his own name, but who has passed into history as the most famous of the Ostrogothic kings of Italy, is believed to have restrained his own countrymen from attending the very schools by which he, or his minister, Cassiodorus, endeavored to revive the studies of his Italian subjects. Charles the Great's early life was spent in profound ignorance, and, if we accept the testimony of Eginhard, he could not write; while the great Alfred was so little acquainted with Latin that he found difficulty in rendering a translation from the pastoral instruction of St. Gregory.[1] Science, previously to the coming of the Danes, flourished with no little vigor in the cloisters of England and Ireland; but these invaders set themselves assiduously to the work of destruction, and the only relief to the dark picture is the fact that, while they were landing in Britain, Charles the Great was beginning his great reforms of education on the Continent.

CHARLES THE GREAT PROMOTES LEARNING.

The proofs of the prevailing clerical ignorance are abundant.

[1] Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii, p. 272, and note. Eginhard's much discussed passage is as follows: "Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lecticula sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum effigiandis literis assuefaceret; sed parum prosperè successit labor præposterus ac serò inchoatus."

In Spain, at the time of Charles the Great, not one priest in a thousand could address a letter of salutation to another; at a council held in Rome in 992 hardly a person could be found who knew the elements of letters; Alfred, of England, declared that at the time of his accession he knew no priest south of the Thames who understood the ordinary prayers or could translate Latin into his mother tongue; at the time of Dunstan none of the clergy knew how to write or translate a Latin letter; and the homilies used by the priests were compiled by the bishops, or at their instance, and distributed to the priests for use in the service.[1] Hallam's apology for this clerical ignorance is, at least, a lame one—the scarcity of the Egyptian papyrus, which almost ceased to be imported into Europe from the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens, at the beginning of the seventh century, to the close of the eleventh, when the art of making paper from cotton or linen rags first came into use. The real cause was the absence of all taste for culture in the European mind, a result which naturally followed from the example of the barbarian rulers, the distrust by the Church of classic learning, and the uncertain state of society. Europe was ignorant in the extreme, and there is no stronger testimony to the vitality of Greek and Roman culture than the fact that it could exist, even in sleep, among these disintegrating and destructive agencies, which, with only occasional relief, existed down to the revival of humanism at the dawn of the Reformation.

CLERICAL IGNORANCE.

With Charles the Great there came a great change in the education and general culture of the times. His own early disadvantages had convinced him of the necessity of knowledge for both his subjects and himself, while his visits to Italy, where he came in contact with classic learning, quickened his aspirations for the best knowledge that could be brought within his reach and be propagated throughout his dominions. The very men who had been born in Britain, and were the best scholars of their age, were invited by him to become his companions, counselors, and friends, when their own land became a prey to the devastations of the Danes. Alcuin, the pupil of Bede, with whom Charles the Great became acquainted in Italy, in 781, went to Paris in 782, and it was only five years later, 787, that the Northmen invaded England, and ten years later still, 797, that the same tribe invaded Ireland. While they destroyed the fruits of learning, they were not able to make way with the producers, who, now upon the Continent, were destined to continue on a broader scale and a firmer foundation the

THE CHANGE IN EDUCATION AND GENERAL CULTURE BY CHARLES THE GREAT.

[1] Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. iii, pp. 273, 274.

work of adapting the learning of the past to new conditions, and of handing it down to later generations.

BRILLIANT COURT OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

And thus the court of the Frankish emperor was not less brilliant for its literary magnates than that of Augustus Cæsar, or of Lorenzo the Magnificent, or, latest of all, of Carl Augustus, of Weimar, the friend of Schiller, Goethe, Herder, Wieland, and other creators of the rich German literature of the eighteenth century. It is the right of common kings to rule millions of subjects and divide hemispheres among themselves; but only once in an age does the occupant of a throne possess the high ambition or great honor of being the patron, the friend, and the equal of the undisputed monarchs of thought. Charles the Great was not so great when his brow was pressed by the imperial crown, or when he received the oath of fealty from Wittekind, the conquered Saxon king, as when he sat amid his learned men and received the benefits of their wisdom.

"Charles the Great," says Eginhard, "was a zealous promoter of liberal studies, and greatly revered their professors, upon whom he bestowed the honors. He learned the art of computation, and with great application and skill carefully calculated the motions of the planets. He tried also to learn to write, and used even to put his tablets and writing books under his pillow, so that when he should have leisure he might accustom his hand to forming the letters; but in this task, too long postponed and begun too late in life, he had but little success."[1] But in inaugurating schools for others he had much success. He ordered his bishops and abbots to establish schools for the youth of their neighborhoods, and he gathered teachers at his own court and opened there a school—

THE SCHOLA PALATINA.

the Schola Palatina—where the youth of noble birth might get the best instruction of the times.[2] At this school of the palace Eginhard, Angillert, Tatto, Walafrid Strabo, Grimald, Abbot of St. Gall, and other leaders in the literary and religious life, were educated. "Singing schools" and "reading schools" were established at Lyons. The archbishop there wrote to Charles that such was the proficiency of the pupils that they had not only mastered the art of chanting the service, and of conducting it after the pattern of the imperial chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, but instructed others, and that they could read the Scriptures well, and explain the spiritual sense of the New Testament.[3] The whole intellectual culture of the Frankish empire was due almost entirely

[1] Vita Carol. Mag., c. xxv.

[2] Emerton, Introduction to the Middle Ages, p. 228.

[3] Mombert, Hist. of Charles the Great, p. 266.

to the untiring zeal and enthusiasm of the emperor. The monasteries were not originally intended as schools, but Charles the Great directed that they take upon themselves the task of educating the youths of the vicinity, and these schools, at first of an elementary and popular character, four centuries later ripened into, and were absorbed by, the universities.[1]

In connection with the seminaries were the grammar and public schools, which served as preparatory institutions to the seminaries and all the secular professions. In 787 an imperial circular was issued to all bishops and abbots, requiring, under penalty of royal displeasure, that schools should be attached to all monasteries and cathedral chapters.

GRAMMAR AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

About fifty important institutions of learning were established by Charles the Great and the remaining Carolingians in central and upper Italy; in the French cities, Tours, Paris, Corbey, Orleans, Clugny, Lyons, and Toulouse; and in the German cities of Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Utrecht, Fulda, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and elsewhere. There was a special imperial constitution, which not only applied to the regulation of the schools, but to the general educational interests of the realm.[2] The studies were embraced in the old trivium and quadrivium, the former comprising philology, logic, and rhetoric; and the latter, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. These studies were largely applied to theology. Music, for example, was limited to chanting, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.[3] However, when the question was one of training for the secular professions, this limitation was overridden, and the sciences were taught as liberally as the times required and the teachers were capable. Charles founded two kinds of schools, less and greater. The former he placed in the episcopal palaces, canons' cloisters, monasteries, and elsewhere; the latter he located in public places which were suited for general teaching. These he intended not only for ecclesiastics, but for the nobility and their children and for the poor; in short, for every rank, class, and race.[4] Thodulph, Bishop

MANY SCHOOLS UNDER THE CAROLINGIANS.

[1] Newman decides the question as to whether Charles the Great was the real founder of the University of Paris, by declaring that, if he did not do it directly, he yet adopted the measures which had that inevitable result: "Whether his school at Paris be a university or not, he laid down principles of which a university is the result, in that he aimed at educating all classes, and undertook all subjects of teaching."—Historical Sketches, vol. i, p. 153.

[2] The title of the constitution was: Constitutio de scholis per singula episcopia et monasteria instituendis. Comp. Baluzii capitularia reg. Franc., i, 147; Pertz, Monum. Germ., iii, 52. [3] Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, t. ii, p. 126.

[4] Bulæus, quoted in Newman, Hist. Sketches, vol. i, p. 155.

of Orleans, established village schools for all classes. Then, for the first time in Europe, learning became the privilege of all.

CHARLES PROMOTING THE POPULAR TONGUES.

Charles the Great had great sympathy with the popular legends of his own people, but he found little support in the scholars who surrounded him. He nevertheless caused grammars to be compiled in the language of his Teutonic subjects, and, a great admirer of poetry, he collected the bardic lays of Germany. He deprecated the exclusive use of the Latin, or even the Greek and Hebrew languages, in the Church service, and, in his capitulary at the council of Frankfurt, said: "Let no one suppose that God may not be prayed to except in three languages; forasmuch as in every tongue God is worshiped and man is heard if he ask the things which are right." He required that preaching should be in the vulgar tongue, and that the common people learn the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their own language. Stripes and fasts were penalties for neglect.[1]

CHARLES ENDOWED THE POPULAR SCHOOLS.

He took measures to have the people learn to write well, and provided that the poor should pay for the instruction of their children only to the extent of their ability. To enrich the more ignorant portions of his empire he endowed the schools which he had organized with ample means, and England, Italy, and Greece were drawn upon to furnish manuscripts for the new libraries. Special measures were taken to multiply correct copies of the Scriptures and their distribution among the people. Charles the Great was himself no mean author. The Caroline Books, in which the prevalent image worship was combated, were his own work, though some of the details of composition were left to his scholars.

AFTER CHARLES THE SCHOOLS DEGENERATED.

The efforts at popular education, the improvement of the national literature, and the perpetuation of classical learning were noble in the extreme, and were the distinguishing feature of the great Charles. But they were ephemeral. The elevation of the papacy was irreconcilable with the advance of popular intelligence, and when Charles the Great was gone the science of the schools degenerated. From the sixth to the eighth century the literature of Europe had been exclusively religious, and now, after a sudden and brief interval of universal culture, it again became religious, and, until the revival of the latter half of the eleventh century, consisted of insipid legends and priestly wrangles.

[1] Pertz, Leges, i, 180.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF IMAGE WORSHIP.

ONE of the most remarkable and important movements in the history of the Church was the effort to abolish the worship of images. This bitter controversy lasted for a century and a half, and was the occasion of untold suffering, and, though entirely futile in abating the evil aimed at, was fraught with lasting consequences. It was one of the remote causes of the Saracenic conquests in southeastern Europe, and was one of the immediate causes of the division between the Eastern and Western empires and of the long bitterness between the Greek and Roman Churches.

The early Christians would have looked with horror at the bare suggestion of placing images in the churches, and would have considered bowing down or praying before them as nothing less than idolatry. This they would have done for two reasons—the revulsion from heathenism and the influence of the Old Testament Scriptures. The heathen interlocutor in the Octavius of Minucius Felix, one of the finest remains of the old Christian literature, complains of the Christians that they have no consecrated images. Octavius acknowledges the charge, and pours scornful opprobrium on the images of the Roman religion.[1] Lactantius writes in the same lofty disdain of artistic representations. Epiphanius, when on a journey through Palestine, and through his jealousy for Catholic usage, tore down a pictured curtain in a church.[2] Eusebius of Cæsarea argues with great force against the religious use of images. He appeals to the universal conscience of the Church as repudiating everything of the kind.[3] The synod of Elvira, in 305, in Spain, bore witness to the feeling of the Church when it gave out this well-known decision: "There shall be no pictures in the church lest what is worshiped and adored be depicted on the walls."[4] Many efforts have been made to break the force of this abrupt prohibition, but in vain. Dale, in his learned and interesting

LACTANTIUS AND CLEMENT AGAINST IMAGES.

[1] Min. Fel., Oct., x, xxxii.

[2] Ep. 51, in Jerome, Works, ed. Vallarsi, vol. i, 254. The words of Epiphanius are very strong: "Detestatus in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem." Outside of his Puritan zeal the testimony of this widely traveled bishop is very important.

[3] Ep. ii, ad Constan. Aug.

[4] Can. xxxvi.

essay on this council, is correct when he says: "It was not merely lest the illimitable should be limited, and the Spirit materialized, to the surprise and scandal of converts and catechumens, but to insure that in the sphere of worship there should be neither human nor divine semblance to divert the soul's homage from its true and lawful object, that this decree was pronounced." [1]

Clement of Alexandria, in the fourth chapter of his Exhortation to the Heathen, writes a vigorous denunciation of the image cult of the Greeks. The very idea of all such representations in religion he repudiates with disgust. He contrasts the ways of the Christians: "But we have no sensible image of sensible matter, but an image that is perceived by the mind alone—God who alone is truly God." He even takes the second commandment as prohibiting the very calling of artists. In fact, the use of images in the early Church was a mark of heretics. The Carpocratians placed the image of Christ beside those of Plato and Aristotle. There is no better evidence of the change which came over the Church in this regard than the comparison between the earlier and the later apologists. Justin, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Minucius Felix rejoice in the Church's rejection of images, while Leontius of Cyprus, in 600, and John of Damascus, in 725, are anxious to defend the practices of the Church against the objections of Jews and Saracens. Chrysostom reviews the whole ecclesiastical life of his time—354 to 407—and yet nowhere in his works is there mention of images in the churches.

But the passing away of heathenism, and the securer position of the Christians in wealth, leisure, and culture, restored art to its place as the handmaid of religion. In the fifth century images were common everywhere. Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604, was the first to publish a formal defense and exposition of image worship. But he makes the place of art in the Church purely pedagogic.

GREGORY THE GREAT'S MODERATE ADVOCACY OF IMAGES.

The ignorant and rude cannot read, and, he alleged, even if they could, were not able to buy books and manuscripts; they therefore needed pictures as a means to edification and instruction. Images were the books of the unlearned. As to their religious use Gregory would go only to this length, that they might bring the original to our minds more vividly, and thus give greater earnestness to our devotions. But he would frown down any adoration or prostration before the image itself.[2] The common practice, however, soon went far beyond this.

[1] The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century (Lond., 1882), pp. 288–297.

[2] "For it is one thing to adore a picture; another to learn what it is to be adored through the history told by the picture. What scripture presents to

The universal tendency of mediæval Catholicism, as Neander well points out, was the failure to distinguish the divine from the symbol which represented it, and to transfer to the latter the homage due only to the former.

readers, a picture presents to the gaze of the unlearned: for in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read." "I know that you do not desire the image of our Saviour that you may worship it as God, but that you may be reminded of him and refresh your love for him by the sight of his image."—Epp. ix; iv, 9; vii, ii, 54. It is unnecessary to say how far beyond this the Roman Catholic theory has gone.

CHAPTER VIII.

ICONOCLASM.

THE image cultus found luxuriant soil especially in the sensuous and imaginative East. In churches and public halls, in houses and cells, by the wayside and on ships, on all utensils and clothing, everywhere, indeed, the pictures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were to be seen. The artists were the monks, and most zealously they labored to promote the new worship. Stories of miracles performed by the images were widely circulated and believed. So far did this extravagance go that images were put forward as sponsors in baptism. The image of Christ which legend stated our Saviour sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, was discovered in an opportune time. Stories of images "made without hands" and dropped from heaven were readily received in that uncritical age.

Of necessity a reaction came. The worship of images had been opposed from three directions—one from within the Church, and two from without. The Monophysites, or those who held that the human nature of Christ was overborne or taken up by the divine, and the Monothelites, or advocates of the One-will, were bitterly opposed to the images. The Monophysites argued: The incarnation was the virtual deification of the human nature of Christ. It has the properties of the Deity. His human nature is therefore incomprehensible (ἀκατάληπτος) and uncircumscribed (ἀπερίγραφος), and therefore cannot be depicted within the bounds of a circumscribed figure. The absorption of the humanity of Christ into his divinity brings the whole person of Christ under the law of the second commandment. Besides, the only symbol or figure which Christ has left us is the body and blood of the Eucharist. Then, as to the images of the saints, the Monophysites said that as the saints were at rest with God in felicity forever it was unlawful to represent them before our eyes, especially by the heathen arts of painting. The pagans did not believe in a resurrection, and therefore they tried to picture forth their dead as present; why then should Christians borrow their abominable arts to represent the departed spirit that is with God as still present in the flesh? The Monophysites denounced art in itself as sinful.

MONOPHYSITES AND OTHER SECTS AGAINST IMAGES.

Now this opposition of the Monophysites was of great force.

Though condemned at Chalcedon, their ideas were still influential throughout the East. At the close of the fifth century Xenias, or Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis, opposed fiercely all representations of the angels or Christ, and destroyed all the images he could find. In 518 the patriarch Severus, of Antioch, another Monophysite, melted down the doves of silver and gold which were usually suspended over the altar and fonts, saying that the Holy Ghost ought not to be represented in such a manner. Serenus, at Marseilles, in the seventh century, tried to carry out the same reform in his city and diocese. The emperor Anastasius, 492–518, was a Monophysite, as were Heraclius, 610–641, Constans, 641–668, and the Armenian Philip, 711–713. This last ruler burned the official acts of the sixth general council, which had condemned Monophysitism and its congener Monothelitism, and deposed the orthodox patriarch Cyrus. These emperors were supported by several of the higher clergy. The Church in Armenia and in part of Syria was Monophysite. Leo himself was of Monophysite stock. We need not wonder, therefore, at the coming outbreak under that emperor. Given a sovereign with Monophysite sympathies and with sufficient vigor to brave the hatred of the Church, one could easily prophesy that an attempt would be made to break up a practice which, after everything has been said in its favor, had evidently grown into an enormous abuse.

THE CAUSES OF ICONOCLASM.

The predisposing causes of iconoclasm have been strangely overlooked, they being supposed to have issued solely from the despotic zeal of Leo. Combefis, in his History of Monothelitism, was the first to point out the relation between these disputes on the person of Christ and the iconoclastic movement. Stokes is the only recent historian who seems to have done justice to the historical connections of the subject. Iconoclasm, like every other phenomenon in history, was not an isolated event. Its way was prepared.

LEONTIUS OF CYPRUS.

The two other opposing forces were the Jews and Mohammedans. Arguments from image worship were their stock in trade in their polemic against the Christians. Idolatry was their cry. The great champion of the faith was Leontius of Cyprus, 600. In his Apology he defends image worship with the arguments of John of Damascus in his Orations on Images, and by the second Nicene council, afterward repeated by Gregory II in his letter to Leo. His line of thought is interesting: The Mosaic law was not directed against the devotional use of images, but only against the idolatrous use of them. In fact, the tabernacle and temple had their images, as the cherubim, the brazen oxen, and other

objects. Just as the child will reverence the clothes once worn by an absent father, so Christians reverence everything that Christ touched. For this reason we represent the symbol of his passion in churches and houses and shops, and in the market place and on articles of clothing; so that we may have it constantly before our eyes and may be reminded of it, and not forget it as the Jews have forgotten their God. In the Old Testament the ceremony of prostration sometimes occurs as a mark of respect even to men, and therefore could by no means imply idolatry. He refers apologetically to cures wrought by images, to miraculous cases of conversion effected by the same means, and to stories of images from which blood had been seen to trickle. In conclusion he says: "The images are not our gods; but they are the images of Christ and his saints, which exist and are venerated in remembrance and in honor of these, and as ornaments of the churches."[1]

But despite these plausible reasonings the Jews pressed their charge of idolatry, and to men of matter-of-fact minds the charge must have had weight. As for the Mohammedans, they abominated the whole Christian pantheon, as they would call it, with its gradations of saints, angels, and persons in the Godhead, to all of whom obeisance was paid. A letter has been brought to light by M. Félix Nève which throws an unexpected light on Leo's part in the image controversy. The Caliph Omar II, soon after his accession in 717, wrote a letter of inquiry concerning the Christian religion to the new Emperor of the East, Leo the Isaurian, and stated also his objections to it. In the course of this letter the Arab drives home this question, "Why do you worship the bones of the apostles and prophets, as also paintings, and the cross, which anciently served according to the law as an instrument of punishment?" Leo, in his reply, attempts a very half-hearted defense of the objectionable practice, or, rather, he ventures a word for the cross; but while he praises the pious feeling which delights to have the images of the saints near at hand on which to gaze, he repudiates any homage paid to them. The Scriptures give us no permission to pay homage to pictures, says Leo; "We glorify the saints, but we render no homage to painted wood."[2] This

THE LETTER OF OMAR II.

[1] Quoted in 4th session of 7th Gen. Council, Mansi, xiii, 44–53. See also Migne, Pat. Gr., xciii, 1565.

[2] This remarkable letter was first brought to the attention of Europeans by Félix Nève in a series of articles on John of Damascus in *La Belgique* in 1861. It is mentioned by no recent historian. Headmaster Lupton in his excellent monograph on that Father (Lond., 1882) notices it. An Armenian scholar of the eighth century, Ghévond, left a history of his own times, and here he embodied

letter brought home to Leo the weak spot in the Christianity of his time, and made him feel that if ever his religion made any headway against its hated enemies, who were pressing on every side, it must get rid in some way of this detestable cult. Perhaps he had come to the kingdom for such a time as this. There dawned on him the conviction that he was designated by Jehovah as the deliverer of the Church from its idol worship.

The emperor Leo the Isaurian (716–741) has been called by Finlay one of the unappreciated heroes of mankind.[1] He was undoubtedly a prince of great vigor, and had a masterly grasp of the situation. Although not all of his measures were wise, there can be no doubt that they were dictated by a patriotic intention. He swept back the Saracen invasion, reformed the civil administration of the empire, and brought peace and a sense of security to all. To this fact, as Finlay suggests, is due the contentment of the commercial classes during his iconoclastic crusade. The first edict of Leo against image worship was issued in 726. It provided for the destruction of all the more prominent images.[2] The edict created a storm of opposition. While a soldier was destroying the image of Christ over the gate of the palace a mob assembled, principally of women, and while an officer was aiming a blow at the head of the image the women knocked the ladder down, and, in their insane fury, slew the soldier. The emperor found that he had embarked on an enterprise more difficult than he had anticipated. Images were strongly enthroned in the popular veneration. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople, however pliant he might be in the abstract matter of Monothelitism, was not to be moved in this matter. After vainly striving to win over Germanus to his views Leo called a

LEO THE ISAURIAN AND HIS FIRST EDICT.

the letters of Omar II and Leo III. They were translated into French by the archimandrite Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856). The above quotation is from that translation.

[1] See History of Greece from the Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time. Ed. by H. F. Tozer, rev. ed., 7 vols., 8vo, Oxf., 1877. This is a monumental work—the modern Gibbon. It is indispensable to the student of the history of the East.

[2] We believe, with Stokes, that the general view of historians is incorrect when they say that the first edict of Leo provided simply for the removal of the images to a higher place on the walls, out of the reach of the people. Hefele has conclusively shown, by a thorough study of the chronology, that the first edict went so far as to order the destruction of the images. But on account of the opposition of Germanus, who refused to countersign the decrees, it proved largely inoperative. See 4th vol. of Hefele, Conciliengeschichte. Mosheim (ii, 88, ed. Murdock) says that Leo ordered the total removal of the images at the first.

council at his palace, where he again called upon the aged patriarch to give his sanction to an edict against images. In a long oration the patriarch defended his views, and, seeing that he was powerless to change the emperor's mind, he finally said, "If I am a Jonah, fling me into the sea; but without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed." Germanus, already over ninety years of age, resigned his office and retired to his own estate, where he soon died.

DEFENDERS OF IMAGE WORSHIP: GERMANUS AND JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

Another powerful opponent arose in John of Damascus. Living without the Eastern empire, he not only enjoyed a freedom which contrasted favorably with the persecuting measures of the emperor, but he held an office under the caliph. John, in three Orations on Images, made the most powerful defense of the cult that had been written. The doctrine of relative worship which he laid down has from that day to this been the doctrine of the Greek and Roman Churches. One of the chief points of the argument is the theological one. The iconoclasts virtually deny the reality of the incarnation, and are Docetists. Besides, after the manner of the Manichæans, they abuse matter, which God has honored. The scriptural argument he brushes aside with the thought that the coming of Christ has made obsolete the regulations of the Old Testament. "In fact, he views iconoclasm as a return to the bondage of Judaism from the freedom of the Gospel, and asks, if they observe the law on this point, why not upon circumcision and the Sabbath."[1]

A more influential voice was heard from the West. Pope Gregory II (715–731), who had long disliked Leo's fiscal policy, was deeply enraged by the emperor's new rôle. He immediately called a synod to consider the edict. He followed this with a letter to Leo, in which he defended image worship by the usual arguments. These letters are remarkable, not so much for their interest in this controversy as for the light they throw on other points. As to the growing consciousness of power on the part of the pope these words are significant: "But thou wishest to frighten me, and sayest, I will send men to Rome to destroy the image of St. Peter, and to lead Pope Gregory prisoner as Constantine led Martin. Know that the bishops of Rome are as a wall between the East and West. If thou wilt pursue me, the Bishop of Rome will simply retire twenty-four stadia from Rome into Campania. Then pursue the winds." The same feeling appears in the almost contemptuous tone with which he addresses him: "I beseech thee,

POPE GREGORY II.

[1] See Works, in Migne, Pat. Gr., vols. 94–96.

lay aside thy wicked thoughts, and save thy soul from the curses which the whole world are throwing at thee. The very children mock thee. Go into a school and say, I am an enemy of images; they will fling their tablets at thee." The ignorance of Scripture of even the best read men of that day is well illustrated by one remark of the pope: Leo had called himself the true successor of Uzziah (meaning, of course, Hezekiah) in his image-breaking zeal. Gregory readily falls into the same trap: "Thou writest, Just as after eight hundred years the Jewish king removed the serpent of brass out of the temple, so have I, after eight hundred years, removed images out of the Church. King Uzziah was in truth thy brother, for he, like thee, did violence to the priest.[1] David deposited the serpent of brass in the temple with the ark of the covenant. It was there an image consecrated by God to cure those who had been bitten by serpents."[2] More important still is the pope's testimony as to the relation of the Church and State. He blames the emperor for intruding into affairs which do not belong to him: "You know that the doctrines of the Holy Church are not of emperors but of prelates. Therefore prelates, abstaining from the affairs of the State, are placed over the churches, and, similarly, emperors abstain from ecclesiastical affairs, and each takes hold of what is committed to him." In this he echoes the sentiment of St. John of Damascus in his second Oration on Images: "'It does not belong to the monarch,' says John, 'to give laws to the Church. The welfare of the State is of kings, the ecclesiastical ordering is of pastors and teachers.'" The words of Gregory concerning the rights of an orthodox emperor in a general council are also worth quoting. To Leo's proposal of such a council to settle the matter in dispute the pope says: "Thou art a contumelious persecutor and destroyer of images. Leave off, and grant us the favor of thy silence, and then the world will enjoy peace, and scandals will cease. When is the Christ-loving and pious emperor to sit in council in the accustomed way, and reward those who speak aright, and dismiss those who babble contrary to the truth, when thou, the emperor, waverest and imitatest barbarians? Only keep quiet, and there is no need of a council."[3]

The emperor and the pope were thus at swords' points. The papal messengers to the Eastern court were seized and imprisoned. Pope Gregory II called a synod, November 1, 731, which excommunicated all the iconoclasts, though without mentioning the emperor

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi, 16. [2] 2 Kings xviii, 4; 2 Chron. v, 10.

[3] The letters of Gregory II are found in Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 1851, 2d ed., 1881, f.

by name. Leo replied by sending against Rome a fleet, which was defeated under the wall of Ravenna. This was the real blow which separated Rome from Constantinople. Though the East afterward restored the images, the deep rupture which Leo had made could never be healed. A nominal relation between Rome and the East continued to exist until 800, but the sturdy Isaurian acknowledged that he had lost Italy in his retaliatory seizure of papal estates in Sicily and Calabria, and in the separation of Illyria, Greece, Macedonia, and Sicily from the Roman jurisdiction.

RUPTURE BETWEEN ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER IX.

LATER FORTUNES OF THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT.

Leo was succeeded in 741 by his son, Constantine Copronymus (741–755), who inherited his father's vigor and magnificent abilities, but had even less than his father's piety and respect for human rights. In 754 he called a general council at Constantinople for the decision of the question. Three hundred and thirty-eight bishops attended. The council was presided over by Theodosius, Archbishop of Ephesus, the old theological adviser of Leo. It pronounced against image worship on doctrinal grounds as a violence to the dignity of Christ, and peremptorily interdicted all such worship. The council declared the suspension of any clergyman, and the punishment by the civil power of any layman, who possessed an image. It forbade, however, the tampering with the churches under iconoclastic zeal without the special permission of the emperor and patriarch. The decisions of the council were taken seriously by Copronymus. The public worship of images was suppressed throughout the Eastern empire. The monks especially, who were fanatically devoted to the image cult, felt the severity of the emperor's hand. Two sufferers deserve mention. The monk Andrew, with the zeal of an Old Testament prophet, denounced Constantine to his face as a new Valens and Julian for persecuting Christ in his members and in his images. For this he was scourged in the hippodrome, and afterward strangled. The venerable Stephen remained faithful to the images, in spite of banishment and torture. Desiring to give an object lesson to the emperor of what must be the feelings of the saints whose images were insulted, he threw a coin, stamped with the emperor's head, on the ground and trod upon it. He was thrown into prison. His followers pleaded so earnestly for him that Constantine cried out, "Am I or this monk emperor of the world?"[1] His courtiers took the hint, and, after the fashion of mobs, rushed to the prison, broke open the door, tied a rope to Stephen's foot, dragged him through the streets until he was dead, and then tore his body into pieces.[2]

CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS.

PERSECUTION OF MONKS.

[1] Compare the similar exclamation of Henry II of England over Becket.

[2] This was about 770. It must be remembered that the accounts of the iconoclasts' persecutions we have entirely from their enemies. The chief contem-

Under the influence of Irene, the wife of the mild Leo IV (775–780), the persecution was relaxed, and the monks came out of their hiding places. This strong-minded but cruel woman so dominated the mind of her son, Constantine VI (780–797), whose eyes she put out, that the Isaurian policy was reversed, and the image champions were once more in the front. The seventh ecumenical council was convened at Nicæa, in September, 787, to give authoritative sanction to the devotees of the cult. It was presided over by Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The chief seats were occupied by the Roman envoys. It was attended by three hundred and fifty bishops. It is accounted an ecumenical council by the Greek and Roman Churches, who repudiate the council under Copronymus, though it lacked two of the chief characteristics of such a council—representation of the whole Church and freedom of debate. The three eastern patriarchs were neither present nor represented by their secretaries, though two monks claimed to act in their place. The decisions of the council, like those of 754, were determined beforehand. The council decreed that the images and pictures of Christ, Mary, the saints, and pictures of the cross should be admitted into the churches, and that they should be worshiped, not with the worship which is offered to God (*λατρεία*) but with a due reverence and prostration of the body (*ἀσπασμός καὶ τιμητική*). The iconoclasts came into power again under Leo the Armenian (813), who recalled the times of Leo the Isaurian by the vigor of his administration. Michael the Stammerer, and Theophilus, his son, pursued the same policy. A woman again turned the tide. Theophilus's widow, Theodora, who had always been a secret worshiper of images, governed the empire at her husband's death, 842, in the name of her infant son, Michael III, afterward called The Drunkard. On the first Sunday in Lent, February 19, 842, she proclaimed a solemn festival, at which the long controversy was brought to an end by the formal restoration of the images. This day is celebrated in the Greek Church as the Feast of Orthodoxy. It is one of the great days of the Greek year. Since that time the worship of images painted on a flat surface has been a recognized rite in the East. The Roman Church, with characteristic consistency, allows also the use of statues.

THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, 787.

The iconoclastic controversy is an excellent illustration of the

porary is Theophanes (died 816), a monk at Sigrionia, in Mysia. He himself was taken to Constantinople in chains and then banished by Leo, the Armenian, one of the last of the iconoclasts. No doubt these monkish historians did not treat their persecutors too scrupulously. The best edition of Theophanes is by Classen, Bonn, 1839.

abortiveness of a reform inaugurated by a king, and which meets no responsive chord in the hearts of the people. It rested on kingly absolutism, and, in this case, on a gross abuse of that power. There were no deep religious convictions underlying it, nor apparently any spiritual apprehension of Christianity. So far as devotion and earnest religious life were concerned the image worshipers bear off the palm. To them belong the great saints, theologians, and hymnists, John of Damascus and Theodore of the Studium.

FAILURE OF THE ICONOCLASTIC REFORM.

While there can be no doubt that Leo the Isaurian had a healthy disgust at the extremes to which the adoration of images had gone, and a conviction that it was a departure from the spiritual worship of the early times, it does not appear that either he or his abettors or successors had any genuine religious enthusiasm. They took away the objects of popular veneration, but supplied nothing else in their place. As Milman well says: "Iconoclasm was a premature rationalism, enforced upon an unreasoning age—an attempt to spiritualize by law and edict a generation which had been unspiritualized by centuries of materialistic devotion." [1] There can be no surprise that the attempt ended in a miserable failure. All permanent religious reforms must proceed from the convictions of the people.

The movement, however, was not without consequences. It was one of the chief means of loosening the bond between the East and West. It effected an irreparable rupture between Rome and Constantinople. Leo the Armenian brought a large number of fierce iconoclasts from the borders of Armenia—Paulicians, Manichæans, and Monophysites. Disunion and hatred were introduced into the empire. Iconoclasm awakened the consciousness of the Eastern Church to a sense of its independence. For the first time in centuries the emperors found themselves face to face with a determined opposition. The Church

RESULTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

[1] Latin Christianity, ii, 296 (N. Y., 1877). On the other hand, Archbishop Trench is too severe when he says, "Had the iconoclasts triumphed when their work showed itself at last in its true colors it would have proved to be a triumph, not of faith in an invisible God, but of frivolous unbelief in an incarnate Saviour" (Mediæval Church History, p. 101). There is no evidence of this. It is said, indeed, by the orthodox historians that the iconoclasts substituted for the images of Christ and the saints in the churches those of beasts, birds, flowers, scenes from revelry and from the chase, that the monasteries were turned into inns and taverns, and that the monks were compelled to marry and even to dance publicly in the circus, locked in the embrace of women of ill fame. But as to how far this was true we do not know, and the representations of these writers must be taken with more than one grain of salt.

was awakened from its Erastian sleep. If, as Stokes says, the Saracens had conquered the empire, while the Church was in that state, Christianity might have been utterly extinguished. But a new spirit came into the hearts of men when they heard such unwonted words as those of the venerable Germanus: "Without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed;" and those of Pope Gregory II: "Church doctrines are not the business of emperors, but of bishops. Just as they ought not to mingle in the affairs of the State, so ought not the others to interfere in ecclesiastical matters."

Iconoclasm had a perceptible influence on art. It turned the attention of artists from the crude pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, on which the artistic impulse had expended itself, to the production of decorative effects. It threw art back upon its own resources, and was a means of stimulating to nobler efforts. What appeared to be a setback was really an inspiration.[1]

It remains only to notice the controversy in the Western Church. Rome, leaving the safe middle ground of Gregory the Great, was committed to image worship. Not so the more practical Franks. Constantine Copronymus strove to unite the Frankish and Eastern Churches on this matter. Pepin held a council at Gentilly in 767, which maintained the ground of the first Gregory, that "Images of saints wrought or painted for the ornament and beauty of churches might be endured, so that they were not had for worship, veneration, and adoration, which idolaters practice." Pope Adrian sent the decrees of the spurious ecumenical council of 787 to Charles the Great, but they met with no hospitable reception. The Caroline Books uttered the protest of Charles the Great. This is the most masterly treatise of the whole controversy. It was composed partly by Alcuin and partly by Charles the Great. It maintained a middle ground, being equally opposed to the iconoclasts and the image worshipers. Its great thought was: Images are for memorials, not for worship. It argues with telling force against all kinds and degrees of image worship.[2] This remarkable book was followed by another protest in

THE IMAGE QUESTION IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

[1] Reber, Hist. of Mediæval Art (N. Y., 1886), pp. 92-97. See below, p. 667.

[2] The Libri Carolini were first mentioned by Archbishop Hincmar, of Rheims, in the ninth century. The reformers quoted the book against Rome, and this fact led Baronius and Bellarmine to doubt its genuineness. But Sirmond and Natalis Alexander, both Catholics, proved that it emanated from Charles the Great or his theologians. Floss (Roman Catholic), of Bonn, in 1860, revived the doubts of Bellarmine, but since the discovery by Reifferscheid in 1866 of a new manuscript of the tenth century in the Vatican Library all such doubts are at rest. "The genuineness of the Libri Carolini,"

794. The great council of Frankfort was attended by delegates from France, Germany, England, Lombardy, and two delegates from Rome. Charles the Great was the president and Alcuin the leading spirit. It declared against all "adoration and service of images."[1] The Frankish Church of the ninth century kept itself true to this opposition. The council of Paris, 824, confirmed that of Frankfort, and in the Chronicon of Odo, Archbishop of Vienna, the second Nicene council is expressly called a false synod, on account of its decrees concerning image worship. With the exception, therefore, of a voice here and there, the whole transalpine Church took ground directly opposed to that of Rome and the East.

says Hefele, "is hereafter no longer to be questioned" (Conciliengeschichte, iii, 698). This is the position of Alzog (Ch. Hist., ii, 219). Buchanan, in Smith and Wace, i, 405, does not notice the work of Reifferscheid.

[1] Mansi, xiii, 909.

LITERATURE: ISLAM.

For an account of the older Arabic sources, see Gibbon, Smith's ed., v, 280–282. For recent Arabic lives, see Sonnenschein, The Best Books, p. 807. We give here a list of some important accessible books.

1. Ockley, S. Hist. of the Saracens. 2 vols. Lond., 1708–18; rev., 6th ed., 1857. Main source, Pseudo-Wakidi's Futu-al-Sham, which is romance rather than history. Long held as a high authority, but now discredited. Interesting.
2. Sale, G. The Koran, transl., with preliminary dissertations and notes. Lond., 1734; new ed., 1877. Diffuse but correct. Dissertation valuable. Potter, a contemporary, urged the suppression of the work and the imprisonment of the author for blasphemy. His offense was speaking philosophically and humanely of Islam. There is a French transl. by Savary, with valuable notes, 1782, parts of which have been incorporated into recent editions of Sale.
3. Price, J. Hist. of Mohammedanism. 4 vols., 4to. Lond., 1811–21. From Persian authorities. Extends to 1556.
4. Mill, J. Hist. of Mohammedanism. Lond., 1812.
5. Lane, E. W. Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. 2 vols. Lond., 1836; new ed. by S. Lane-Poole, 1 vol., 1860; 2 vols., 1871. Selections from the Koran. Lond., 1843; new ed., rev. and enlarged, with Introduction by S. Lane-Poole, Lond., 1879. Admirable transl., and very valuable dissertation.
6. Hammer-Purgstall, von. Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches. 10 vols. Pesth, 1827–35.
7. Döllinger, J. J. Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer innern Entwickelung u. ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker. Ratisbon, 1838.
8. Burckhardt, J. L. Travels in Arabia. Lond., 1839.
9. Weil, G. Gesch. der Chalifen, 5 vols., Stuttg., 1846–62; Gesch. der islamischen Völker [from Mohammed to Selim], Stuttg., 1866; Einleitung in den Koran, Bielefeld, new ed., 1878; Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre, Stuttg., 1844; The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud; Biblical Legends of Mussulmans, N. Y., 1846; art. Mohammedanism in McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, vi, 1876.
10. Perceval, Caussin de. Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes. 3 vols. Paris, 1847–48. Standard.
11. Irving, W. Mahomet and his Successors. N. Y., 1850.
12. Merrick, J. L. Life and Religion of Mohammed, as contained in the Shiite traditions of the Hyal-ul Kuloob. Bost., 1850.
13. Crichton, A. Hist. of Arabia. Lond., 1852.
14. Freeman, E. A. Hist. and Conquests of the Saracens, Lond., 1856; new ed., 1880; The Ottoman Power in Europe, its Nature, Growth, and Decline, Lond., 1877; also various review articles.
15. Burton, R. F. Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Belfast and Lond., 1855;

new ed., 1880. Compare Keane, J. F. My Journey to Medina. Lond., 1881. Disguised as a Mohammedan.

16. Nöldeke, Th. Geschichte des Korans. Gött., 1860; Leben d. Mohammed, Han., 1863; art. Koran in Encyc. Brit., vol. xvi, 1884 (sub. Mohammedanism).
17. Rodwell, J. M. The Koran, transl. Lond., 1861. Arranged chronologically.
18. Fluegel, G. Gesch. der Araber. 2d ed., 1861.
19. Sprenger, A. Das Leben und die Lehre d. Mohammed. 3 vols. Berl., 1861–65. Best Germ. life. 1st vol., originally written in Engl., Allahabad, 1851.
20. Krehl, L. Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber, Leipz., 1863; Das Leben und die Lehre d. Mohammed, vol. i, Life, Leipz., 1864.
21. Renan, E. Mahomet and the Origins of Islam. In Studies of Religious History. Bost., 1864.
22. Palgrave, W. G. Personal Narrative of a Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia. Lond., 1865; 6th ed., 1871.
23. St. Hilaire, B. Mahomet et le Coran. Paris, 1865.
24. Arnold, J. M. Islam: Its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity. Lond., 1866. Rewritten and enlarged, 1874.
25. Wüstenfeld, F. The Life of Mohammed, based on Mohammed Ibn Ishak, by Abo el-Melik Ibn Hisham. Lond., 1869.
26. Syed Ahmed Khan Bahador. Essays on the Life of Mohammed and subjects subsidiary thereto. Lond., 1870.
27. Syed Ameer Ali Moulla. Critical Exam. of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed. Lond., 1873. Both of these works are by Mohammedans.
28. Deutsch, E. Islam, in Literary Remains. Lond., 1874.
29. Kremer, A. Kulturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen, 2 vols., Leipz., 1875; Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams, Leipz., 1868.
30. Smith, R. Bosworth. Mohammed and Mohammedanism. N. Y., 1875; new ed., Lond., 1890. Apologetic for Islam.
31. Stobart, J. W. H. Islam and its Founders. Lond., 1876.
32. Muir, Sir W. Life of Mahomet, and pre-Islamic Hist. of Arabia, 4 vols., Lond., 1858–61; Life of Mahomet from Original Sources, Lond., 1877; Mahomet and Islam, Lond., 1883, new ed., 1887; Annals of the Early Caliphate, Lond., 1883; The Koran, its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it Bears to the Holy Scriptures, Lond., 1878; Extracts from the Koran (text and transl.), Lond., 1880; The Caliphate: Rise, Decline, and Fall, Lond. and N. Y., 1891. Muir devoted his life to the study of Islam, and he is one of the three great authorities, the other two being Sprenger and Weil.
33. Osborn, R. O. Islam under the Arabs, Lond., 1876; Islam under the Khalif of Bagdad, Lond., 1878.
34. Stephens, W. R. W. Christianity and Islam, the Bible and the Koran. Lond. and N. Y., 1877.
35. Hirschfeld, H. Jüdische Elemente im Koran, Berl., 1878; Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran, Leipz., 1886.
36. Dozy, R. Essai zur l'histoire de l'Islamisme. Leyden, 1879.
37. Palmer, E. H. The Koran, transl., with Introd. 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1880. See Briggs in Presb. Rev., 1881, 631. Valuable.
38. Pischon. Der Einfluss des Islam auf das Leben seiner Bekenner. Leipz., 1881.

39. Hauri, J. Das Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben seiner Bekenner. Leyden, 1882.
40. Sell, E. The Faith of Islam. Lond., 1881.
41. Wherry, E. M. Commentary on the Quran, with Sale's transl. 4 vols. Lond., 1882–86. Contains additional dissertations and notes.
42. Poole, S. Lane. Studies in a Mosque. Lond., 1883. "Treats of Islam in its manifold phases, from its birth at Mekka to its apotheosis in the Persian miracle play." Interesting and scholarly. See Modern Rev., 1883, p. 632. Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed. Lond. and N. Y., 1882.
43. Bate, J. D. Studies in Islam, pt. i. Banáras, Allahabad, and Lond., 1884. Able, with abundant references.
44. Bestmann. Die Anfänge des kathol. Christenthums in dem Islam. Nördl., 1884.
45. Hughes, T. P. Dictionary of Islam, Lond., 1885; notes on Mohammedanism, 2d ed., rev., Lond., 1877.
46. Clyde, J. C. Mohammedanism, a Pseudo-Christianity, or the Koran and the Bible compared as to Hist. and Theology. Easton, Pa., 1888.
47. Koelle, S. W. Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered. Lond., 1889.
48. Haines, C. R. Islam as a Missionary Religion. Lond., 1889.
49. Bunsen, Ernest de. Christianity and Islam. Lond., 1889.
50. Pool, J. J. Studies in Mohammedanism, with chapter on Islam in England. Lond., 1892.
51. Arnold, T. W. The Preaching of Islam. Lond., 1897.
52. Smith, H. P. The Bible and Islam: or the Influence of the Old and New Testament on the Religion of Mohammed. N. Y., 1897.

For briefer discussions, see Leitner in Religious Systems of the World, Lond., Sonnenschein, 1890; Muir, in Non-Biblical Systems of Religion, Lond. and N. Y., 1887; Dods, Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ, Lond., 1877, new ed., 1887; Starbuck, in Andover Rev., July, 1892; Hughes, in Andover Rev., Jan., May, and July, 1888; Carlyle, in Heroes and Hero Worshipers (Hero as a Prophet), Lond., 1841, often reprinted; Newman, The History of the Turks in their Relation to Europe, in Hist. Sketches, Lond., 1872, 6th ed., 1886, vol. i, pp. 1–238; Stanley, in Hist. of Eastern Church, pp. 246–270; Kingsley, in Alexandria and Her Schools; Tiele, C. T., Outlines of the Hist. of Religion, Lond., 1877; arts. by Weil and Worman, in McClintock and Strong; by Wellhausen, Gayard, and Nöldeke, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed.; by Deutsch and Milne, in Chambers; National Rev., July, 1858, Oct., 1861; Quarterly Rev., Oct., 1869 (Deutsch), Jan., 1877; Chr. Remembrancer, Jan., 1855 (Cazenove); Brit. and For. Evang. Rev., Jan., 1877 (Robson); Brit. Quar. Rev., Jan., 1872; Historical Statements of the Koran, in Princeton Essays, 2d Series, 584, ff.; R. Stuart Poole, The Pagan and Muslim Arabs, in Fortnightly Rev., Oct. 15, 1865; Stillé, Studies in Mediæval Hist., pp. 98–126.

CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF ISLAM.

"ABOUT this time the false prophet Mohammed, of whom we have spoken before, died, and was buried in hell."[1]

In these words a Benedictine monk sums up the inveterate hatred of the mediæval Church for one whom a true instinct taught her was her worst foe. For never was a religion more perfectly fitted, both in its elements of good and evil, to counteract and destroy Christianity among the Semitic people. An attempt has recently been made, prompted by a generous feeling, to reconsider the relations of Christianity to Islam, and to prove that Islam is the friend and ally of the Church. R. Bosworth Smith, in some eloquent and scholarly lectures, has plainly set forth this view.[2] So it might seem to an optimistic student of the closet. But it has never so seemed to those who have faced the sword of Mohammed.

Mohammed was born in Mecca in 569 or 570.[3] He was the only son of Abdallah and Amina, of honorable parentage, in the illustrious tribe of Koreish. His father died two months before the birth of Mohammed, and Sprenger attributes the nervous and epileptic temperament of the son to the shock which this bereavement gave the widow. Mohammed's mother died when he was seven years of age, and he was brought up by his rich uncle, Abu Taleb. At the age of twenty-five he entered the service of Cadijah, a wealthy widow of Mecca, and his commercial shrewdness so pleased that lady that a road was opened to her affections, and they were married. He was now twenty-eight. Twelve years passed before he received his alleged prophetic mission. These years he gave to his business and to religious meditation and study. He was wont to repair with his wife to the cave of Hira for prayer, and here his anxious vigils were followed by trances, visions, and convulsive fits. In one of these the angel Gabriel appeared to him and communicated the new faith. There is no reason to doubt that Mohammed was perfectly sincere that in the epileptic visions he had received a divine message. As Stobart well says, "We shall see in

MOHAMMED'S EARLY LIFE.

[1] Mat. West., ch. xi, ap. A. D. 669. The real date of Mohammed is 632.

[2] Mohammed and Mohammedanism. New ed., 1890.

[3] The date is uncertain. Weil places it in 571. The traditions differ, and scholars are not agreed. See note by Smith in his ed. of Gibbon, v, 206.

him the picture of a soul at first honestly searching for the light amid ecstatic visions of heaven and hell, under conviction of the unity of God and of his beneficent kindness, and, persuaded that the raging fire and the pit were for those whose balances were not heavy with good deeds,[1] believing in the future judgment of the one righteous God[2] and in the fate of those nations which rejected the Lord. Amid such visions and fancies, groping his way to a purer faith, he at length comes to believe that the trances and mental paroxysms which drove him to meditate suicide[3] were the workings of the same God who in ages past had inspired their other messengers, and now had selected him for the same high office."[4]

His first convert was his faithful wife, Cadijah. His bosom friend, Abu Bekr, received the faith, as did his adopted son, Ali, the latter in these ominous and characteristic words: "Prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O Prophet, I will be thy vizier over them." Nothing could now prevent Mohammed from the public preaching of his message in Mecca, the heart of the Arabian idolatry. When his uncle and benefactor, Abu Taleb, tried to dissuade him, the brave fanatic replied, "Spare your remonstrances; if they should place the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left they should not divert me from my course." His converts increased among his own family and friends and among the poor of Mecca. The family of the Koreish, the traditional priestly guardians of the sacred stone, the Caaba, took offense. "The hope of their gains was gone." A long-established priesthood, pecuniarily interested, are bad enemies. They pursued Mohammed relentlessly. He was under an interdict for three years. He changed his bed every night, to avoid the assassin. He kept outside of Mecca, venturing into the city only during the holy seasons. He found that he must give up the idea of making Mecca the center of the regenerated faith of Arabia. The opposition was too strong and the risk too great. His death was resolved on. The only alternative left was flight. In 622 he made his escape to Medina, not without providential deliverance, as the legends say,[5]

THE HEGIRA.

[1] Koran, Sura ci, 1–8.

[2] Sura xcv.

[3] He was about to throw himself from Mount Thubeir, but was arrested by a voice from heaven. See Muir, ii, 84.

[4] Islam and its Founder, p. 65.

[5] While sleeping in a cave at night the spider spun its web over the entrance. A brood of wood pigeons, undisturbed, seemed to show that he was not within. A later legend says that a tree grew up before the entrance of the cave, at the command of the prophet (Weil, p. 79). "There are many that fight against us," said the fearful Abu Bekr, who shared his flight, "and we are but two." "No," said Mohammed, "there is a third—it is God."

and thus began the era of the Hegira or Flight, the beginning of the Mohammedan chronology.[1]

The later life of Mohammed is soon told. He was received with enthusiasm at Medina. He began to lead marauding expeditions against the merchant caravans of Mecca. He now became the prophet warrior of the Arabs. He professed to receive communications urging war upon the idolaters.[2] With the taste of blood his nature, as well as his religion, underwent a change. He attacked the Meccan caravan at Badr, 623, and overthrew it. The prisoners he slaughtered in cold blood, God granting the necessary justification in a revelation.[3] Another revelation divided one fifth of the booty to the prophet, the rest to "those who had fought and those who had stayed under the ensign."[4] Mohammed was less successful at Mount Ohud, but his enemies had to raise the siege of Medina, 625, and leave him to his uninterrupted career of conquest. He next captured some Jewish tribes, and ordered their male prisoners to death and their women and children into slavery. Eight hundred were slaughtered in cold blood, and this prophet of the "All-Merciful," as he calls God, could witness this slaughter of defenseless prisoners not only without pity, but with fierce denunciation on the heads of the unfortunates, a "deed comparable in its atrocity to the massacre at Melos,[5] and to the act of that sanguinary wretch who directed the blood bath of Stockholm."[6] In 629 or 630 he captured Mecca, and in the latter year, through the great battle of Taif, became master of all Arabia. He consolidated his religion and gave further laws, and on June 8, 632, died in Mecca, on the lap of Ayesha.[7]

SUCCESS OF MOHAMMED.

Mohammed had a strangely mixed character. Amiable, faithful to friends, tender in his family relations, extremely simple in his

[1] The exact day is uncertain. It "properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mohammed, with the first of Moharram, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16, A. D. 622," Gibbon, ch. i, note 118. Stobart says he fled from the Cave of Waur on June 20, and arrived at Medina June 28 (p. 134). Milman makes the era of flight April 19 (ii, 622); Caussin de Perceval, June 18 or 19; Weil, September 20. The first month of the flight was April, 622. "The day of the flight itself is the 18th or 19th of June, 622, but the Mohammedans reckon from the beginning of the first Mohammedan month of the year (1st Moharram) in which the flight took place, that is, 15th or 16th July, 622" (Moeller, Church Hist., Middle Ages, 1893, p. 5, note).

[2] Koran, Sura viii, 68–76.

[3] See Koran, Sura ii, 189, 214; xvii, 4–7.

[4] Sura viii.

[5] Thucydides, v, 116.

[6] Stobart, p. 165; Muir, iii, 277.

[7] The Christian mediæval chroniclers say that he met death by being torn to pieces by swine when rolling in an epileptic fit on a dunghill. Math. of Westm., ch. xi, ap. A. D. 622; Math. Paris (Giles), p. 27.

domestic life, he was also deeply religious, according to his standard. He had the poetic temperament of the Arabian, and with that a melancholia which bordered on frenzy. Neither he nor his most intimate followers doubted for a moment the reality of his divine call, and his superstitious belief in omens and dreams is another reason for abandoning the old notion that he was a conscious impostor. On the other hand, he was "deceitful, cunning, cowardly, revengeful, sensual, and a murderer." He allowed four wives to each of the faithful, but he himself had eleven and several slave girls, the additional indulgence being protected by a special revelation in the Koran.

MOHAMMED'S CHARACTER.

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCIPLES AND RESULTS OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THE principles of Mohammedanism were a combination of Judaism, Christianity, and the old Arabian religion, with striking original features. The prophet was often thrown among Jews and Christians, but his knowledge of Christianity was from apocryphal and secondhand sources, and discolored by the bad influences of the wretched Church of the Orient. The strength and glory of Mohammedanism was, and is, its promulgation of the doctrine of the unity of God. With that great idea Mohammed shattered the idolatries of Arabia, and elevated the religious worship of vast sections of the world. Moses and the Old Testament worthies, according to Mohammed, were real prophets of God; and preeminently so was Jesus Christ, born miraculously and the worker of miracles—an honor Mohammed disclaimed—who himself pointed to Mohammed, and whose work Mohammed took up and fulfilled; Christ was a man only. There will be a resurrection of the body and a final judgment of all men; all believers, through whatsoever straits, will finally get into paradise, and all unbelievers will go straight to hell; predestination is taught in its baldest form: "God misleadeth whom he pleases, and guideth whom he pleases aright;" "He created man upright, and then caused him to be the vilest of the vile;" "The fate of every man is bound about his neck;" "If thy Lord had pleased he had made all men of one religion, but unto this hath he created them, for the word of the Lord shall be fulfilled, Verily I will fill hell altogether with men and genii."[1] THE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM.

It is this unconditional submission to God's decree that has given a name, Islam,[2] to the faith. The delights of heaven will be both sensual and spiritual, according to the aptitudes and desires of the faithful. The practical duties of Islam are prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage. Circumcision and other laws similar to those among the Jews are in force. Emanuel Deutsch has claimed, in-

[1] See Sura vi, 123, 125, 127; vii, 179, 186; x, 98; xi, 119; xiii, 29, 34; xiv, 21; xvi, 35, 98, *et al.*

[2] Islam is derived from Salem, "peace," and means to make peace, to obtain immunity, by submission to a superior.

deed, that Islam is largely a transfusion of Judaism into Arabian forms. "It is not merely parallelisms, reminiscences, allusions, technical terms, and the like, of Judaism, its lore and dogma and ceremony, its Halacha and its Haggadah, its Law and Legend, which we find in the Koran; but we think Islam neither more nor less than Judaism as adapted to Arabia—plus the apostleship of Jesus and Mohammed. Nay, we verily believe that a great deal of such Christianity as has found its way into the Koran has found it through Jewish channels."[1] No doubt some of the best parts of his teaching the prophet derived, directly or indirectly, through the Jews, though he personally treated them with great harshness. The Koran brands injustice, avarice, pride, debauchery, and other sins, while it exalts piety, submissiveness before God, benevolence, liberality, and decency.

But the principles of Mohammedanism have a darker side. There is, first, polygamy. The faithful are limited to four wives, but are not restricted as to the number of concubines and female slaves.[2] Freeman has correctly said that this has undoubtedly proved one of the greatest and most fearful evils of the Mohammedan system.[3] It has destroyed the family throughout the East, hardened the tone and sapped the vigor of the upper classes, and led to intrigue, revolution, and murder in the State.[4] In fact, the number of wives is practically unlimited, as the Koran allows an almost unchecked power of divorce and exchange.[5] Islam is true to its Eastern origin in the virtual slavery and degradation to which women are consigned. Christianity sprang from the East, but we are in another world when we consider its teachings in regard to women. The Mohammedan "may repudiate his wives without any assigned reason and without warning; may, if apprehensive of disobedience, rebuke, imprison, and strike them,[6] and against this the dishonored spouse has almost no means of redress."[7] Thus it happens that good Mohammedans have a new

THE EVILS OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

[1] Art Islam, in the Quarterly Review, October, 1869, reprinted as an appendix to R. Bosworth Smith, Mohammed and Mohammedanism, p. 290. The Jews themselves strongly opposed the prophet, and would even have preferred idolatry to his system. See Lane, Selections from the Koran, p. xi. Maulvi Tayyid Amir, Life of Mohammed, p. 77. Bate, Studies in Islam, p. 217, and note. Sprenger in Zeitsch. f. deutsche morgenländ. Gesellschaft, 1875, p. 655. Geiger, Was hat Mahomed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen? Bonn, 1833. Neander, iii, 86. [2] Sura iv, 3; lxx, 30. [3] Hist. of the Saracens, p. 58.

[4] Muir, The Koran, p. 60; Life of Mohammed, ii, 140, note; iii, 305.

[5] Sura iv, 18; Stobart, Islam and its Founder, p. 150. [6] Sura iv, 28.

[7] Stobart, p. 51. This work, by an expert, is written with rare impartiality. Its author is principal of La Matinière College, Lucknow.

wife every two or three months, and even young men have been known to have had twenty and thirty wives.[1] The social degradation of a legal system of this kind is unspeakable.

The concubine system has fastened slavery to Islam with strong bands.[2] Early Christianity did not make war on Roman slavery, but it ameliorated and finally abolished it. But Islam makes slavery a part of itself. Immense numbers of girls are sold every year in the Mohammedan markets,[3] and still the Moslem leads the bloody track through Africa to the infinite shame of the world. Cardinal Lavigerie died fighting this gigantic wrong.

SLAVERY.

A third blot on Islam is its obligation to make war against unbelievers. With idolaters, the fighting men are to be slain, the women and children reduced to slavery; with Jews and Christians, a limited tolerance, with tribute, is allowed upon submission. "O true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you and know that God is with them that fear him."[4] At first prisoners were to be slain; afterward their ransom was made lawful.[5] Unbelievers are to be slaughtered until all opposition has ceased.[6] "Woe to the Mussulman who stays by his fireside instead of going to war; he cannot escape death, for the term of his life is fixed. Does he fear the burning heat of the combat? The infernal regions are hotter than the heats of summer." "Paradise is before you, behind you the flames of hell."[7] The Koran has bequeathed to mankind, as Milman remarks, the "legacy of implacable animosity." This is the damnable blot of Islam. With all its noble features, this has made it a curse and a scourge.

ISLAM'S TENETS OF WAR.

The Bible of Islam is the Koran, claiming to be the direct dictation of God. It has many beautiful and lofty passages, but vast tracts are infinitely wearisome. Carlyle said that to read it through was impossible except to a believer. Lane, an

THE KORAN.

[1] The best discussion of woman in Mohammedanism is Bate, Studies in Islam, Lond., 1884, pp. 247–291. He gives abundant references. See also Muir; Burckhardt, Bedouins and Wehabys, 110–115, 270–280; Arabia, i, 402, *et al.*; Palgrave, Central and Eastern Arabia, ii, 214, 283. Palgrave speaks of the viceroy marrying on trial, so to say, every fortnight, and every fortnight securing a new divorce; all according to the strictest forms of Mohammedan law. Mohammedan writers point to the shameful haunts of Christian cities as entirely absent in Islam. But what excuse is there, with such a system as the above?

[2] Sura iv, 28. [3] Burckhardt, Arabia, i, 218; Bate, Studies in Islam, 298.

[4] Sura ix. [5] Sura viii, 66–69. [6] Sura xlvii, 4–7.

[7] Duruy, Middle Ages, p. 84; Stobart, pp. 192, 193, 226; Muir, The Koran, p. 57; Milman, Latin Christianity, ii, 142–148.

accomplished Arabic scholar and enthusiast in Arabic culture, confessed that the reading of it was "extremely tiresome."[1] Lake professed to have read it through, though this unwonted feat did not serve to make his book the more accurate.[2] Rodman has arranged its chapters (suras) chronologically. At the beginning are rhapsodic and incoherent poems. Then follow the theology and laws of Islam, with historic notices, many repetitions, and much vague and useless matter. The authority of the Koran is absolute, whether in science, polity, or religion. The several revelations were put together by Zeid, the prophet's amanuensis, a final and accurate text was made, and this text has reached us in an absolutely correct form, with no variations whatever.[3] This publication of the authoritative text was done in the reign of Othman, 644–656.

[1] Modern Egyptians, i, 382; see Bate, p. 211, note.

[2] Lake, Islam, its Origin, Genius, and Mission, Lond., 1878. Bate pointed out several errors.

[3] What variations of text exist are almost entirely confined to vowel forms and diacritical points. Muir, The Koran, p. 39. On the inspiration of the Koran, see Robson, The Bible, its Revelation, Inspiration, and Evidence, Lond., 1883, pp. iv, v. The two best books on the Koran are Sir W. Muir, The Koran, its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures, Lond., 1878; and Weil, Einleitung in den Koran, Bielefeld and Leipz., 1878. See an admirable article by T. P. Hughes in the Andover Review, May, 1888, 466, ff.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THE wide and sudden propagation of Islam is one of the phenomena of history. Under Othman, Persia was subdued and the Moslem sway extended as far as the Oxus. Jerusalem surrendered in 637. In 638 all Syria was annexed to the caliphate. The great conqueror Omar (Amru) also conquered Egypt, 641, and, according to later chronicles, burned the great library of Alexandria.[1] In 672 the Mohammedans began their fateful attacks on Constantinople, keeping up the siege for seven years, and renewed the war with mightier force in 717. But both attempts were thwarted by the Greek fire. Hassan brought under the whole African coast by the conquest of Carthage, 698. In 711 the Saracens crossed the Straits of Hercules, subjugated the Visigothic kingdom, and descended into France. "This was a solemn moment in the history of the world. The question was decided in the famous plains between Tours and Poitiers, where the powerful Austrasian infantry of Charles Martel, like a wall of iron, resisted the fiery horsemen of Arabia, of Syria, and of Magrib (732)."[2] Thus

ISLAM'S CAREER OF CONQUEST.

[1] The tendency is to discredit this story. Humboldt says it is a myth (Cosmos, ii, 582). Adams says it is now disbelieved (note to Duruy, Mediæval History, p. 87, who claims that it has not been proved). Gibbon is "strongly tempted" to the same unbelief (chap. i, vol. v, p. 357). There is room to doubt, yet the report is strongly substantiated. Several Mohammedan writers have confirmed the report of Abul-Pharajius: Macrisi, cited by White, Ægyptiaca, pp. 56, 65; Abdollatiph, Hist., 115; Ibn Chaledun; and Hadschi Chalfa. See Von Hammer, Geschichte der Assassinen, p. 17, who, with White, St. Martin, de Sacy, and other eminent orientalists, accepts the received tradition of the burning of the library. Matter does the same in his Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie, i, 342. See Milman, note to Gibbon, as above. Charles Mills, in the first ed. of his History of Mohammedanism, adhered to the views of Gibbon, but on further investigation among Arabic and other authorities changed his mind in the second ed., and said that the evidence for the burning could not be resisted. See the subject discussed by Bate, Studies in Islam, pp. 230–239. The Mohammedan writers bring a similar charge against Count Bertram of St. Gilles, a crusader; who ordered the whole contents of the first room of the great library at Tripoli—this room containing nothing but the Koran—to be burned, as the works of the false prophet. The whole library is said to have contained three million volumes. See Wilken, Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, ii, 211.

[2] Duruy, Middle Ages, p. 90.

from the Indus to the Pyrenees lay the Moslem empire. Like the Germans, they settled in their conquered countries, and refashioned them after their Eastern and Moslem civilization.

The cause of this marvelous success was twofold: the exhaustion, degeneracy, and feebleness of Europe and Asia, weakened by wars and bitter internecine and sectarian strife, and the valorous enthusiasm of the Arabs, borne onward by religious fanaticism and the greed of the spoil. Among the Christians imperial centralization, extortion, and ecclesiastical persecution had so smothered patriotism that the Moslems were in some cases almost welcomed, though few became actual converts. Superior leadership was also an element in this success.[1]

[1] See Andrews, Institutes of General History, ch. vii, §5; Milman, Lat. Christianity, ii, 165; Hallam, Middle Ages, i, 593; Draper, Intellectual Development of Europe, i, 337.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELATION OF ISLAM TO THE CHURCH.

THE effect on the Church of the Moslem uprising is seen in the flickering and apologetic existence of the Churches in every land touched by the foot of the Mohammedan. The Church has never been itself again in any land thus permanently possessed. Islam favored the heretic sects, perhaps, more than the orthodox. The Nestorians, the Copts, and the Jacobites have kept up their organizations, but the privileges of the Christians have been so abridged that the Church has never held up its head in the East.[1] Another effect was the "transmutation of Christianity into a religion of war." Though there had been local strifes before, never yet had the whole Church felt called upon to appeal to the sword. Now its very existence made necessary the baptism of the sword. Hence followed in due time the first Christian aggressive wars in history, the Crusades. All the blackest crimes and passions—for war stands for these—must be invoked. This was the awful ordeal forced on Christianity by Islam in order to protect its faith, its lands, and its homes.[2] A third result was the consolidation of the papal power. The patriarchates in Asia were swept away or so enfeebled that they could no longer assert themselves. Rome and Constantinople alone remained, facing each other like two enraged lions. Rome, secure in her *orbis terrarum*, arose still higher on the ruins of the East, and every stroke of the Moslem sword cut a way for her advance.

EFFECTS OF ISLAM ON THE CHURCH.

The question of the value of Mohammed's work, and the proper attitude of the Church toward this religion, has been hotly contested. There was not much that was original in his message. The Koreish charged Mohammed with taking his doctrine from the Asatyr of the Ancients, a book several times quoted in the Koran. A great monotheistic prophet had already arisen in Arabia, in Qoss, who had preached a purer faith at the fair of Okatz. So also did Omayah of Tayef anticipate the purer elements of the prophet's message. Zayd was another forerunner. Sprenger has admirably expressed the facts. He says that all the leading men

[1] For the disabilities of the Christians, see Milman, ii, 159.

[2] See some excellent remarks on this point in Milman, ii, 169.

among Mohammed's converts during the first six years had "held the tenets which form the basis of the religion of the Arabic prophet long before he preached them. They were not his tools, but his constituents. He clothed the sentiments which he had in common with them in poetical language, and his malady gave divine sanction to his oracles. Even when he was acknowledged as the messenger of God, Omar had as much influence on the development of Islam as Mohammed himself. He sometimes attempted to overrule the convictions of these men, but succeeded in very few instances. Islam is not the work of Mohammed, it is not the doctrine of the impostor; it embodies the faith and sentiments of men who for their talents and virtues must be considered as the most distinguished of their nation, and who acted under all circumstances so faithfully to the spirit of the Arabs that they must be regarded as their representatives. Islam is therefore the offspring of the spirit of the times, and the voice of the Arabic nation. It is this which made it victorious, particularly among nations whose habits resemble those of the Arab, like the Berbers and Tartars. There is, however, no doubt that the impostor had defiled it with his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his."[1] Leaving out the use of the word *impostor*, the conclusions of this eminent investigator are thoroughly reliable, and are borne out by nearly all impartial scholars.[2]

SOURCES OF DOCTRINES OF ISLAM.

By its monotheism and better laws Mohammedanism has, no doubt, brought many people to a higher civilization than fetichism and crude idolatry. But its Koran has stereotyped some of the most vicious provisions, and has doomed the Islamic nations to semibarbarism. The intellectual achievements of the Arabs had no vital connection with the principles of progress, so that all the brilliant display passed away, leaving the people inert and dead.[3] How to convert the Mohammedan is a knotty problem in missions. For it is evident that we cannot rest in the conclusion of Smith, that Islam is divinely intended to be the religion of the East,[4] nor be discouraged by the

MOHAMMEDANISM AN INCUBUS ON CIVILIZATION.

[1] Mohammed, p. 174.

[2] Compare Krehl, Das Leben des Mohammed, Leipz., 1884, p. 28; Kuenen, Volksreligion und Weltreligion, pp. 14, 87, f.; Wellhausen, art. Mohammed in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed.; Smith, note to Gibbon, v, 214, 215; Scott, Curr. Dis., iii, 167.

[3] For a very favorable account of the Arab civilization, see Draper, Intellectual Development of Europe, ii, 30–53; Bate's remarks on the same, Studies in Islam, pp. 218–247.

[4] Mohammed and Mohammedanism, p. 259.

reproaches of Isaac Taylor, that Christian missions among the Moslems have entirely failed, while Islam itself keeps on its conquering march, winning more converts in Africa in a year than Christianity wins in a decade.[1]

As we write these words fresh reports reach us of more unspeakable outrages of the Turks in Armenia. These nations cannot rest forever under the blighting load of Islam with its lust and cruelty. The alleged truth for which Islam stands is the pledge that God will yet redeem the "great antagonistic creed" from its dark and debasing elements.[2]

[1] Taylor, in an address before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, in England, 1887. See the "Debate on Islam" in the Andover Rev., January, 1888, pp. 80–86; "The Great Missionary Failure," by Taylor, in the Fortnightly Rev., October, 1888, p. 448, ff. This article and the address led to a voluminous discussion in the reviews and periodicals on the success of modern missions, and especially of missions among the Moslems.

[2] A brilliant and profound analysis of Islam in its relation to Christianity and civilization is given by Starbuck in the Andover Rev., July, 1892, p. 58, ff. Compare Hughes, Missions to Muslims, in Andover Rev., 1888, 1–18, excellent suggestions by an eminent authority. Wesley, taking a sufficiently pessimistic view of Islam (Works, Lond. ed., vi, 278; ix, 215, 216), yet says: "I have no authority from the word of God to judge them that are without, nor do I conceive that any man living has a right to sentence all the heathen and Mahometan world to damnation" (vii, 353).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES—THE ATTEMPT AT REUNION.

THE iconoclastic dispute is enough to prove how widely apart the East and West were drifting, and how grave and irreconcilable were the points of discord. They had, indeed, been growing apart for centuries. The very type of mind in the East as contrasted with the West was an element of separation. The East was contemplative, metaphysical, hair-splitting; the West was practical, legal, progressive. This difference of temperament was not in itself a sufficient cause of the separation, but, intensified by time, it was ample to overcome the natural bonds of sympathy, and thus prevent each from seeing the other's point of view.[1]

DOCTRINAL DIVERGENCE.

The first element of difference was doctrinal. Originally, this chiefly centered around the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Father—the Filioque controversy. The Nicene creed ran simply, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." At the second general council, that at Constantinople (381), this clause was added, "who proceedeth from the Father."[2] The third general council, at Ephesus (431), ordered that it should not be lawful to make any additions to the creed. Some of the Western fathers, however, taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. The Filioque clause had been in fact introduced into the creed in Spain and France, and recited in the churches. The popes did not at first favor this. Pope Leo III (795–816) censured this departure from the original form, and, in order to emphasize the importance of the exact words of the true creed, caused the creed of Constantinople to be engraved on silver plates in Greek and Latin, and thus to be publicly displayed in the church. Pope Nicholas I (858–867), however, with the true infallible instinct, authorized the addition. For this the West was condemned in 879, at Constantinople, at what the Greeks call the eighth general council. This disregard of the ancient formularies of the Church, which were to them as dear as life, mortally offended the Greeks, and they could hold no communion with a Church which had thus added to the faith.

[1] Tozer, The Church and the Eastern Empire, p. 172.

[2] In accordance with John xv, 26.

At the Council of Florence (1439), convened to compose the differences between the Greeks and the Latins, the doctrine of purgatory was another source of irreconcilable contention. The Roman Church had gone farther than the Eastern in its elaboration of this doctrine, which had assumed a crass, crude, and almost brutally materialistic form. The Greek Church was content to say simply that prayers offered in connection with the holy sacrifice of the eucharist would avail for the imperfect dead in helping them to a blessed resurrection.[1] It rejected entirely the Roman idea of penal suffering after death for any who died in Christ.

There were also differences as to discipline. The Roman Church had been inclining more and more to a false asceticism in regard to marriage. In the second Trullan council (691 or 692) it was ordered that married persons might be ordained as priests, deacons, and subdeacons, and that, if married, they should not be obliged to separate from their wives. The Roman Church opposed this decree, and the council more than hinted that the Roman Church dishonored marriage, instituted by God and sanctioned by Christ at Cana.[2] This council held that the number of valid and binding apostolical canons, so called, was eighty-five, while the Roman Church acknowledged only fifty. The council also condemned the practice of the Western Church in fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday) before Easter. The Greek Church held that the provisions of the apostolic council (Acts xv) were valid for all time, while the Roman Church considered them abolished by the change in the times. This council also held that Christ ought not to be represented in artistic figures in the form of a lamb, which was a common practice in the West. The papal legates subscribed the decrees of this council, but the pope forbade their publication in all the churches of the West.[3] There were other points of difference more trivial still. If at the present time we have seen the Church of England shaken to its center over the color and style of clerical garments, the "Eastward position," and other incidents, we need not be surprised that in a barbaric period two sections of the Church were antagonistic over the Latin custom of shaving the priest's beard and of allowing the faithful to eat eggs and cheese during the first week in Lent. The ten commandments could be outraged with impunity by ecclesiastics in both East and West, but the ancient fellowship and intercommunion of the Catholic Church must be broken over the tithing of mint and anise. More serious were the allegations that the

DIFFERENCES OF DISCIPLINE.

[1] See Longer Catechism of the Holy Orthodox Church, questions 376, 377.
[2] Neander, iii, 557. [3] Kurtz, § 63, 2.

Latins ordained deacons to be bishops without passing through the order of the priesthood, and that they sacrificed a lamb at Easter, in imitation of the Jews.

The doctrinal and disciplinary differences in themselves were sufficient to rupture the old-time relations even if they had not been aggravated by the fatal stumbling-block, the unparalleled assumptions of the papal autocracy. The second Trullan council[1] (692), a council which claimed to be ecumenical and was recognized as such even by Pope Sergius I, in enumerating the sources of the canon law, omitted almost all the Latin councils and papal decretals. It also repeated and enforced anew the celebrated twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon (451), which allowed the Patriarch of Constantinople the same authority in the Church as the Patriarch of Rome. But these protests could do little to stem the mighty tide which was bearing the Roman bishops to the leadership of Christendom. As the head of the Church in the eternal city—the center of the world for a thousand years—and as the Patriarch of the West the Bishop of Rome had gradually advanced his claims from that of *primus inter pares* of the other bishops to that of supremacy over the whole Church. The East never admitted this claim—a claim which the pope built on his possession of the chair of St. Peter; but circumstances led to an almost virtual acknowledgment on the part of the East.

THE CLAIM OF ROMAN SUPREMACY.

The Patriarch of Constantinople had nothing to fall back upon but his relation to the court, and had become its creature and its slave. But Rome was upheld by a great religious and historical principle, which, though falsely applied and grossly exaggerated, contained an element of truth, and by a sentiment which, like that of patriotism, may be unreasoning but yet indestructible. The aggressions of the barbarians had only increased the power of the Roman bishop, because he alone stood out amid weak rulers as the representative of a power which, coming from God, never quailed before a foe. And while the East was rent with the most violent controversies, the West went on in comparative quiet in its religious development. "The controversialists," says Kurtz, "sought the mediating judgment of Rome, the oppressed sought its intercession and protection, and, because the Roman bishops almost invariably lent the weight of their intellectual and moral influence to the cause of truth and right, the party in whose favor decision was given almost certainly at last prevailed. Thus Rome advanced from day to day in the eyes of the Christian world, and soon demanded as a

[1] So called because held in the mussel-shaped vaulted hall, Trullus, in the imperial castle at Constantinople.

constant right what personal confidence or pressure of circumstances had won for it in particular cases." A point once gained was never lost. The hierarchical feeling also found a rallying point in the chair of St. Peter. "Thus Rome advanced with firm steps and steady aim, and in spite of all opposition continually approached nearer and nearer the end in view. The East could at last hold on and save its ecclesiastical independence only by a complete and incurable division." [1]

THE LETTER OF NICHOLAS I WIDENS THE BREACH.

The extraordinary pretensions of Rome were reached in a letter by Pope Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael the Sot in the Photian controversy. The pope dwelt with unbounded confidence upon the privileges of the holy see, their eternal and unchangeable character, their divine origin, and their absolute independence of all human or even ecclesiastical ordinance. "The Roman Church," he wrote, "encompasses and comprehends within herself all the nations of mankind, she being in herself the universal Church, the mirror and model of that which she embraceth with her bosom. To Peter, and to Peter alone, was committed the command to kill and eat, as in like manner he alone of all the apostles received the divine command to draw to the shore the net full of fishes.[2] Unto us has been committed that identical commission to embrace in our paternal arms the whole flock of Christ." [3] Nicholas was the first pope to promulgate or formally recognize the forged decretals, and these gave to claims which had before been vaguely and tentatively held the authority of unbroken tradition. These novel and extravagant pretensions formed a deep gulf between the East and the West.

Another wedge was the dispute over the sacramental bread in the Lord's Supper. It had been the universal custom to use ordinary (fermented) bread in the eucharist. In the ninth century the Western Church began to use unleavened bread, after the manner of the Jewish passover. This angered the East, and the bigoted and fierce Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, brought home this charge in a letter to Pope Leo IX (1048–1054).

The external events which brought about the rupture are very clear. The Emperor Michael I exchanged the throne for a monastery, (813). His son, Nicetas, a priest and monk, was a man of earnest piety. In 846 this son, who as a monk had taken the name of Ignatius, was made Patriarch of Constantinople through the influence

[1] Ch. Hist., last ed., § 46, A. 2.

[2] The pope was mistaken here. See John xxi, 10.

[3] See this letter in Baronius, ed. Pagi, ann. 867, note to § 4; Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. iii, pp. 864–871.

of the empress Theodora. The ruling spirit in the court was Bardas, uncle of Michael, a vicious, unscrupulous, and ambitious man. Bardas came into conflict with Ignatius on several occasions, and chiefly when the patriarch refused him the sacrament on account of a crime charged against him (857). For this Bardas secured the banishment of Ignatius to the island of Terebinthus. A man of eminent ability and character was nominated in his place. This was Photius, the secretary of the emperor and the captain of his bodyguard. He was hurried through all the clerical offices in a week. Ignatius would not sign his abdication, and his followers were treated with brutality. Photius resolved to appeal to Rome to arbitrate the case. The pope Nicholas sent delegates to Constantinople, and said he could not decide until he had learned the state of affairs through them. The legates were bought.

THE PHOTIAN DISPUTE.

The pope proved himself both a shrewd and a high-minded man. He saw through the shameful proceedings at Constantinople, summoned a synod at Rome (863), declared that Photius had forfeited every spiritual dignity, and pronounced against him the anathema. Photius, on his part, sent circular letters to the Eastern bishops, inviting them to a general council to be held in Constantinople in 867, and accusing the Roman Church of teaching erroneous doctrines and practices to the new Christians of Bulgaria. The quarrel thus assumed both a personal and a doctrinal character. At this council the pope was deposed and anathematized. But with the accession of a new emperor, Basil, in 867, the fatal day was postponed. He had political reasons for a reconciliation with Rome. He therefore restored Ignatius, and called a new council at Constantinople (869), called by the Latins the eighth ecumenical council. This council reinvestigated the whole matter and confirmed Ignatius in his office. Photius and Ignatius at length became fast friends, and at the death of Ignatius, in 878, Photius was made patriarch by the emperor Basil. Another ecumenical council was called at Constantinople (879), the ninth according to the Latins, and the eighth according to the Greeks. It was convened with every guarantee of support of the highest claims of Rome. But these guarantees were laughed at, and the council proceeded as though its members had never heard of the high-sounding instructions of the pope. Then the pope again launched his anathema against the East, and the schism was renewed.

We pass over the intervening disputes and come to the final break in 1054. The high-handed bigot, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, closed all the churches in the city where the Latin rites were used. In conjunction with Leo of Achrida, the

metropolitan of the Bulgarians, he addressed an epistle to John, Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, which was also to be sent to the Western clergy and to the pope himself. In this epistle, Lutherlike, he drew up a formal accusation of heresy against the Latin Church. He charged the Latins with the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper—azyma—the use of blood and things strangled, and fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday) in Lent, and called on the Western bishops to separate from the see of Rome. After various attempts at reconciliation the papal legates formally laid on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia a sentence of excommunication against the Eastern Church (1054), which Michael Cerularius and the other patriarchs solemnly returned.[1]

THE FINAL RUPTURE.

The Crusades added fuel to the fire. The Easterns were disgusted with the barbarities and excesses of the Western troops. Especially the iniquitous Crusade (1204), as Tozer says, "produced an ineradicable feeling of animosity in the minds of the Byzantine people. The memory of the barbarities of that time, when many Greeks died as martyrs at the stake for their religious convictions, survives at the present day in various places bordering on the Ægean."[2]

Nevertheless many attempts were made toward reunion, and some almost bore fruit. Latin theologians were allowed to argue their case before the Court of Constantinople. Political exigencies led the emperor Michael Paleologus to offer terms of surrender to the pope. At the council of Lyons (1274), the Eastern delegates repeated the creed with the addition of the Filioque, and swore to conform to the faith of the Roman Church and to recognize the supremacy of the pope. They were allowed to use the creed without the addition, and to practice their peculiar ecclesiastical customs. The Greeks were thoroughly enraged at these measures, and to bring them to terms the emperor resorted to the usual punishments of these times—punishments which the iconoclastic and Photian disturbances made familiar, such as scourging, mutilation, blinding, and imprisonment. But with the next emperor the Lyons union was thrown to the winds.

ATTEMPTS FOR REUNION.

At the council of Florence (1439) the last effort was made. The

[1] Neander, iii, 553–586, gives a fair and impartial account. Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. iii, pp. 348–428, gives a full history of the Photian schism. See also Milman, bk. v, ch. iv (iii, 21, ff.). The sources will be found in Hardouin, Concil., vols. v, vi; Mansi, xvi; the Byzantine Historians, and Baronius. The works of Photius are found in Migne, Patrol. Græca, ci–civ. See also Jäger, Histoire de Photius, Paris, 2d ed., 1854, and the great monograph by Hergenröther, Photius, Regensb., 1867–69. 3 vols.

[2] The Church and the Eastern Empire, p. 185.

emperor, John VII, Paleologus, went personally with the cultured and able archbishop, Bessarion of Nicæa, and many bishops, to this council, called the eighteenth ecumenical by the Latins. Here everything was at last arranged satisfactorily. The pope was acknowledged as the "successor of Peter, the chief of the apostles, and the vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians, to whom plenary power was given by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church in such a way as is set forth in the ecumenical councils and sacred canons," which the Greeks interpreted mainly as referring to the canons of Nicæa and Chalcedon, but which the Latins interpreted mainly as referring to the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. In most of the Greek texts of the Florentine articles the parts defining the primacy of the pope are either wanting or essentially modified. It was admitted that the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit as defined by the Greek Church, *ex Patre per Filium*, was really the same as the Latin formula, *ex Patre Filioque*, but the Western doctrine was maintained in the explanation: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and at the same time from the Son, and from both eternally as from one principle and one spiration."

After long disputes the Greeks surrendered also on the doctrines of purgatory and the seven sacraments. On his part the pope, Eugenius IV, promised that ships and men should be provided for the defense of Constantinople against the Turks, and that he would induce the rulers of the West to come to the rescue of the Greeks. The pope, the emperor, and the bishops subscribed to the edict amid wild rejoicings and shoutings, July 6, 1438. But once more it was all in vain. The promised supports from the West did not come. The people were bitter against their emperor and the bishops and clergy who favored the union. The churches where these ministered were deserted. On May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell before Mohammed II, and the last emperor, Constantine IX, went down in a brave fight against great odds. Mohammed confirmed the constitution of the Churches, giving the primacy over the whole Eastern Christendom to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Many of the Greeks went into Italy, Hungary, Poland, and other countries, and united with the Roman Catholic Church, or, under the name of the United Greeks, formed churches of their own, being allowed to keep their old liturgy and customs by accepting the Roman doctrine and the papal primacy.

CONCESSIONS FOR REUNION PROVE FUTILE.

The coming of the Turks has been the curse of Europe, but the final separation between the Eastern and Western Churches has been a providential gain. What would have been the fate of the

world if the Roman absolutism could have bound in its chains all of Europe and Asia it is difficult to say. The moral effect of the great fact that one half of Christendom, possessing the most ancient churches and inheriting the purest traditions, rejected the claims of the papacy was never lost on the world. On the other hand, the East was cut off from those regenerating influences which came from the Teutonic genius, and has become petrified into a cold and cheerless orthodoxy and ceremonialism. The reformation of the Holy Orthodox Church is even more hopeless than that of the Roman Catholic Church.[1]

THE SEPARATION NOT WITHOUT GAIN.

[1] See Howard, Schism Between the Orthodox and Western Churches. Lond., 1892.

CHAPTER XV.

THEOLOGY, WORSHIP, AND LIFE IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

THE fatal defect of Eastern Christianity was the invasion of the spiritual sphere by the secular arm. The progress of the Church and the development of Christian doctrine were hindered, thwarted, and perverted by the power of the emperor. The influence of the court was the bane of the Church in the East. The corresponding power of the pope at one time in secular affairs was not as pernicious, because the pope was, ostensibly at least, governed by the law of Christ, and was appealed to as often by the poor and downtrodden. The pernicious despotism of the Eastern emperors was well illustrated in the long Monothelite disputes.

To put an end to these disputes the emperor Constans, in 648, published a new religious edict, the Type.[1] It declared that an end must come to all controversy over the question of one or two wills in Christ, and that the Church should settle down to the state in which it was before these discussions arose, no person being allowed to advocate either of the theories. No one should be stigmatized as a heretic on account of them. The clergy who disobeyed this edict should be deposed, the monks banished, persons in office should forfeit their places, and those in the lower ranks should be flogged or mutilated and then banished. Pope Martin I (649–653) was the pillar of the Anti-Monothelites. As a devout and conscientious prelate he could not be silent. He called a general council at Rome (649) which condemned both the Ekthesis and the Type, and established the doctrine of the two wills, the human and the divine in Christ, and condemned all who held otherwise. This enraged the emperor. He sent to Rome, had the pope arrested, and deposed him from his bishopric, on the ground that when elected he had not obtained the imperial consent, and carried him in chains to Constantinople. After innumerable indignities and sufferings he was arraigned for trial before a court which had condemned him beforehand. He was sentenced to perpetual banishment, was transported to Chersonesus in the Crimea, arriving there May 15, 655, and, after enduring many privations and insults

THE "TYPE"—EDICT OF CONSTANS.

MARTYRDOM OF POPE MARTIN I.

[1] Ὁ τύπος περὶ πίστεως. The text of the Type will be found in Mansi, x, 1080.

with the heroic constancy and piety of a true saint, he died September 16, 655.[1] This was the first and only time that a pope was dethroned and virtually martyred by the Eastern emperor. It left a bitter memory in the mind of Western Christendom.

Another instance of this vicious despotism, which reminds one of that of Henry VIII of England, was in the case of the great theologian Maximus, the true successor of the three Cappadocians,[2] and one of the brightest lights of the Eastern Church. He had defended with acuteness the doctrines of the two natures and two wills in Christ, and, on account of his activity against the Monothelites, was twice tried and banished. In 662 he was publicly scourged through the streets of Constantinople, his tongue was cut out, his right hand cut off, and he was banished to the castle of Shemari, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, where he soon died, August 13, 662.

There were diverse currents affecting the theology of the Eastern Church. One of these was the sound and healthy teaching represented by Maximus. To him Christianity was the golden mean between the narrowness of Judaism and the breadth of paganism. The incarnation was the end of the whole creation. God became man without change of his own essence or of human nature. The end of redemption was twofold, to save man from sin and to lift him up to an unchangeable divine life. Life in believers is ever taken up into union with Christ and permeated with the principle of his divine life. DOCTRINES OF MAXIMUS.

The relation between reason and faith is luminously expressed by Maximus in this passage: "The faculty of seeking after the godlike has been implanted in human nature by its Greator; but it is first enabled to arrive at the revelation by the supervening power of the Holy Spirit. But as this original faculty has, through sin, become suppressed by the predominance of sense, the grace of the Holy Spirit must supervene to restore this faculty to its pristine freedom and purity. We cannot say that grace of itself, alone and independent of the natural faculty of knowledge, communicates to the righteous the knowledge of mysteries; for in that case we must suppose that the prophets understood nothing of what was revealed to them by the Holy Spirit. As little can we suppose that they attained to true knowledge by seeking it with the natural faculty alone; for thus we should make all supervention of the Holy Spirit superfluous. St. Paul's statement that 'The one and the selfsame Spirit, which worketh in all, divideth to every man severally as he

[1] St. Martin's letters are found in Mansi, x, 790, 1170, Jaffé, Regesta, p. 161, and Baronius, ap. ann. 649; his life in Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scrip., iii, p. 1.

[2] Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa.

will,' means that the Holy Spirit wills that which is suited to each individual, so as to guide the spiritual striving of those who are seeking after the godlike to its desired end. Accordingly, the Holy Spirit works not wisdom in the saints without a mind that is susceptible of it; he works not knowledge without the recipient faculty of reason; he works not faith without a rational conviction respecting the future and the invisible; he works not the gift of natural healing without a natural philanthropy; in a word, he produces no charisma without a recipient faculty for each. The grace of the Spirit destroys not the natural faculty, but rather makes that faculty, which has become inapt by unnatural use, once more efficient, by employing it conformably to its nature, when it leads it to the contemplation of the godlike."

In this noble declaration Maximus touches a profound truth: "He who has genuine faith in Christ has within him all the charismata collectively. But since by reason of our inactivity we are far from that active love toward him which unveils to us the divine treasures within our own souls, so we justly believe that we are without the divine charismata. If, according to St. Paul, Christ dwells in our hearts by faith, and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, then all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in our hearts. But they reveal themselves to the heart in the same proportion as the heart becomes pure through obedience to the divine commands."

Like his great master, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus inclines strongly to the theory of final universal restoration.[1] The orthodoxy of the Greek Church received its final form at the hands of John of Damascus, who had a more legal mind than Maximus but was destitute of his profound spiritual intuitions.

Another current which influenced the theology of the East may be called the mystical element. Its chief representative was the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The earliest mention of this remarkable collection of writings was in the record of a conference between the Monophysite Severians and the orthodox at Constantinople, 533. The latter objected to them. "These so-called works of the Areopagite," they said, "were unknown to Cyril and Athanasius, and if no one of the ancients quoted them how can John establish their truth?" Photius in his Bibliotheca, about 845, notices an essay by Theodorus in defense of the "genuineness of the volume (Βίβλος) of Saint Dionysius." Among the objections noticed by Theodorus are the following: The Dionysian writings are not quoted by the earlier Fathers;

THE PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

[1] See Neander, iii, 171–175; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iii, 884.

they are not mentioned in the catalogues of Eusebius; the growth of Church customs was slow, and it is "against all likelihood, or rather a mere forgery, to represent Dionysius as discussing results reached only a long time after his death;" and these writings quote an epistle of Ignatius, in the time of Trajan—a manifest anachronism. But these valid criticisms produced no effect, and the pseudo-Dionysius was soon received as a genuine work by all the theologians of the Eastern and Western Churches. He even deeply influenced Thomas Aquinas, though his editor exaggerated when he says that the "Angelic Doctor drew almost the whole of his theology out of the works of Dionysius, so that his Summa is but the hive in whose varied cells he duly stored the honey which he gathered from them."

The writings of the Areopagite are a strange blending of beautiful teaching, in which there are fine and subtle glimpses of truth and an uncouth and extravagant theosophy. There is a Unity of the three persons, who makes his loving providence to penetrate to the last things of earth, as being the beginning and cause of all things, beyond all beginnings, and enfolding all things transcendently in his infinite embrace.[1] THEOLOGY OF THE AREOPAGITE.

To be made divine (ἡ Θέωσις) is to be made like God, as far as may be, and to be made one with him. This is the common end of every hierarchy, the continuous development of love to God and the things of God, wrought by sacred means in a goodly and simple fashion; and, as a preliminary to this, the complete and unhesitating abandonment of all that is contrary to it, the recognition of things as they are, the right of knowledge, of sacred truth, the goodly participation in the mode of perfectioning, participation in the One himself, as far as may be, the feast of the beatific vision which nourishes intellectually and makes divine everyone who strains aloft to behold it.[2] He who is the cause of all things, through excess of goodness, loves all things, sustains all things, turns all things to himself."[3] Evil, as such, does not exist. All things that exist, so far as they exist, are good and spring from the good; so far as they are deprived of the good they are neither good nor existent.[4] Robert Browning is quoted by Westcott as giving an echo of this thought:

> "There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before.
> The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;
> What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
> On the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven a perfect round."[5]

[1] De Cœl. Hier., vii, 4. [2] De Eccl. Hier., i, 3. [3] De Div. Nom., iii, 1.
[4] *L. c.*, iv, 20. Compare with this the teaching of Mrs. Eddy in "Christian Science." [5] Abt Vogler.

The Areopagite held that man must attain to the divine by initiation into the sacred mysteries, by priestly consecration, and by the six sacraments. The divine birth of baptism has its completion in the consecration of the dead, or anointing of the body. We need not concern ourselves with the historical Christ, but "always with the heavenly Christ; not about the reconciliation, but only about the mystical living fellowship of God and man, about the immediate vision and enjoyment of God's glory." On the Areopagite's relation to Platonism and Christianity, Westcott well says:

"The progressive revelation of the infinite, the hierarchic triads, the conception of evil as a negation and a defect, the striving toward union with the One, the resolution of all that is partial into being which transcends all special definition, are common to both the Dionysian system and that of the later Neoplatonists. Thus it is not difficult to see that Dionysius so far borrows ideas which had their source elsewhere than in the Christian Church. But while this is conceded most fully his treatment of them nevertheless claims the merit of originality. However devotedly he may have studied Proclus or Damasius, he studied them as a Christian. He starts always from the Bible,[1] and not from Plato. He endeavors to obey his own lesson, and welcomes truth wherever he finds it, but revelation is his touchstone of truth. He is, so to speak, the extreme result of the speculative school of Greek theology; and in this aspect his writings, strangely incomplete, one-sided, even dangerous as they may appear to us, are of deep interest at a crisis when it is impossible not to see the brightest hope for Christendom in a living appreciation of the Greek Fathers; for it is not too much to say that a work remains for Greek divinity in the nineteenth century hardly less pregnant with results than that wrought by the Greek classics in the fifteenth."[2]

[1] De Cœl. Hier., vi, 2.

[2] Dionysius the Areopagite, in Religious Thought in the West, Lond., 1891, pp. 142–198, p. 187, originally contributed to Contemp. Rev., May, 1867. See also Coletus, Super Opera Dionysii; Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius, by Dean Colet, now first published with a transl., introd. and notes by Lupton, Lond., 1869; Meyer, Dion. Areop., Halle, 1845; F. Hipler, Dion. der Areop., 1861; Niemeyer, Dion Areop., Halle, 1867; Kanakis, Dion. d. Areop. nach seinem Character als Philosoph dargestellt, Leipz., 1881; Möller in Herzog-Plitt; Ueberweg, Hist. of Philosophy, Lond. and N. Y., 1872, i, 349–352; Dräseke, Dionysiaka, in Zeitsch. wissenschaftl. Theologie, 1882, 300, ff; Loofs, in Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1884, col. 554, f. Westcott conjectures that the Dionysian writings were composed 480–520, either at Edessa or under the influence of the Edessene school. This date is accepted by most scholars. The excellent ed. of Corderius, Antw., 1634, is reprinted by Migne, Paris, 1857, with additions. The notes of Corderius show the debt of Aquinas to Dionysius.

The divine Maximus, of whom we have spoken above, drank deeply at the Dionysian fountain. So also did another great and noble theologian of the mystic school, Nicolas Cabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, who died about 1354. These and other mystics heartily accepted the dogmas and customs of the Church. Their more spiritual and spiritualizing conceptions of truth could do but little toward preventing the deadening monotony and formalism of the Eastern State Church, with its despotic rigorism and devotion to barren formulas.

THE HESYCHASTS.

An extreme development of this mystical tendency appears in the Hesychasts, or Resting Ones, of the monastery of Mount Athos, in Thessaly. In order to obtain the vision of God the monks would go each to his cell, and, kneeling there in devotion, the chin on the breast, the eyes fixed on the navel, and the breath held as long as possible, would rest thus until an ecstatic joy sprung up in their hearts and a bright light surrounded them. They called themselves the Resting Ones, ἡσυχάζοντες, though their great opponent, Barlaam, called them Navel-souls, ὀμφαλόψυχοι. They said that the light which rewarded their long contemplation was the heavenly and uncreated light which transfigured our Lord on Mount Tabor. Efforts were made to have them condemned, but in vain. The council of Constantinople (1341) approved the doctrine of uncreated divine light, which, as divine activity, is to be distinguished from the divine essence. Other synods also upheld them.[1]

THE PAULICIANS.

It remains to speak of the heretical current of Eastern theology. A powerful factor for a time was the Paulician heresy. This sect was founded by Constantine, of Mananalis, a community near Samosata, infected with the dualistic virus of Manichæism. Constantine made his appearance as a religious reformer about 660 at Kibossa, in Armenia. He was an intense student of the New Testament, and set out to substitute Pauline Christianity for the falsified Christianity of the Church. But in doing this he could not rid himself of the Eastern conceptions. He opposed the good God to the Creator and Lord of the world. The Old Testament he repudiated as the work of the Demiurge. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are simply symbols of Christ's word and life and are not to be literally observed. Christ did not have a real human body. The Paulicians insisted upon inward piety, but forbade fasting and allowed marriage. Their ecclesiastical constitution was

[1] On the Hesychasts, see J. Cantacuzenus, Hist., Bonn, 1828–32, 3 vols., also in Migne, Pat. Gr., vols. 153, 154; Natal. Alex., H. E., viii, 90; Stein, Studien über die Hesychasten des xiv Jahrhunderts, Vienna, 1874.

very simple, rejecting the hierarchy and priesthood, and going back to the simple method of the apostolic times. They rejected all the ceremonies and creature worship of the dominant Church. They urged the study of those parts of the New Testament which they held to be valid.

Constantine went as an evangelist throughout the surrounding country and won converts everywhere. Finally, persecution was hurled against him. He was stoned to death (685), and the imperial officer who carried out the decree was so impressed with the heroism of the martyr that he himself joined the sect, was made their head, and died at the stake in 690. In spite of opposition and internal dissensions the sect grew. Sergius was the second founder (801–835). It is said that a hundred thousand Paulicians lost their lives in Armenia, so determined was the imperial government to root them out. The empress Theodora (1054–56) was the Bloody Mary of this persecution. In 970 the emperor John Tzimisces transported a remnant of them to Philippopolis, in Thrace, and promised them religious freedom if they would guard the frontiers against the Scythians. They gradually disappeared, emerging, probably, in the Euchites and Bogomili. In the early part of the present century it was reported that there were still Paulicians living at Philippopolis.[1]

The Paulicians were not a branch of the Manichæans, as the elder writers used to hold. They were rather an echo of the Marcionite heresy, occasioned by a reaction from the dead ceremonialism of Eastern Christianity, in the interest of a simpler and purer faith, but weighed down with the curse of the dualism of the Orient.[2]

THE THONDRACIANS AND EUCHITES.

Related to the Paulicians were the Thondracians, organized by Sembat (833–845), at Thondrake, a town southwest of the Upper Euphrates. He amalgamated the Parsee Gnostic pseudo-Christian sect of the Arevurdi, or Children of the Sun, with some Paulicians, and by a mixture of Christian, Persian, and Manichæan doctrines he became a powerful irritant to the Church. This sect won a notable convert in 1002 in the Armenian bishop, Jacobus, who gave them a more Christian color.

[1] Constantine, Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Φιλλιππουπόλεως, Vienna, 1819, p. 27, quoted by Schmidt, in Herzog.

[2] The original authorities for the Paulicians are Photius, in Gallandi, xiii, 603; Petrus Siculus, ed. by Gieseler, Gött., 1846; Joh. Oxniensis, Opera, ed. by Aucher, Venice, 1834. See Schmidt, Historia Paulicianorum Orientalium, Copenh., 1826; Gieseler, Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Paulicianer, in Stud. u. Krit., 1829; A. Lombard, Paulicianus, Gen., 1879; Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. i, München, 1890.

He opposed the Armenian custom of slaying animals as an oblation at the love feasts. The sect was persecuted, but not exterminated.[1]

The Euchites were a revival of the ancient Euchites,[2] who held that prayer—hence the name—was the only means of grace. They were also thoroughly dualistic. God had two Sons, the elder, who created the world, who is to be feared, and the younger, who chose the things of heaven, and is to be loved. All kinds of excesses were charged against the Euchites, but we have no reliable information. They appeared in Thrace in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The Bogomiles,[3] in Bulgaria, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, presented a curious medley of dualistic Gnostic Christian teachings. They were an ignorant sect, and reveled in the most extravagant and fantastic doctrines of the fruitful Eastern imagination. The emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), under pretext of wishing to become a convert, enticed their great leader, Basil, to Constantinople, and there drew from him a full description of their doctrines. A scribe behind a curtain was taking notes of the conversation. The emperor kept Basil in custody, and condemned him to be burned in the Hippodrome (1118). The Bogomile doctrines spread even into Church circles. Two Cappadocian bishops were deposed as adherents in 1143, at a synod in Constantinople.[4] A wholesome effect of the Bogomile propaganda was the opinion that Catholic baptism was ineffective in itself; that every true Christian becomes such only through instruction, self-denial, and spiritual transformation. THE BOGOMILES.

It is interesting to notice the persistency of the old Gnosticism in Eastern Christianity. Not one of these sects had any firm grasp on the evangelical principle of faith. They had, therefore, no effect on the transformation of the East. Having no idea of a truly biblical theology they had nothing to save them from being overcome by the vagaries of oriental Gnosticism.

The Greek Christianity of the Middle Ages differed but little from that of to-day. The Greek Church still remains stagnant. As it was in the eighth century so is it in the twentieth. The wor-

[1] Möller (of Kiel), Ch. Hist., Middle Ages, p. 288; Chamchean, Geschichte von Armenien, ii, 884.

[2] Epiph., Hær., xxx; Theod., H. E., iv, 11.

[3] The name means friends or lovers of God. Some derive it from *Bog*, God, and *Mil*, mercy.

[4] Enth. Zyg., Narratio de Bogomilis, ed. Gieseler, Gött., 1841; also ed. Migne, vol. 128; J. C. Wolf, Hist. Bogomilorum, Wittenb., 1712; Razki, Bogomilli Catareni, Agram, 1869; Jacobi in Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch., ix, 507; Döllinger in Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters, Munich, 1890, 2 vols.

ship, the monastic system, and the territorial divisions remain as before. The Roman Church has been alert for new worlds to conquer, has adapted itself to new conditions, has thrust out new agencies, and has taken an eager interest in every new political development. The Greek Church has been held in the bonds of a heavy formalism. It has stood guardian over the orthdoxy of the ecumenical councils, and thus escaped the later heresies of Rome. But it has lost the principle of growth. It has looked backward continually. One cause of this has been the icy hand of the State, which has overawed the Church and prevented any free development. Another cause has been the despotic nature of the civil government, which made impossible the free play of forces necessary for the growth of both civil and religious ideas and institutions. A third cause of the stagnation of Eastern Christianity has been the fact that it has been so hemmed in and oppressed by Mohammedan and other hostile influences that it has been thrown back in antagonism, resting on the glory of its history and the strength of its traditional orthodoxy.[1]

THE STAGNATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

The worship of the Greek Church is mostly the performance of ceremonies without life or edification. The noble example of St. John Chrysostom was little heeded, and the preaching was barren. Great preaching can only exist with a free pulpit, and the Greek pulpit was in bondage. Psalms and hymns were drawn out with a nasal intonation in a way alike destitute of music and devotional feeling. In the modern Russian Church melody is cultivated, but both in this Church and in the mediæval Eastern Church all instrumental music was, and is, strictly prohibited. There were great hymn writers—Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Cosmas of Jerusalem.

WORSHIP AND SACRAMENTS IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

In baptism the necessity of immersion is maintained, ordinary bread is used in the Lord's Supper, and both elements are given to communicants. In these three particulars the Greek Church differs from the Latin. The communion service is celebrated behind a high screen, iconostasis, completely out of view of the congregation. This service is elaborate, and every effort is made to make it mysterious and awe-inspiring. It appeals only to the worshiper's sense of mystery. The confessional, with the corruptions thus ensuing, is absent from the Greek Church.

Harshness and austerity have been pointed out as characteristics of the Greek faith. These even appear in the paintings, which are ghastly and forbidding. Frescoes of gaunt saints and naked

[1] See Tozer, The Church and the Eastern Empire, pp. 38, 39.

hermits cover the walls of the churches. "Long as Lent" is a Greek proverb. There are four great periods of fasting in the year, the Fast of the Apostles, originally seven weeks; the August fast of fourteen days, which comes before the Feast of the Repose of the Virgin; the Fast of the Nativity; and Lent. In all two hundred and twenty-six days are observed as fasts, and these fasts are strictly kept, and are very rigorous. Eggs, cheese, milk, meat, and fish are forbidden. All the beautiful ethics of Christ were trampled under foot in the fierce conflicts of Eastern ecclesiasticism, but the self-inflictions of Lent must be duly observed.

AUSTERITY OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

There were men who lifted their voices against the prevailing corruption. Constantine Chrysomalus and Niphon, monks, gathered around them devout souls, who applied themselves to the reformation of manners. The Church hurled anathemas against both. Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica (died 1194), did all in his power to win the Church back to a purer life. He was a Greek scholar, but did not neglect his Bible for his Homer, and his voice was like the note of a clarion for a better Church. These, however, were voices in the wilderness. They did not affect the low level of the ordinary ecclesiastical life.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONVERSION OF GERMANY.

UNCERTAINTY AS TO FOUNDERS OF GERMAN CHRISTIANITY.

No one knows who first planted Christianity in Germany. Soldiers of the Roman army may have told the story of the cross to the natives, and such seed may have borne fruit. Germans living within the empire may have carried back to their brethren the news of the Gospel. Justin Martyr says that there is no race of Greeks or barbarians, not even those who dwell in their wagons or their tents, "such as the Scythians and Sarmatians, among whom prayers are not made to God the Father of the world in the name of the Lord Jesus." Tertullian says that the Scythians, Sarmatians, the Dacians and Germans hold in honor the name of Christ. Arnobius and Irenæus, in the third century, speak in similar strain. Pope Innocent I (402–417) says that there is no Church in Italy, or in the Gauls—including in that term the territories bordering on the Rhine and Upper Danube—which had not been founded by a bishop who had owed his institution to St. Peter or his successors. These expressions, while extravagant, contain an element of truth.[1] Athanasius found at Treves a center of orthodoxy. Jerome resided there, and wrote some of his books there. We have already seen the conversion of the Goths on the Lower Danube under Ulfilas. In the fifth century there were bishoprics at Treves, Cologne, Tongres, Metz, and Toul among the Belgic or semi-Teutonic Gauls, at Coire, Laybach, Pettau, and Lorch, in the south of Germany, and at Tiburium, in Dalmatia.[2]

Nevertheless, this Christianization was superficial and partial. Wars and incursions swept away the peaceful results of these sporadic efforts. The German tribes, roaming through their vast primeval forests, were pagans still.

SEVERINUS.

One of the first of the missionaries was Severinus, the apostle of Noricum, or Austria. In the second half of the fifth century he appeared near what is now Vienna, to restore the broken paths; for, in the desolations of those times, what

[1] See Merivale, The Conversion of the West: the Continental Teutons, p. 28.
[2] Merivale, *l. c.*, p. 31.

religion the tribes had was forgotten. He had long lived in the East, but his speech was that of a Roman. He built a rude hut near the gates of Faviana (Vienna), and his austere, holy, and devoted life soon began to influence the people. His life as told by Eugippus, his friend and assistant, and preserved to us by the Bollandists, is full of marvels. He did not content himself with preaching the Gospel, but like Oberlin, of this later day, he busied himself also with the material interests of the people. He had that wise and sagacious insight into the best things for the temporal welfare which distinguished the New England pastors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He provided means of communication and directed the best plans of defense. He formed militia, and caused the town to adopt a municipal organization. When the great Roman towns on the Danube fell one after another into the hands of the barbarians he effected for the most part a peaceable transfer of the institutions of the empire. He devised a system of relief. He urged upon the rich the payment of a tenth for the relief of their brethren and the redemption of the captives. The rich neglected this duty, and were severely denounced by the holy Severinus. He was utterly unselfish. His memory still lingers throughout Austria as a blessed fragrance. He was a great pioneer of Christian civilization. His work in actual conversion was limited. The Rugians and Heruli remained mostly Arian and the Allemanni mostly pagan. It was only a century later, under the missionary zeal of St. Gregory, that the work of Severinus was completed.[1]

AMANDUS.

Amandus, born of noble parentage in Aquitania, devoted himself to the conversion of the Frisians in the North. He worked in what is now Belgium (630). It appears from somewhat conflicting reports that he was at first unsuccessful, and solicited Dagobert, King of the Franks, to compel the people to be baptized. This enraged the high-spirited pagans, and they repeatedly threw him into the Scheldt. Later he learned wisdom and tried to win them by love. The restoration of a criminal, after he had been hung and prematurely cut down, so impressed the natives that they crowded to baptism. Amandus is called the

[1] For life of Severinus, see Bollandists' ed. of Acta Sanctorum, Jan. 1, 488; Pez, Script. Rer, Austr., i, 62; Tillemont, Mém., xvi, 178–181; Stokes in Smith and Wace; Klippel in Herzog-Plitt; Vita, ed. by Sauppe, Berl., 1878; Sembera, Wien d. Wohnsitz u. Sterbeort d. heil. Severin, Wien, 1882; Neander, Ch. Hist., iii, 25–27, and Christian Life in the Middle Ages, pp. 333–341, where several anecdotes from Eugippus's Life of him are given; Merivale, The Continental Teutons, in series on The Conversion of the West, chap. iv.

"Apostle of Belgium," but to that honor his title is doubtful. He was made Bishop of Maestricht (646), and died about 648.[1]

When we come to Eligius we stand on more solid ground. He was a fellow-countryman of Amandus, born near Limoges. As a worker in gold he gained favor in the courts of Clotaire II and Dagobert I. While still a layman he built a monastery and numerous churches in and around Limoges. In 640 he was ordained to the priesthood and consecrated Bishop of Noyon. His piety and fidelity produced a marked impression. He soon became dissatisfied with the too easy life of a bishop, and "flung himself vehemently into the rude and trackless plains of Guldres and Friesland," where he confronted savages who had never seen a messenger of Christ. Slowly, by the purity and unselfishness of his life and the earnestness of his preaching, he broke down their savage opposition, and won many of them to his baptisms at every paschal season. He threw himself against the pagan indulgences and superstitions of many of the nominal Christians of his territory. On a great feast day he stood up in front of a church near Noyon and denounced in strong language the pagan amusements. "Preach as much as thou pleasest, thou Roman,"[2] the populace cried, "but thou art not permitted to abolish our ancient customs; no man shall prohibit our ancient amusements, which give us so much pleasure." He tried to reform their wild drinking-bouts and fighting feasts. Eligius was a bishop and missionary of apostolic mold. He died at Noyon in 658 or 659.[3]

ELIGIUS.

[1] Some place his death at 679. It is difficult to construct a consistent account of his life. His life in Mabillon, Acta Bened., Sæc. ii, 681; Smedt, Vie de St. Amand, 1861; Gosse, Essai sur St. Amand, 1866; Ebrard, Iroschottische Missionskirche, 1873; Merivale, *l. c.*, 82–84. He had a conflict with the Irish missionaries, who worked with success in those regions.

[2] These were Teutons, or Franks. Eligius was of Gallo-Roman family.

[3] His life by St. Ouen, his disciple, with perhaps later enlargements, will be found in D'Achery, Spicilegium, ii, 76–123, and, in part, in Bouquet, iii, 552–561. It has been transl. into French, with notes, by Charles Barthelemay in Études historiques sur le VII^e^ Siècle, Paris, 1847. His Officium will also be found in the same work. For some sermons ascribed to him, but of doubtful authorship, see Bibl. Max. Patr., Lyons, 1677, xii, 300–322. His celebrated sermon against the heathen practices and superstitions of the Christians, which really belongs to Cæsarius of Arles, is translated by Maitland in his Dark Ages, Lond., 6th ed., 1890, pp. 136–147, 178–181, with caustic comments on the ignorant and perverted use of it by W. Robertson, Mosheim, Maclaine, and White in Bampton Lectures. Maitland also gives his life as a layman, pp. 107–126. Various legendary features of his life are given in Jacques le Vasseur, Annales de l'Église cathedrale de Noyon, Paris, 1633. For his missionary work see Rettberg, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, ii, 508; Merivale, *l. c.*, 79–81;

The most romantic efforts for the Christianization of Germany were the result of the overflow of the missionary zeal of the Irish. The Celtic Church of the British Islands was rich in monasteries, literature, and consecrated men. With flaming zeal the Celtic monks issued out from their cloisters to spread the Gospel and its institutions.[1] They were the missionaries of the seventh century. The headquarters of the Celtic Church was Ireland, a country which had received Christianity with enthusiasm. With an amusing and pardonable exaggeration the liberal Catholic Count de Montalembert speaks thus of the "Island of Saints:" "From the moment that this Green Erin, situated at the extremity of the known world, had seen the sun of faith rise upon her, she had vowed herself to it with an ardent and tender devotion which became her very life. The course of ages has not interrupted this; the most bloody and implacable of persecutions has not shaken it; the defection of all northern Europe has not led her astray; and she maintains still amid the splendors and miseries of modern civilization and Anglo-Saxon supremacy an inextinguishable center of faith, where survives, along with the completest orthodoxy, that admirable purity of manners which no conqueror and no adversary has ever been able to dispute, to equal, or to diminish."[2]

IRISH MISSIONARIES TO GERMANY.

Columban was born in Leinster (543). He was educated at the monastery at Bangor, on the coast of Down, under the Holy St. Cungall. Finally, he felt the passion of the Scots for pilgrimage,[3] and yielded to the call to carry the cross to regions beyond. With twelve other monks he sailed for France about 585. He traversed the country, preaching and admonishing clergy and bishops. Gondran, the best of the grandsons of Clovis, urged him to settle in his dominions. He settled first at Annegray, now a hamlet of the commune of Faucogney, in Haute-Saône. He was near to nature's heart. His biographer says that he would leave his companions to plunge into the woods, where he would stay for days together. He had that strange power over nature which Thomas Hughes says, in his study of the Manliness of Christ, has been shown by many simple and true-hearted souls, and which might

COLUMBAN.

Neander, Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages, pp. 374–385, who gives anecdotes and extracts from his prayers and sermons; Maclear, Apostles of Mediæval Europe, pp. 77–86.

[1] "In exteras etiam nationes, quasi inundatione facta illa se sanctorum examina effuderunt"—S. Bernard, Vita S. Malach., v.

[2] Monks of the West, ii, 389.

[3] "Scottorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est."—Wal. Strabo, De Mirac. S. Galli, ii, 47.

be had by everyone who could attain unto something of Christ's cordial attitude toward the lower world. The birds received his caresses and the squirrels hid themselves in the folds of his cloak. The wolves passed him unmolested and the brigands went their way without seeing him.[1] He moved to Luxeuil in 590, where he established a larger monastery. It was a wild spot among the defiles of Burgundy. It was made to bloom by the labors of the monks of Columban. He was soon the governor of three monasteries. Labor and prayer went together. He drew up his drastic rule for the government of his monks. All were bound to agriculture. No allowance was made for any weakness. Even the sick threshed the wheat. The monk must go to rest so fatigued that he should fall asleep on the way, and must get up before he had slept sufficiently. The obedience required was absolute. It went beyond the rule of St. Benedict and of the Jesuits. All the monks, both the sick and the well, were allowed only meal moistened with water and a small loaf. Fasting was a daily exercise, and the monks were to eat only in the evening. Corporal punishment was reduced to a fine art. The rule of St. Benedict reserved beating for the most incorrigible criminals, but the rule of Columban prescribed it for the most insignificant omissions. The number of strokes inflicted on delinquents varied from six to two hundred —the maximum penalty being reserved for the unhappy monk who had spoken to a woman without the presence of a third person. But even this penalty, strange to say, could be commuted to two days' fasting on bread and water.[2]

SEVERITY OF COLUMBAN.

But in spite of this severity the courageous and uncompromising Irishman saw multitudes of men, rich and poor, gather around him. He had no lack of disciples to the end of his life. This assured position gave him vantage ground as a sort of spiritual dictator to the whole Church. His intense devotion and piety went hand in hand with a lofty pride and a sense of command. He wrote to bishops, and even to the pope, urging fidelity and zeal. He rebuked the worldly priesthood. He insisted on his own Irish method of tonsure and mode of computing Easter—not as making it obligatory on the Roman or Gallic Church, but as within his liberty.

COLUMBAN'S SUCCESS.

Columban at length was forced to leave his Burgundian monasteries on account of the enmity of Brunehilde, the grandmother of King Theodoric II. In order to increase her own power in the

[1] Jonas, Vit. S. Col., 14–16, 26, 30.

[2] See Seebass, Ueber Columba von Luxeuel's Klosterregel und Bussbuch, Dresden, 1883.

court Brunehilde had encouraged her grandson in his evil living. The brave missionary had repeatedly rebuked him for his adulteries, and neither the threats nor arts of Brunehilde could turn aside his fearless denunciations. He was arrested twice in 610, taken to Besançon, and, with his Irish companions, made his way to the King of Soissons and Neustria, Clotaire II, and finally determined to take up the purely missionary work of his first love.[1] He came to Bregentz, on Lake Constance, and attempted the conversion of the Sueves and Alemanni, worshipers of Woden. His principal assistant was Gallus, who could preach in German as well as Latin. But the methods of Columban were too impetuous. Sometimes he and his monks broke the boilers in which the pagans prepared beer to offer as a sacrifice to Woden; sometimes they burned the temples and threw into the lake the gilded idols. They claimed a few converts, but such summary methods made their stay there impossible.

COLUMBAN AND GALLUS.

With a single disciple Columban crossed the Alps and found an asylum on the plains of Lombardy, under the friendly Agilulf and his wife Theodolind. Agilulf gave him Bobbio, in the Apennines, between Milan and Genoa, not far from Trebbia, where Hannibal had vanquished the Romans. Here the indomitable Irishman bent his old shoulders under the weight of the beams of fir, and built his last home. From this monastery he carried on his fight against the Arians and held aloft the torch of knowledge and truth for northern Italy. The monastery of Bobbio became one of the most celebrated in the Middle Ages. Its school and library were excelled by few. Muratori has given a catalogue of seven hundred manuscripts which it possessed in the tenth century. Hither came the famous palimpsest from which Cardinal Mai published the De Republica of Cicero. The monastery was suppressed under the French in 1803. The church still serves as a parish church.

Columban wrote a remarkable letter to the pope on the troubles and heresies of the times. He uses more extravagant laudation of the papal seat than he would have done in Gaul or Ireland, but it is evident that this is a mere matter of courtesy. He rebukes and lectures the pope freely. In fact, Montalembert acknowledges that "some of the expressions he employs would now be regarded as disrespectful and justly rejected. But in those young and vigorous times faith and austerity could be more indulgent."[2] Columban says that the spiritual leadership of

COLUMBAN'S LETTER TO THE POPE.

[1] "Mei voti fuit gentes visitare Evangelium eis a nobis prædicari: sed fel modo referente eorum teporem, pene meum tulit inde amorem."—Ep. ad Fratres.

[2] Monks of the West, ii, 440.

the Roman Church exists only so long as "right reason" remains with her, and that nothing she says can stand against the faith of the universal Church.[1] He clings tenaciously to his own Irish customs, and is scandalized at the looseness and heresies of the South. He contrasts the harmony and uncorrupted faith of the Irish Church with the divisions and quarrels he sees in Italy. "We Irish," he says, "who inhabit the extremities of the world, are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the other apostles who have written under dictation of the Holy Spirit. We receive nothing more than the apostolic and evangelical doctrine. There has never been either a heretic, a Jew, or a schismatic among us." He says that the labors of St. Peter and St. Paul place Rome at the head of the Churches, except only that of Jerusalem, which stands at the head of universal Christendom in virtue of the resurrection of the Lord.

COLUMBAN'S RELATIONS TO THE PAPACY.

On the relations of Columban to the papal see two extreme views should be avoided. On the one hand is the opinion of Ebrard, Michelet, and others, which represents him as a sort of Luther of the seventh century, and, on the other, that of modern Roman controversialists which represents him as fully accordant with the claims of Rome. Columban had no other thought than that of respecting the Roman Church as in a sense the mistress and spiritual guide of the Church, but he was far from regarding her as the infallible organ of the Holy Ghost, whose will in all things was binding. No one would have rejected such a claim more earnestly than this imperious, impassioned, yet humble and pious leader of the British missionary forces on the continent.[2] Columban did not long survive his Bobbio foundation. He died in 615, aged seventy-two. Columban was also a poet. He wrote, mostly in hexameter, pious strains against the vanities of the world. One is in jingling advice against the love of money, in which are many examples of the evil influences of such love taken from ancient mythology. He gives directions as to the composition of this kind of verse, and says it was invented by Sappho:

Sed tamen illa
Trojugenarum
Inclita vates
Nomine Sappho
Versibus istis
Dulce solebat
Edere carmen.

[1] See Neander, iii, 85.

[2] "He cannot be cited," says Kelly, of Maynooth, "as a witness to the ultramontane opinion of the pope's infallibility." Dissertations on Irish Ch. Hist., Dubl., 1864, p. 265. See Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, pp. 46–49.

His other works are his Rule, his Penitentiary, his Instructions, his Sermons, and Letters.[1]

Gallus, the Irish companion of Columban, pressed farther on than his leader into the wilds of the mountains, until he came to the banks of the Steinach, where he and his companions built their oratory, about 612. Many interesting legends are told of his encounters with the demons and beasts of the mountains. He labored for the salvation of the heathen around him, and soon acquired such fame for wisdom and holiness that the see of Constance in 612, and the abbacy of the Luxeuil monastery in 625, were offered him. He declined both. He pursued his evangelistic labors among the Allemanni and Suabians, and earned the title of the "Apostle of Switzerland." His monastery of St. Gall became one of the most celebrated centers of learning in the Middle Ages. He died 645, at the age of ninety-five.[2] GALLUS.

Three other Irish monks labored in Germany. Fridolin founded the monastery of Säkingen, on the Rhine, near Bâle. Trudbert went to Breisgau, in the Black Forest, where he is said to have been murdered, and where a monastery, south of Freiburg, in Breisgau,

[1] Wright, Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Saxon Period, Lond., 1842, pp. 142–162, gives an account of his life and writings, with a list of editions. The Life of Columban and of his Disciples, by Jonas, Abbot of Bobbio, is found in Mabillon, Acta Sanct., ii. This and his own writings in Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. 80. The less authoritative Lives of Fridolin, Trudbert, and Permin in Mone, Quellensammlung f. d. badische Landesgeschichte, i, Karlsruhe, 1848. The works of Columban were also edited by Fleming, with Life by Jonas, etc., Collectanea Sacra, Louvain, 1667. His life and some of his works are also in Messingham, Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Vitæ et Actæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Paris, 1624, fol., pp. 408–411. His life is translated in the University of Pennsylvania's Translations and Reprints, vol. ii, No. 7, 1895. On Columban, see Ebrard, Die iroschottische Missions-Kirche, Güters., 1873; Hauck, Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, vol. i, Leipz., 1887; Friedrich, Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, Hamb., 1867–69, 2 vols.; O. Seebass, Ueber Columba von Luxeuel's Klosterregel und Bussbuch, Dresd., 1888; Maclear, Apostles of Med. Europe, pp. 57–72; Milman, ii, 236–246; Neander, Ch. Hist., iii, 29–35, Memorials of Christian Life in Middle Ages, pp. 434–449; Montalembert, Monks of the West, ii, pp. 385–451; Killen, Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, i, 40–49; Gammack and Hone in Smith and Wace, art. Columbanus (I); W. Werner, in Herzog-Plitt; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 263, ff.; Hertel, Ueber des heil. Columba Leben und Wirken, bes. seine Klosterregel, in Zeitsch. für hist. Theol., 1875, 396, ff., and an art. in Brieger's Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., 1879, 145, ff.

[2] Walafrid Strabo, Vita St. Galli, A. D. 842–849, in Mabillon, Acta SS. O. S. B., ii, 215, ff.; in Messingham, Flor. Ins. Sanct., 255, ff.; and in Migne, vol. 113. Vita St. Galli hactenus inedita, ex MS. St. Gall, is pub. by Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist., ii, 1, ff. There are lives and discussions in German, by Greit, Rettberg, Hefele, Haid, and Wartman. See Gammack in Smith and Wace.

bears his name. Kylian, or Cilian, the apostle of Franconia, with some companions, went to Würzburg, where he baptized Duke Gozbert. He was finally murdered (685) by Gozbert's wife on account of his stern denunciations of the marriage. Geilana was the widow of Gozbert's brother. An unscriptural Church law was thus responsible for this needless martyrdom.

The English entered into this ardent missionary impulse. St. Egbert urged it on. Under his exhortations Willibrord, a native of Northumberland, educated under Sir Wilfrid at Ripon and in Ireland, embarked with seven companions for Frisia, at the mouth of the Rhine, 690. Radbod was the native prince of the Frisians, and an uncompromising heathen. Willibrord began his labors in the part of the country under the protection of Pepin l'Heristal, who had recently broken the power of Radbod. At Pepin's advice he went to Rome, and was invested with the bishopric of Utrecht. He evangelized parts of Frankish Frisia, built several churches and monasteries, appointed presbyters and bishops, and consolidated Christianity throughout his diocese. He visited Denmark on an evangelizing tour, but could make no impression on the ferocious king, Ongend. After a life of zealous work for the Gospel Willibrord died at Epternæ, about 740. Alcuin describes him as "eminent in dignity, symmetrical in stature, honorable in look, attractive in face, happy in heart, wise in counsel, jocund in speech, composed in manner, and strenuous in all the work of God."[1]

WILLIBRORD.

Other Englishmen followed in the wake of Willibrord. Adelbert labored in the north of Holland, Werenfrid near Elste, and Wiro among the people of Guldres. The brothers Hewald (Ewald) were martyred by the Saxons before they could strike a blow for Christ.[2] Thomas Smith remarks that it is doubtful if England to-day sends as many missionaries into foreign lands as she did in the seventh and eighth centuries into Frisia alone, and adds: "From all our Scottish Churches there do not go forth as many heralds of salvation as went forth from our shores in the beginning of the seventh century."[3]

OTHER ENGLISH MISSIONARIES.

[1] Vita S. Will., ch. 28, in Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum O. S. B., sec. iii, pt. 1, 561, ff., and in Migne, vol. 101. Alcuin also wrote an abridgment of this in verse, which is also in the great collections. See St. Boniface's Letter to Pope Stephen, in Migne, vol. 89, 787; Bede, H. E., v, 10, 11; Diplomata S. Willibrordi, in Migne, vol. 89, 535, ff. Gammack in Smith and Wace; Maclean, *l. c.*, ch. vii.

[2] Bede, H. E., v, 10; Acta Sanct. Boll., Oct., ii, 205–207.

[3] Mediæval Missions, Edinb., 1880, p. 112.

One of the boldest missionaries was Wulfram, Bishop of Sens, in the last quarter of the seventh century. Whether he was an Englishman is uncertain. Wulfram wrought among Radbod's Frisians, and tried to overcome their diabolical practice of sacrificing human victims to the gods. Some of these he rescued. The story is told that after he had convinced Radbod of the truth of Christianity, and had led him down into the font, the duke suddenly asked the dauntless missionary where his ancestors were—in heaven or hell. "In hell, undoubtedly," said Wulfram. "I will join my own people, then," said the king, "rather than sit down in the kingdom of heaven with a handful of beggars."[1] Wulfram died in 695, when a monk at Fontanelle. WULFRAM.

[1] This anecdote, while not improbable, has been discredited by some historians, as Rettberg, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, ii, 514–517. His Life in Mabillon, iii, i, pp. 341–348, is supposed to be interpolated, and the Bollandists substituted a shorter one, which omits the story of the duke. Maclear, Apostles of Mediæval Europe, pp. 104–109, gives some interesting anecdotes.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LABORS OF BONIFACE.

THROUGH the zeal of the Irish and the English missionaries Germany was in a fair way to become Christianized after the customs of the Celtic Church. These workers were good preachers and monks, of indomitable perseverance and courage, but they were poor organizers. They did not so articulate and bind together their scattered missions as to impress their method and ideas on the German people. It was left, therefore, for one of themselves, a greater than all, to Romanize their results. But, in spite of the success of Boniface, Germany never forgot that she had received the Gospel from the North, and the Italian yoke never became easy to the muscular Teutonic neck.

Winfrid, generally called Boniface, was born at Crediton, or Kirkton, eight miles northwest of Exeter, about 680. He was educated at the convent school of Exeter and at the monastery of Nutsall—perhaps Netley—near Winchester. He was already distinguished for his learning and ability when he was ordained, at the age of thirty. England was already converted, and Boniface longed for harder work beyond the North Sea, whither his fellows had gone. About 716, with two or three companions, he embarked for Frisia. Radbod was then in war with Charles Martel, and Boniface returned to England. The next year he embarked again, this time going directly to Rome. He was received very cordially by Gregory II, who gave him authorization to evangelize central Europe. He pressed up again into Frisia, and for three years assisted Willibrord in missionary labors. Then he plunged into the wilds of heathen Hesse, baptized two of the chiefs, and received multitudes in Hesse and on the borders of Saxony into Christianity. He founded a monastery at Amœneburg, near the Ohm.

WINFRID, OR BONIFACE.

Boniface had found that in the complicated relations between Christianity and heathenism in Germany the help and advice of Rome were not to be despised. In 723 he visited Rome again, was made bishop, without a see, and took an oath of fealty to the pope similar to that taken by the Italian bishops. This was a turning point in history. It was now determined that the German Church

should not go on in its free development after a purer type, but that it should be swung back into the wake of the Roman system. This may have been the providential plan. The mediæval civilization, with its turbulent elements, required a strong and compact Church government, and it is doubtful if the Christian fruits of the missionaries could have been conserved if religion had been organized among the European tribes in a form less solid.

Boniface, having first secured the sanction of Charles Martel, went again to Hesse. The Hessians were an important tribe, living between the Franks and the Saxons. Their complete conversion was necessary to the plans of Boniface. By a happy stroke he undermined heathenism at a blow. At Geismar, near Fritzlar, in Upper Hesse, there was a gigantic oak, sacred to Thor. This was a sacred shrine and meeting place of the people. With an ax Boniface felled the tree before their eyes. They expected him to be struck dead. The spell was broken. Out of the timbers he constructed a church. Conversions rapidly followed. The people were organized into schools. From England, with which Boniface kept up constant correspondence, he received new recruits —monks and nuns—for service. Monasteries were founded, which became mission stations and training centers; arts and sciences were introduced; and books and copyists were brought from England and Rome. To the abbess Eadburga he wrote for the epistles of Peter in gilded letters for use in preaching, and to another he wrote for copies of the gospels written in clear characters suitable for his weak eyes. He also wrote for commentaries, especially those of Bede.

SUCCESS IN HESSE.

Boniface tried to reform the disorders of the clergy. Priests were ignorant. He ordered that no one should be appointed priest who could not repeat the more important offices in the vernacular. He tried to bring the British and Irish priests to the Roman law of celibacy, but he met with bitter opposition, for they would not renounce their wives.[1] Some of the priests neglected their spiritual duties, and were lovers of the chase and of war. Others mixed Christian and pagan customs, and even sacrificed to idols. Boniface tried to bring them to better ways, but only partially succeeded. There were, however, British and Irish monks of austere and holy life, who were of great influence with the people, and resented the disposition to Romanize Germany. All this made his path full of thorns.

REFORMS OF BONIFACE.

In 738, Boniface made his third and last visit to Rome, this time

[1] The marriage of priests was allowed in the Celtic Church. The Irish synod, A. D. 456, can. 6, ordered that the wives of the clergy should always be veiled when in public. Wilkin, Concil. Angl., i, 2.

with a great retinue of monks and converts. He was made archbishop and legate, and went back with new instructions and authority. He aimed now at organization. He founded several bishoprics and arranged a synodal system. He held five of these synods, presided over by himself in the name of the pope. Laws, many of them very salutary, were passed providing for the reformation of the clergy and the Church. In 743 Boniface was made Archbishop of Mainz. In 744 he founded the great monastery at Fulda, in the wild forest of Buchenau, between Hesse and Bavaria, destined to become the Monte Casino of Germany. Over this he appointed Sturm, his assistant in Thuringia, and hither, as to a loved retreat, he occasionally resorted for rest and quiet.

LAST MISSION AND DEATH OF BONIFACE.

As Boniface advanced in years his missionary zeal became more intense. Naming Lull as his successor at Mainz, and requesting that after death his body be brought back to Fulda, he embarked on the Rhine for the northern country with a company of priests and acolytes. Some of the pagans welcomed them, and churches were organized. On June 4, 755, they had reached Dockum, on the river Burde. Here a company of heathen Frisians, enraged at their success, rushed upon them. Some in the bishop's peaceful party were preparing for resistance. He forbade them. "Let us not return evil for evil. The long-expected day is come. Strengthen yourselves in the Lord, and he will redeem your souls. Fear not those who kill the body, but put your trust in God, who will speedily bring you to heaven." He himself laid his head on a volume of the gospels, and stretched it forth for the fatal blow. He and nearly all his band were killed. For centuries after in the monastery at Fulda, whither the remains of Boniface were brought, there was preserved a blood-stained copy of St. Ambrose on the Advantage of Death which the holy Boniface had carried with him in that last journey.

CHARACTER OF BONIFACE.

Boniface does not deserve the severe denunciations of Ebrard.[1] He represents him simply as a papal emissary, a Roman spy, not a missionary, but an enslaver of Germany. In reality the Christian zeal of Boniface was unsurpassed. The simplicity of his aims, his earnest anxiety for the very best things for the German Church, his lifelong interest in his English home, his wide and living sympathies—all these are reflected in his correspondence.[2] In organizing Germany under the Roman see, he not

[1] See his Bonifatius der Zerstörer des columb. Kirchenthums auf dem Festland, Gütersl., 1882. He replies to the fairer book of Fischer, Bonifatius, der Apostel der Deutschen, 1881.

[2] See Hahn, Bonifaz und Lul, ihre angelsächs. Korrespondenten, Leipz., 1883.

only followed the drift of the age, but he was doing the best that he knew to conserve and consolidate a Christian civilization in an age of anarchy and barbarism. He was a scholar, a civilizer, and a statesman.[1]

[1] The works of Boniface have been ed. by J. A. Giles, Lond., 1844, 2 vols. There is an ed. of his epistles by Wurdtwein, Mainz, 1790, and Migne, vol. 89, and Jaffé, Bib. rerum ger. (Mon. Mog.). Hahn has proven that the sermons bearing his name are not genuine. His life was written by Willibald, a companion and eyewitness, and is in Pertz, Mon., ii, 33, and in the 12th century by Othlo, a monk of Ratisbon, who has interwoven with Willibald's narrative papal briefs, Boniface's letters and other documents. It is found in Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened., Sæc. III, pt. 2, and in Migne, vol. 89. Of modern authorities, besides those mentioned in the notes, there are Gieseler, Leben Bonifacius, Erl., 1800; Læffler, Bonifacius, Gotha, 1813; Rettberg, Kirchengesch. Deutschl., Gött., 1846; Schmerbauch, Bonifacius, Apostel der Deutschen, Erf., 1827; Seiters (R. C.), Bonifacius, Apostel der Teutschen, Mainz, 1845; Cox, Life of Boniface, Lond., 1853; Müller, Bonifacius, Amst., 1869; Hope, Boniface, Lond., 1872; Werner, Bonifacius, Leipz., 1875, and art. in Herzog-Plitt; Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschl., Leipz., 1887; Pfahler, St. Bonifacius, Regensb., 1880. In the histories there are excellent discussions by Schmidt, vol. iv; Neander, iii, 46–72, Memorials of Chr. Life in Middle Ages, 453–470; Robertson, ii (8vo ed.), 95–112; Schaff, iv, 92–100; Möller, 74–83; Milman, bk. iv, ch. v. See also Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit. (Anglo-Saxon), pp. 308–334, where list of editions is also given; I. G. Smith in Smith and Wace; Maclear, Apostles of Med. Europe, ch. viii; Trench, Mediæval Church History, pp. 60–76; and I. G. Smith, Boniface, Lond. and N. Y., 1896.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIA.

AGGRESSIONS OF THE NORTHMEN.

THE daring of the Northmen, their bold and ceaseless invasion of new territory in various parts of Europe, are among the wonders of history. Palgrave says: "Take a map and color with vermilion the provinces, districts, and shores which the Northmen visited, as the record of each invasion. The coloring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the Carlovingian dynasty. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by or against the pirates; where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burned, destroyed; and the valleys and banks of the Elbe, Rhine, and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme, and Seine, Loire, Garonne, and Adour, the inland Allier, and all the coast and coast-lands between estuary and estuary, and the countries between the river streams, will appear bristling as with *chevaux-de-frise*. The strongly fenced Roman cities, the venerated abbeys, and their dependent bourgades, often more flourishing and extensive than the ancient seats of government, the opulent seaports and trading towns, were all equally exposed to the Danish attacks, stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury." [1]

Such were the people whom Anskar and his successors brought under the scepter of Christ.

Charles the Great had foreseen the Norse devastations, and had provided against them by fortifying the river banks and ports in northern Europe. But under his feeble successors the ravages were unchecked. The Northmen, unlike the Moslems, did not wage a religious war. They went only for plunder and conquest. If they had had a Northern Mohammed to organize them into a great united force no one can tell what the result would have been.[2] But the Normans were conquered for Christ, and finally settled down in peaceful occupations in the country they invaded, becoming Englishmen in England, Frenchmen in France, and Italians in Italy.

Willibrord had crossed the Eider in 696. Harold, King of the

[1] Normandy and England, vol. i, p. 419. [2] See Milman, iii, 134.

Jutes, for political reasons sought the protection of the Franks. This formed the opening wedge. Ebo, Archbishop of Rheims, crossed the Eider in 823 at the head of an imperial embassy, and with the blessing of Pope Paschalis I. He baptized some Danes, and returned in a year with several young Jutes whom he intended to educate for missionaries. In 826 Harold received baptism at Mainz. Soon after his return there followed Anskar, the "Apostle of the North."

ANSKAR, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH.

Anskar was the son of a Frankish nobleman and was of a profound religious nature. A beautiful vision is recorded as one of the turning points of his career. He died suddenly, and at the moment of his death St. Peter and John the Baptist appeared before him. He was conducted by them to purgatory, where he passed three days in such darkness and suffocation that they seemed a thousand years. He passed on to heaven, whose glory he beheld. A voice of the most exquisite sweetness, but so clear that it seemed to fill the world, spoke to him out of the unapproachable light, "Go, and return hither, crowned with martyrdom." "On this triumphant end," says Milman, "which he gained at last, not by the sword, but by the slow mortification of his life, was thenceforth set the soul of Anskar."[1] He entered the monastery of Corbey, near Amiens. When these monks founded a new station on the Weser, east of Paderborn, as an outpost for missionary operations, Anskar was chosen prior of this monastery of New Corbey (822). When volunteers were called for to go north Anskar and his brother monk Autbert offered. On the frontiers of Schleswig they began their work (826), founding a school, buying and educating Danish slaves, redeeming Christian prisoners of war, and preaching. Misfortunes overtook the mission. Harold was driven out by his pagan subjects, and the missionaries had to flee as well.

FIRST MISSION TO SWEDEN.

Sweden was now unexpectedly opened. Some ambassadors from Sweden to the court of Louis the Pious had brought the report that there were Christian merchants and prisoners in their country who would welcome the visit of missionaries. In 830 Anskar and several companions undertook the mission. They were overtaken by Norse pirates and plundered of everything. They were able, however, to reach land. They came to Birka, on Lake Malar, the center of the northern trade, not far from the ancient capital, Sigtuna. Here they had remarkable success. Hloigar, the governor of Birka, was baptized, and built a church at his own expense. After eighteen months Anskar returned to Germany

[1] Vita S. Anskarii, in Pertz, ii, 692; Milman, iii, 188.

to seek new recruits. Then Louis made Hamburg the seat of a bishopric for that northern land, and appointed Anskar bishop (834). A cathedral was built. Anskar bought more Danish boys to educate for the priesthood and sent new laborers to the Swedes.

Suddenly the sky was darkened. Louis died in 840, Harold went back to heathenism, a pagan uprising drove out the Swedish missionaries, and the Normans descended on Hamburg and burned the city, church, monastery, and library. Anskar was now a homeless wanderer. But nothing daunted his faith. Fortune turned again. He was made Bishop of Bremen. In 850 he again ventured into Sweden, with rich presents for the king, Olaf. The king finally consented to leave the decision to the assembly of the people. The sacred lot was cast, and the decision was in favor of Christianity. Then in the Folk-thing, after many disputes, an old man arose and said that the God of the Christians had been propitious to him in saving him from shipwreck and from pirates: "It would be much wiser, since our own gods are not so favorable, to have this God also, who is so mighty and so ready a protector." This mercenary argument won the day. The assembly declared for Christianity. The work of conversion, however, proceeded slowly. It was not until over a hundred years afterward that Canute sent English missionaries over to his continental dominions, and thus completed the Christianization of Denmark and Sweden.

In Denmark Anskar set up the cross once more. As commissioner from Louis he gained the confidence of Eric, and his almsgiving and reputation as a miracle-worker produced a profound impression on rude minds. He founded a church at Sliasvig, an important trading town, and in 856 he built another at Ripe. The work of conversion went on, and under Eric II (855) toleration was granted to the Christians.

CHARACTER OF ANSKAR.

This holy and intrepid missionary was a model of ascetic excellence. He did not slacken his self-discipline after elevation to the bishopric. He wore a haircloth shirt by night and day. He not only erected a hospital at Bremen for the sick, but distributed the tenth of his income among the poor, and every five years he tithed his income afresh. He would himself wash the feet of the poor and distribute bread to them with his own hands. "One miracle I would ask of the Lord," he said, "and that is that by his grace he would make me a good man." He died in 865, without his coveted crown of martyrdom.[1]

[1] Adam, Gesta hammaburg. ecclesiæ Pontificum, rec. Lappenberg, in Monumenta Germ. Script., vol. vii ; Rimbert, Vita Anskerii, accedit vita Rimberti, rec. G. Waitz, in Mon. Ger. Script., vol. ii ; Koppmann, Die ältesten Urkunden

Hacon, son of the great king Harold Haäfager, the unifier of Norway, had been brought up in the Anglo-Saxon court, where he had been trained in the Christian faith. He returned to Norway to liberate his country from the tyranny of his brother Eric, in 934. He tried to introduce Christianity, but the fierce opposition of the chiefs would not allow it. After some tumultuous changes of government Olaf Tryggveson became king (995–1000). He had been a great traveler, and had often come in contact with Christian seers, monks, and others who made a deep impression on him. There were many Norwegians in Ireland, and these had been Christianized by the native monks and priests. In Dublin, having previously been baptized, Olaf married the daughter of Olaf Kvaran. When he acquired possession of Norway he strove to bring the country into Christianity. The way he did this is told in Snorro-Sturluson's Heimskringla, and makes interesting reading. By craft, by persuasion, by cajoling, by wrath and cruelty, he brought the country to an unwilling obedience to Christ. Olaf, the son of Tryggve, is a picturesque figure in Norwegian history. He was bent on one thing only, the total overthrow of the horrible Odinism of his fathers.

CONVERSION OF NORWAY.

His work was carried on in the same rough and uncompromising spirit of Olaf the Fat (1014–30). At length some of the alienated chiefs called in the aid of Knut of Denmark, and Olaf was slain in battle. But the imperial abruptness with which the old heathenism was laid low in Norway was followed by long and patient Christian teaching by Norse missionaries from the British islands, some of whom had been brought over by these kings. Hence when the jarls found that Knut's reign was as the sting of scorpions compared to the lash of Olaf's whip, the conversion of Norway had gone on far enough to bring about a reaction. The late king began to be remembered with affection, then revered, and finally, in 1031, was canonized as a saint. Then came the desire for the old independence. Under Olaf's son, Magnus the Good, Knut was driven out in 1035, and Christianity became the national faith of Norway.[1]

des Erzbisthums Hamburg-Bremen, Hamb., 1866; Maurer, Die Bekehrung des norwegisch. Stammes zum Christenthum, München, 1856; Tappehorn, Lebend. hl. Anskar, Münster, 1868; Maclear, Apost. of Mediæval Europe, pp. 151–171.

[1] The sources of the two Olafs, the founders of Norwegian Christianity, are: Heimskringla: Chronicle of the Norse Kings, tr. by S. Laing, Lond., 1844, 4 vols., new ed., rev. by R. B. Anderson, Lond., 1889. Also tr. by Morris and Magnusson, Lond., 2 vols., 1891. This is one of the great historical books of the world. It was written by Snorro-Sturluson, 12th cent. A new ed., with Introd. and notes, by York Powell, is in preparation. Olafs Saga, udgivet Munich and Unger, Christiana, 1853. Other authorities: Munch, Det Norske

Iceland was also a Norse stronghold. Beginning with 981, Thorwald and Frederick labored there. A council of the island ordered them to leave in 988. Olaf Tryggveson, however, continued the evangelism. Olaf's old friend and chaplain, the indomitable priest-soldier, Dankbrand, a Saxon, was sent out in 997. Christianity made such headway that in 1000 it was recognized as the only public worship of the island, idol worship, the exposure of children, and the eating of horseflesh being still permitted in private. But under Olaf the Fat (1016) this compromise was swept away, and Iceland became entirely Christian.[1]

ICELAND.

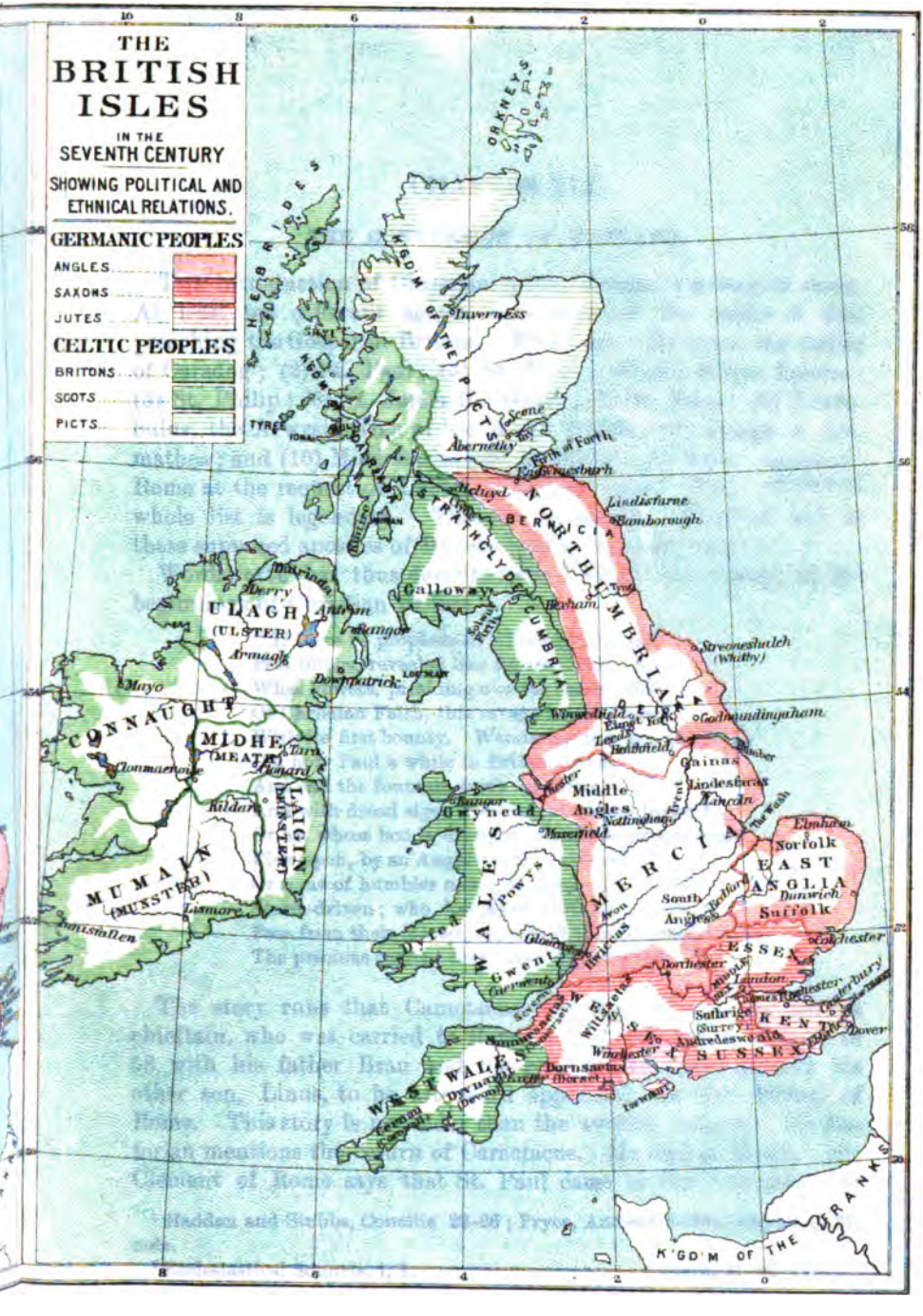
The brave Icelander, Eric the Red, had discovered Greenland, and had colonized it in 986. In 1000 Olaf Tryggveson sent Leif the Fortunate, the son of the discoverer, with an expedition for its conversion. The people received the faith readily, and the Church flourished there for 400 years. The Norse settlements were at last overthrown by the Eskimo. This great Christian navigator, Leif, discovered Vinland about 1000, and the cross of Christ was planted on the coasts of Massachusetts and Rhode Island five hundred years before Columbus braved the terrors of the Sea of Darkness.

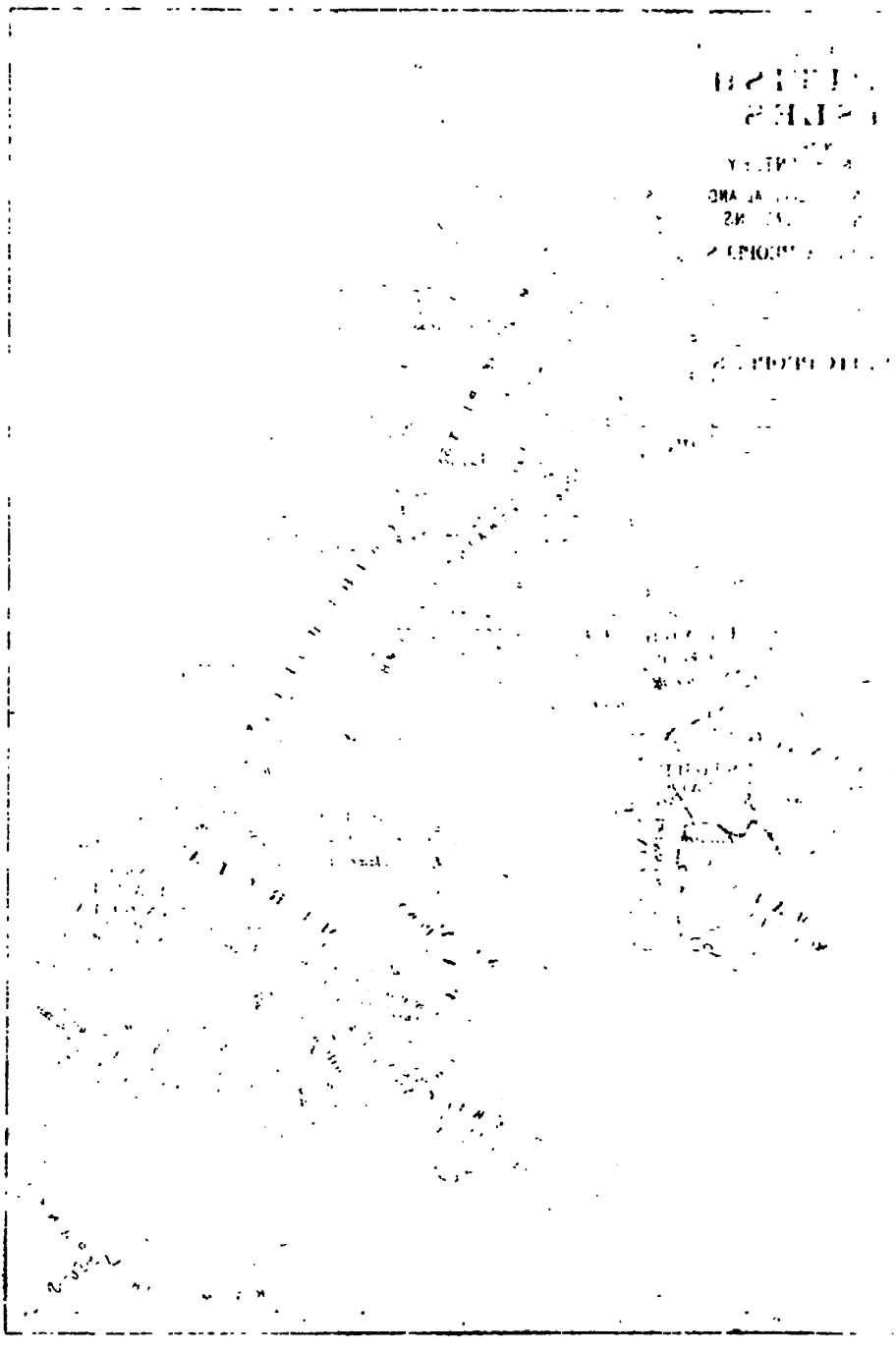
GREENLAND.

Folk's Historie, Christiana, 7 vols., 1852–63 ; Sars, udsight over det Norske Historie, Christ., 1873–77 ; Maurer, Die Bekehrung des norwegisch. Stammes zum Christenthum, Munich, 1855. This last is the best modern work on the Church History of Norway. Carlyle, The Early Kings of Norway [860–1397], Lond., 1875. This is an adaptation of Laing's Heimskringla, with original touches of Carlyle's genius. Boyesen, The Story of Norway, Lond. and N. Y., 1886, new ed., 1890. See also Maclear, Apostl. of Mediæval Europe, pp. 172–200.

[1] See K. Maurer, Island von seiner ersten Entdeckung bis zum Untergang des Freistaats, München, 1874. Full details as to the ecclesiastical history of Iceland in the Middle Ages will be found in the Biskupa Sögar, ed. by Prof. G. Vigfusson, and pub. by the Icelandic Literary Soc., 2 vols., 1858–61. A part of this collection is the Laurentius Saga ; Life of Laurence, Bishop of Holar, trans. by O. Elton, Lond., 1890. Maccoll, The Story of Iceland, Lond., 1887, contains extracts from the sagas.


THE
BRITISH
ISLES
DURING THE PERIOD
OF CONVERSION
400-700 A.D.
TERRITORY CONVERTED BY THE LATIN CHURCH
TERRITORY CONVERTED BY THE CELTIC OR SCOTTISH CHURCH
OLD BRITISH CHURCH
THE DATES ON THE MAP INDICATE APPROXIMATELY THE PERIODS OF CONVERSION.
ORKNEYS
HEBRIDES
SKYE
Inverness
K'GD'M OF THE PICTS
CALEDONIA OR ALBAN
First Christianity Introduced by Columba (563-597)
IONA
Aberdeen
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
BERNICIA
Lindisfarne
Bebanburh (Bamborough)
NORTHUMBRIA
DEIRA
Whitby
York
Lincoln
Cairnes
Middle Angles (653)
Lindesfarne
Lincoln
Chester
Gwynedd
MERCIA
EAST ANGLIA (630-647)
Dunwich
ESSEX (653)
London
Canterbury
WESSEX (634-648)
SUSSEX (681)
Selsey
Winchester
Isle of WIGHT (686)
WEST WALES OR DAMNONIA
(Christianity Introduced by Welsh and Irish Missionaries)
Sixth Century
Exeter
Tintagel
ULAGH (ULSTER)
Derry
Armagh
Downpatrick
Bangor
Galloway
Isle of MANNIN (MAN)
CONNAUGHT
HIBERNIA OR SCOTIA
Christianity Introduced by Patrick (430-493)
Clonmacnoise
Galway
MUMAN (MUNSTER)
Limerick
Waterford
Cashel
Lismore
K'GD'M OF THE FRANKS


THE
BRITISH
ISLES
IN THE
SEVENTH CENTURY
SHOWING POLITICAL AND
ETHNICAL RELATIONS.
GERMANIC PEOPLES
ANGLES
SAXONS
JUTES
CELTIC PEOPLES
BRITONS
SCOTS
PICTS
ORKNEYS
HEBRIDES
KING'DM OF THE PICTS
Inverness
Scone
Abernethy
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Bamborough
Lindisfarne
NORTHUMBRIA
STRATHCLYDE
CUMBRIA
Galloway
Carlisle
Penrith
Streoneshalch (Whitby)
ULAGH (ULSTER)
Armagh
Down Patrick
Mayo
CONNAUGHT
MIDHE
MEATH
LAIGIN (LEINSTER)
Kildare
MUMAN (MUNSTER)
Lismore
Waterford
Gwynedd
Powys
Dyfed
WALES
Gwent
Glamorgan
Middle Angles
Mercia
Lincoln
Gainas
Lindesfarne
Norfolk
EAST ANGLIA
Suffolk
Dunwich
South Angles
ESSEX
Colchester
London
Canterbury
Dover
KENT
Sussex
Andredeswald
Winchester
Dorchester
Wessex
Dorset
Devon
Exeter
Cornwall
K'GD'M OF THE FRANKS



CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

THE introduction of Christianity into Britain is a tangled skein. At least ten different agents have received the credit of first preaching the Gospel in Britain. These are : (1) Bran, the father of Caradog ; (2) St. Paul ; (3) St. Peter ; (4) St. Simon Zelotes ; (5) St. Philip ; (6) St. James the Great ; (7) St. John ; (8) Aristobulus, the Arwystli Hen of the Welsh Triads ; (9) Joseph of Arimathea ; and (10) Missionaries sent by Eleutherius from Rome at the request of Lucius, a British king.[1] The whole list is legendary. There is no written record of any of these supposed apostles of Britain before the sixth century. UNCERTAIN BEGINNINGS.

Wordsworth has thus described the hopeless uncertainty of the beginnings of Christian Britain :

> " If there be prophets on whose spirits rest
> Past things, revealed like future, they can tell
> What Powers, presiding o'er the sacred well
> Of Christian Faith, this savage island blessed
> With its first bounty. Wandering through the West,
> Did holy Paul a while in Britain dwell,
> And call the fountain forth by miracle,
> And with dread signs the nascent stream invest ?
> Or he, whose bonds dropped off, whose prison doors
> Flew open, by an Angel's voice unbarred ?
> Or some of humbler name, to these wild shores
> Storm-driven ; who, having seen the cup of woe
> Pass from their Master, sojourned here to guard of woe
> The precious current they had taught to flow ? "[2]

The story runs that Caractacus (Caradog), the brave British chieftain, who was carried to Rome in 51, returned to Britain in 58 with his father Bran and his son, St. Cyllinus, leaving his other son, Linus, to be afterward appointed the first Bishop of Rome. This story is not older than the twelfth century. No historian mentions the return of Caractacus. He died in Rome.[3] St. Clement of Rome says that St. Paul came to the "boundary of

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, Concilia 22–26 ; Pryce, Ancient British Church, p. 31, note.

[2] Ecclesiastical Sonnets, i, 1.

[3] Pryce, 41–43.

the West,"[1] by which he probably meant Spain.[2] Eusebius speaks loosely of the disciples "crossing the ocean to the isles called British."[3] From these frail notices Usher,[4] Stillingfleet,[5] Burgess,[6] and, later, Soame,[7] have argued for the Pauline evangelism of Britain. But when he speaks distinctly of the fields of the apostles Eusebius omits Britain altogether.[8] If Paul had visited that island there would have been an earlier mention than that of Vanantius Fortunatus in the sixth century.[9] The old British documents are entirely silent.[10]

About this year 900 Simon Metaphrastes represents Peter as staying for some time in Britain, and thoroughly organizing a Church.[11] Cave quotes from the spurious synopsis of Dorotheus to the effect that St. Simon Zelotes was crucified there.[12] These stories even go to the length of making James, the son of Zebedee, who was put to death by Herod (44), a preacher in Britain.[13] The worthless Greek menologies make Aristobulus a Bishop of Britain.

LEGEND OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

The most beautiful legend is that connected with Joseph of Arimathea. In the persecution that arose upon the death of Stephen, the Jews sent him afloat on the Mediterranean without rudder or sail. He drifted to Gaul, where he was received by the apostle Philip, by whom he was sent with twelve companions to preach in Britain. He carried with him the Holy Grail,[14] the cup used by Jesus at the last supper, in which was

[1] Ep. ad. Cor., 5 : ἐπὶ το τέρμα τῆς δυσέως ἐλθόν.

[2] Epistles of St. Clement, p. 50. See Rom. xv, 24, 28.

[3] Dem. Ev., iii, 5.

[4] Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, 1639, c. xi, in Works, v, 20.

[5] Origines Britannicæ, 1710, new ed., Lond., 1840, pp. 1–49. Stillingfleet subjects the other legends to an acute analysis, but he himself accepts this one concerning Paul.

[6] In various publications on the Independence of the British Church.

[7] The Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 22. [8] H. E., iii, 1.

[9] Vita S. Martini, iii, 488–494. This tradition is effectually disposed of by Lingard, The Hist. and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, i, 317–326, and Pryce, *l. c.*, pp. 43–48.

[10] Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry, p. 60.

[11] Acta Sanct. 29 Jun., v, 416. The ever-refreshing Fuller has some interesting remarks on this, Church History of Britain, new ed., Lond., 1887, i, 8, 9.

[12] Hist. Lit., i, 169, Oxf., 1740.

[13] Isid. de Patr. utrius Test., c. 72; Flav. Luc. Dexter, Chron. ad ann. 41.

[14] From Low Lat., *gradalis*, a shallow vessel, or from an older form of the same, *cratalis*, from *cratus*, L. Lat. form of *crater*. The legend of the Holy Grail has many forms. In the Quest version it has been immortalized in English literature by Malory, Tennyson, and others. Alfred Nutt gives a thorough treatment in Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, Lond., 1888, and an excellent article in the last ed. of Chambers's Encyc.

preserved some of the blood shed on the cross. The king received him well, and he built a church at Glastonbury. This became one of the most celebrated churches in England. It was the "one church of the first rank in England which stood as a memorial of British days, the only one which had lived unscathed through the storm of English conquest."[1] Joseph planted his staff on a neighboring hill, which grew into a Holy Thorn, and blossomed miraculously every Christmas Eve. The first record of this striking story is given by William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, in his account of the Glastonbury Church.[2]

The historian Bede, writing about 731, says that in the reign of Antoninus Verus, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, "entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian."[3] Although there is nothing inherently improbable in this story, it is, as Lingard says, suspicious, and, as there is no early evidence for it, it cannot be accepted.[4] A Roman Catholic historian draws a large inference from this doubtful entry of the sixth century: "Tradition speaks infallibly when it says that a British kinglet sent to the pope for instruction in spiritual things, and its full significance is apparent. The pope alone keeps the deposit of the faith, and has it to impart."[5] If there was a British king in the second century who sent abroad for missionaries it was very natural for him to send to the imperial city.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

All these traditions, however, rest on a basis of fact—that in the second century the Christian religion was known in Britain. Tertullian, in the beginning of the third century, says that places in Britain where the Roman

[1] See Freeman, Glastonbury British and English, in Macmillan's Mag., Oct., 1880. Alford, in his Ballad of Glastonbury, Poems, i, 16, has gracefully versified the legend.

[2] Printed in Gale, Scriptores, xv. Fuller, bk. i, cent. i, 11–17, has some caustic remarks upon it, and Stillingfleet's acute and learned discussion is a good example of historical criticism, pp. 6–36.

[3] H. E., i, 4. Marcus Antoninus began to reign 161, and died 180. Eleutherius's bishopric was between 176 or 177 and 190. The first account of this is about 530, in an addition made to an early catalogue of the Roman pontiffs. Gildas is silent. There are many later embellishments to this legend. See Bright, Early Eng. Ch. Hist., 2d ed., rev. and enl., pp. 8, 4; Pryce, pp. 48–51; Fuller, Ch. Hist. of Britain, i, 18–27. The best modern authorities reject it.

[4] Lingard does not, however, reject it. Anglo-Saxon Church, i, 2–4. Burton, Eccl. Hist., ii, 206, and Milman, ii, 226, speak of it as fabulous. Haddan and Stubbs, Bright, Pryce, and Maclear, Conversion of the West: the Celts, p. 48, are on the same side.

[5] Allies, Hist. of the Church in England, 30–1509, Lond., 1892, p. 4.

arrows could never penetrate were subject to Christ.[1] Origen says that the power of the Saviour is as manifest in Britain as in Mauritania,[2] and Arnobius speaks of the velocity with which the word has run from the Indians to the Britons.[3] There is no doubt that Britain received the Gospel from the Greek churches in Gaul about the time of the persecution at Lyons and Vienna.[4]

About 303 Britain felt the effects of the Diocletian persecution. Alban, a pagan citizen of Verulam (now St. Albans), gave protection to a Christian priest fleeing from persecution. He was converted by the priest, and, when the hiding place was found, Alban yielded himself up instead of his guest, and was beheaded.

> "Self-offered victim, for his friend he died,
> And for the faith."[5]

Bede tells of several miracles which were wrought in connection with his martyrdom. A church was built on the site of the martyrdom, and in 793 a great Benedictine abbey was founded there by Offa, King of Mercia, and to-day there stands on that far-famed hill the "vastest and sternest" of the early Norman churches, made a cathedral in 1877.[6]

British bishops were present at the council of Arles (314), held to settle the dispute between Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists. It was there determined that (1) Easter Day should be observed at a fixed time throughout the world, to be notified by the Bishop of Rome—a provision which became a dead letter; (2) baptism in the name of the Trinity by heretics valid; (3) marriage indissoluble during the life of the parties; (4) three bishops necessary to the validity of a consecration. Representatives from the North were also present at the council of Ariminum (359).

PELAGIUS.

Britain disturbed the peace of European Christianity by sending out Pelagius, called "the Briton" by Augustine[7] and Bede,[8] who quotes against him one of Prosper's fierce epigrams. Pelagius left Britain in early life, and did not return, but Agricola, the son of Bishop Severinus, labored with all his might to propagate his theory. It does not appear that the Church was generally affected, but there was sufficient danger to call in the

[1] Adv. Jud., 7. [2] Hom. vi in Luc., c. i. [3] In Psalm cxlvii.

[4] For Eastern influences through the Gallic Church on the British and Irish Churches, see Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, pp. 47–57. See also Pryce, pp. 52–66. [5] Wordsworth, Eccl. Sonnets, i, vi.

[6] There is no need to question a nucleus of truth in this story. It was believed at Verulam in the fifth century, is given by Gildas, Hist., 8, in the sixth, and is produced at length by Bede, i, 7.

[7] Ep. 186, i. [8] H. E., i, 10.

aid of Gaul. In 429 [1] Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, went over to confirm the Church. They preached in the churches, streets, and fields. They then held a council, in which the Pelagians were met and vanquished. Soon after occurred the great Hallelujah victory. An army of Picts and Scots came down on the Britons, many of whom had been recently converted. Germanus instructed them to cry out "Hallelujah" at the proper time. With an awful voice they made the cry. The echoes sounded through the valley and reverberated from cliff to cliff. The enemy fled, as if the "very skies were crashing over them, and many leaped headlong into the river." The scene of this battle is laid by Welsh tradition at Maes-Garman, "German's Field," a mile from Mold, in Flintshire.[2]

FEW CHRISTIAN REMAINS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

Christianity never made much impression in Britain in the Roman times. Hardly a monument remains. The fierceness of the Saxon invasion is not sufficient to account for this. With one or two exceptions there is not a church, or the remains of a church, which can justify its claim to belong to pre-Augustine England. With one exception there is not a Romano-British sepulchral monument with a Christian inscription. Among the thousands of portable objects discovered in England which belong to the British period a score or less are all that remain of Christian origin or use. The testimony of archæology is a question for experts. Allen has thoroughly investigated this branch of the evidence, and his conclusion is that "neither in the structures, the sepulchral remains, nor the portable objects of the Romano-British period are sufficient traces of Christianity apparent to justify the belief that any appreciable proportion of the inhabitants of the country had been reclaimed from paganism before the end of the fourth century." The late Thomas Wright comes to the same conclusion,[3] and shows that at all events the legendary stories, such as the one about Lucius, King of the Britons, writing to Pope Eleutherius in 156, are entirely at variance with the results arrived at by archæological research. He thinks also that the supposed historical statement as to the presence of British bishops at Arles, 314, does not rest on sufficiently reliable authority to be accepted without further confirmation, and that the general allusions

[1] Bede makes the date 446, but this is now admitted as too late.

[2] Bright, pp. 16–21 ; Pryce, pp. 117–125 ; Bede, i, 17–21 ; Lappenberg, England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, i, 82, 83.

[3] The Celt, Roman and Saxon. Wright was one of the most accomplished antiquaries of the century. He devoted his life to these pursuits, and his works are of great value.

made by Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, and other early Christian writers as to the existence of a Romano-British Church, "must evidently be taken as little better than flourishes of rhetoric."[1] With this general conclusion as to the slight hold Christianity had on early Britain Haddan and Stubbs and Bright,[2] the three great authorities, agree. Nevertheless Christianity was firmly established in various parts of Britain.

It was formerly thought that Celtic Christianity was of a far purer type than Roman. Ebrard has especially emphasized this view, and there is some truth in it.[3] Cut off from the downward development of Rome, the British Church exemplified a religion of a more primitive and evangelical type. But it was only a question of degree. The old theory that the British Church was Protestant and evangelical is now abandoned.[4] As to its spiritual condition, Gildas, a British historian who wrote about 564, draws a dark picture. He says: "Britain hath priests, but they are unwise; very many that minister, but many of them impudent; clerks she hath, but very many of them are deceitful raveners; pastors, as they are called, but rather wolves prepared for the slaughter of souls, for they provide not for the good of the common people, but covet rather the gluttony of their own bellies; possessing the houses of the Church, but obtaining them for filthy lucre's sake; instructing the laity, but showing withal most depraved examples, vices, and evil manners; seldom sacrificing, and seldom with clean hearts, standing at the altars; not correcting the commonalty for their offenses, while they commit the same sins themselves."[5]

MARKS OF THE OLD BRITISH CHURCH.

This old prophet-historian adds one indictment after another to these heavy charges. Even granting that there is exaggeration in his words, Gildas plainly shows that the spiritual life of the old British Church was not stronger or purer than that of the continental Church. The Frankish Church was even worse. The pages

[1] Allen, Monumental Hist. of the Brit. Ch., Lond., 1889, pp. 41, 42. The author gives a careful study of all the remains. Others yield more to Christian influences. See Grover, Pre-Augustine Christianity in Great Britain, in Journal of the Brit. Archæol. Inst., xxiii, 221, ff., and Brock, Evidences of the Extent of the Anc. Brit. Ch., in the same, xii, 53, ff.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i, 39, 162; Bright, pp. 10–12; Haddan, Remains, p. 332.

[3] Die iroschottische Missionskirche der 6, 7, 8 Jahrh., Gütersloh, 1873.

[4] Loos shows this. Antiquæ Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiæ quales fuerint mores, Lips., 1882.

[5] Gildas, § 66. See Giles, Six Old English Chronicles, pp. 343, 344; Bright, pp. 28, 29.

of Gregory of Tours reveal a condition of moral anarchy far exceeding anything ever known in England.[1]

The constitution of the Celtic Church did not differ substantially from that of the Church at large, except as to the greater power of the abbot. In South Britain and Wales there were bishops with distinct sees—at least seven when Augustine had his conference with them at Aust. The hands of the bishops and priests were anointed and blest, and they were looked upon as the successors of St. Peter. They sat in his seat, and inherited his power of binding and loosing. They were to offer sacrifice. The bishops in Ireland seemed to be tribal bishops, often located in groups of seven near each other. Throughout the whole Celtic Church the presbyter-abbot of the monastery was the leading spirit. Under him was the bishop, whom he directed even in the act of ordination.[2]

MONASTICISM IN THE CELTIC CHURCH.

The monastic system was thoroughly developed. The Celtic Church might in fact be called a monastic Church. The monastery was the center of all its activities. But the monastery was rather a mission institute than a monastery in the ordinary sense. It was a combination of an agricultural college and a theological seminary for the purpose of training missionaries. St. David, the patron saint of Wales in the sixth century, a man of wonderful holiness, founded twelve monasteries.[3] The monks were bound to the ordinary vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. On the bank of the Dee was the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, divided into seven sections, says Bede,[4] each containing three hundred men, all living by manual labor. It was these monks whom Æthelfrith destroyed for their prayers in 613, at the battle of Chester. Other monasteries were Bangor Mawr, Clynnog Fahr, Cærgybi, Eulli, the burial place of saints, Llanelwy, with 965 monks, Ty-gwyn ar Dâf, and three great monastic establishments at Llandaff.[5] These monasteries were connected with the clan, and the clergy often threw themselves pas-

[1] For an instructive comparison of Bede and Gregory of Tours in this respect, see Bright, Early Eng. Ch. Hist., pp. 447–450.

[2] Bede, iii, 5. The great council at Iona ordained Aidan, and sent him out to preach. See the able article by Mitchell on the Keltic Church in the Schaff-Herzog Encyc. There is still a dispute among scholars as to the exact status of the bishop in the Scotch and British Churches. But all the facts go to show that the conception of the bishops as *jure divino* head of the Church and in rule higher than the presbyters was unknown. See below, pp. 628, 629, 662, 663.

[3] Thus says his life by Rhyddmarch (11th century), which is translated in Cambro-British Saints, pp. 102–116, and in Pryce, Early Brit. Ch., pp. 129–141. Like all the lives of British saints it is full of miracles.

[4] iii, 2.

[5] See Pryce, pp. 176–210.

sionately into tribal quarrels. Between Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Brittany there was a constant ebb and flow of missionaries. The Celtic Church was the greatest missionary Church in history.

The British Christians built churches in honor of martyrs, used the Latin service, and in many matters of this kind were like the Continental Church. No vernacular liturgy older than the eighth century has been brought to light. The reason of this is that the earliest converts to Christianity in Britain were Romans or Romanizing Britons, and Latin was understood by most of them for a long time. The writings of the British and Scoto-Irish authors of the first six centuries, all the extant gospels and psalters, and the few liturgical fragments that have survived, are in Latin.[1] The liturgy of the whole Celtic Church was modeled after the Gallican and Ephesian use, with marked characteristics of its own.[2]

LITURGY OF THE BRITISH CHURCH.

The time of observing Easter was a bitter trial to the Roman Church. This dispute was different from that which divided Rome and the East. The Asiatics celebrated the Paschal Supper on the 14th day of the first Jewish month (Nisan), and three days later the Feast of the Resurrection, on whatever day in the week it might happen to fall. These were called the Quartodecimans, or Fourteeners. The Roman Church and other Churches celebrated the 14th of Nisan *if it fell on a Friday*, otherwise on the next Friday, and Easter Day on the following Sunday. The British Church followed Rome thus far. But while Rome had discarded the Cycle or Table of measurement of Sulpicius Severus for the more correct Cycle of Victorius Aquitanus, the British Church still kept to the old Cycle.[3]

THE EASTER QUESTION.

The tonsure was another stumbling-block. In the fourth century neither monks nor priests practiced the tonsure. In fact, the council of Carthage (398) forbade the cutting of the beard and hair, and Jerome says that Christian priests must not appear with shorn head, lest they be confounded with priests of Isis and Serapis.[4] It was taken up by the monks of the fifth century. The Roman custom was to shave the head except a circle of hair around the head, like the crown of thorns of the Saviour. The

TONSURE.

[1] See Remains of A. W. Haddan, Oxf., 1876, a book full of learning by a profound and devout High Church scholar.

[2] See F. E. Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, Lond., 1881, who gives an interesting account of all the liturgical fragments.

[3] For a clear account see Cutts, Augustine of Canterbury, Lond. and Bost., 1895, pp. 132–135; Pryce, pp. 90–93.

[4] Com. on Ezek. xliv.

Greeks shaved the head completely, and the British tonsure included the whole fore part of the head from ear to ear. Dowden, of Edinburgh, has recently put forth the theory that the British tonsure was the shaving of the fore part of the head except a narrow fringe of hair in front.[1] It was characteristic of early mediæval Christianity that the bitterest contests should gather around such ridiculous trifles as these.[2]

In baptism the British Church practiced single instead of trine immersion.

The marriage of the clergy was a recognized custom until a late date. In Wales, the last stronghold of British Christianity, in the latter part of the tenth century, when the clergy were enjoined not to marry without the consent of the pope, such an excitement was raised that the ancient practice was not interfered with. Marriage was taken as a matter of course. Notices of several eminent ecclesiastics have been transmitted under the title of "The Genealogy of the Saints."[3] One of the greatest of the bishops of St. Davids had four sons, one of whom succeeded him in the bishopric. Another son was elected in 1115 to the same see, although Henry I, to the great dissatisfaction of both clergy and laity, conferred the office upon a Norman, and the bishop-elect became Archdeacon of Powys.[4] Benefices and other appointments passed lineally from father to son. As Pryce says, this usage would have been "too scandalous to be acquiesced in, had the connection been otherwise than legitimate.[5] It was not until the

MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.

[1] See Cutts, Augustine of Canterbury, p. 186.

[2] See the letter of Abbot Ceolfrid to the King of the Picts, Bede, H. E., v, 21. He calls the British the tonsure of Simon Magus.

[3] See Williams ab Ithel, Eccl. Antiquities of the Cymry, p. 280.

[4] Jones and Freeman, Hist. of St. Davids, p. 270.

[5] Ancient British Church, p. 204. Lea is in error in attributing the silence of St. Aldhelm (d. 709) on the marriage of the clergy in his letter to the Welsh King Geruntius to the reason that clerical celibacy was now a universal custom in both the English and British Churches. See his Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy, 2d ed., enl., Bost., 1884, p. 168. The letter of Aldhelm discussed the points of difference between the two Churches. "Had the Welsh Church been schismatic in this respect, so ardent a celibatarian as Aldhelm would certainly not have omitted all reference to a subject of so much interest to him. The inference is therefore justifiable that no difference of this nature existed." But no reference to this matter is made in the conference between Augustine and the British bishops. It was only by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690) that the marriage of the clergy in the Anglo-Saxon Church was forbidden. Rather the silence of Aldhelm must be interpreted as meaning that he knew it was useless to call in question an assured and established custom in the British Church. See Pryce, pp. 201–205, with notes. Even in Milan, in Italy,

time of Giraldus Cambrensis (1147–1222) that marriage was definitely prohibited to the clergy of Wales. After that lawful marriage was concealed under the veil of concubinage.

The British Churches had a Latin version of the Bible peculiar to themselves, different from the old Latin version and the Vulgate.

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

The Teutonic conquest of England is famous among foreign conquests for the thoroughness and brutality with which it was carried out and the vast results which followed it. It wiped the Britons from the face of the country. They were either exterminated or compelled to take refuge in Wales. Their Church was blotted out. It henceforth existed only in the West. When the conquest was complete the country was no longer Britain, but England; a new race, a new language, a new religion, a new civilization (or barbarism). In 410 the last Roman soldier left Britain forever. In 449, the first of the Teutonic invaders, the Jutes, made a permanent landing on the English shore. In 613, under the walls of Chester, Æthelfrith forced the Britons across the Dee, and thus completed a conquest which had gone on one hundred and fifty years. The new races were the most savage and cruel of all the barbaric conquerors of Rome. Pryce says: "Their gods were Woden, to be propitiated by human sacrifice, Freya, the goddess of unhallowed love, while the attributes of Thor were set forth under the symbol of a hammer, with which he was supposed to crush the heads of his enemies."[1] In other countries the heathen invaders in time adopted the religion and civilization of the conquered people. In England it was different. That country presented the only purely Teutonic land in the world.

The work of the conversion of the Northern Isle, therefore, had to

all the priests were married in the middle of the eleventh century. See Schaff, iv, 332; Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, iv, 794. Elsewhere (pp. 285, 293, 294) Lea fully recognizes the fact that ministerial marriages were a well-established custom in Wales in the later Middle Ages. "We may almost hazard the conclusion," he says, "that notwithstanding the efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular legislators, sacerdotal marriage scarcely became obsolete in Wales before it was once more recognized as legitimate under the Reformation."

[1] Early Brit. Ch., p. 218; Ozanam, Les Germains avant le Christianisme, pp. 70, 74, 92. It is a matter of dispute how far the English exterminated the British. Gardiner thinks that many of the towns fared no better than Anderida, where every Briton was slain, and that, on the other hand, the presence of Celtic words in our language proves that many of the Britons were allowed to settle as serfs among the conquerors. Student's Hist. of England, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 29, 31. Green holds that the presence of a few slaves here and there does not interfere with the awful thoroughness of the extermination. Short Hist. of the English People, Lond., 1875, p. 10.

be undertaken anew. We will let Bede tell the picturesque story of the inception of this movement in his own words:

VENERABLE BEDE'S STORY OF THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

"They say that on a certain day, when, some merchants having lately arrived, many things were collected in the market place [in Rome] for sale, and many persons had come together to buy, Gregory himself came among the rest, and saw, among other things, some boys put up for sale, of a white body and fair countenance, and also with hair of remarkable beauty. Whom when he beheld, he asked, as they say, from what region or land they were brought, and it was said that they were brought from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were of such an aspect. Again he asked whether the same islanders were Christians, or still entangled in the errors of paganism; and it was said that they were pagans. Then he, drawing deep sighs from the bottom of his heart, said: 'Alas, for grief that the author of Darkness possesses men of so bright countenance, and that so great grace of aspect bears a mind void of inward grace.' Then again he asked what was the name of that nation. It was answered that they were called Angles. 'It is well,' he said; 'for they have an angelic face besides, and such it befits to be coheirs of angels in heaven.' 'What name has that province from which they were brought?' It was answered that the people of that province were called Deira. 'Well,' he said, 'Deira, withdrawn from anger, and called to the mercy of Christ.' 'How is the king of that province called?' It was answered that he was called Aella; then he, alluding to the name, said, 'Alleluia, it behooves that the praise of God, the Creator, should be sung in those parts.' And going to the pontiff of the Roman and apostolic see [for he was not himself as yet made pontiff], he asked him to send some ministers of the word into Britain to the nation of the Angles, by whom it might be converted to Christ, saying that he himself was ready to accomplish this work, with the cooperation of the Lord, if the apostolic pope thought fit that it should be done. Which at that time he was not able to accomplish, because, although the pontiff was willing to grant him his request, the citizens of Rome could not be induced to consent that he should go so far from the city."[1]

GREGORY SENDS AUGUSTINE.

Gregory himself was made pope in 590. In 596 he carried out his long-cherished plan. He sent to England the Benedictine abbot, Augustine, with other monks, interpreters, letters of recommendation and instruction. With

[1] H. E., ii, 1, trans. Gidly, Oxf., 1870. Some think the elaborate play on the words renders this story suspicious. Schaff quotes the proverb, "Se non e vero, e molto ben trovato"—If not true, then well invented.

him he sent a Bible, a Psalter, a book of the gospels, a Martyrology, Apocryphal Lives of the Apostles, and several commentaries—the beginning of the Library of the English Church. When they reached Lerins their hearts gave way at the news they heard of the barbarous Angles. They wrote to Gregory to absolve his missionaries of their obligation. But he urged them forward.[1] They landed in the isle of Thanet, in Kent, in the spring of 597. Their fears were groundless, because Ethelbert, King of the Jutes in Kent, had married Bertha, the Christian daughter of Charibert, King of Paris; and one of the conditions of the marriage was the free exercise of her religion. The king would not immediately yield his paganism, saying: "Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain meaning, I cannot forsake the religion I have so long followed with the whole English nation."[2] But he would allow them freedom of his kingdom for preaching and the winning of converts. After various conferences Ethelbert yielded, and with his court was baptized on Whitsunday, 597. He assigned Canterbury to Augustine, which thus became the ecclesiastical capital of England. Augustine was ordained bishop of the Angles by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles, on November 16, 597, and in 601 received the pallium of an archbishop from the pope.

With a daring faith Gregory had already parceled out heathen England into two archiepiscopal provinces—Canterbury and York—with twelve bishoprics to each. Augustine wrote to the pope, making various inquiries as to points of discipline and teaching. Gregory replied in a tone of monastic and legalistic strictness, but in the main with good sense. In regard to the customs of Churches Gregory says: "If you have found either in the Roman or Gallican or any other Church what may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you cheerfully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose therefore from every Church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto."[3] In regard to accommodation to heathen usages Gregory laid down the rule which has always been followed by the Roman Church. The heathen temples are to be converted into Christian

[1] See his admirable letter to Bede, i, 23.

[2] Bede, i, 25.

[3] For these very interesting questions and answers, see Bede, i, 27. See Comments by Schaff, iv, 33, 34; Milman, ii, 180, who refers to Hume's sarcasm.

churches, relics are to be substituted for idols, and on the great festivals cattle can still be killed, not to idols, but to the praise of God. "For he who endeavors to ascend to the highest places rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps."[1] This rule, as Schaff says, facilitated conversion, but it swept a vast amount of heathenism into the Church.[2]

RACE ANTIPATHIES AN OBSTACLE TO THE UNION OF THE BRITISH AND ROMAN CHURCHES.

Augustine now tried to form a union with the old British Church. But the imperiousness of the Roman and the obstinacy of the Britons made all negotiations in vain. The latter were required to renounce their time of Easter observance, their single immersion, and to unite with the Romans in the conversion of the English, proposals which showed how in all essentials the two Churches were at one. The British said they must love and respect the Bishop of Rome, but they could not give up their ancient customs at his dictation. The commissioners parted in anger, Augustine fiercely calling down upon the British bishops the divine vengeance. When Æthelfrith massacred the British monks at Chester, in 613, Bede saw in it a fulfillment of Augustine's curse, "these perfidious men thus feeling the vengeance of temporal death, also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation."[3] "This," says Schaff, "is a sad picture of the fierce animosity of the two races and rival forms of Christianity. Unhappily it continues to the present day, but with a remarkable difference: the Celtic Irish, who, like the Britons, once represented a more independent type of Catholicism, have, since the Norman conquest, and still more since the Reformation, become intense Romanists, while the English, once the dutiful subjects of Rome, have broken with that foreign power altogether, and have vainly endeavored to force Protestantism upon the conquered race. The Irish problem will not be solved until the double curse of national and religious antagonism is removed."[4] But the Britons in Wales have been the strongest Protestants for centuries, the Roman Church hardly having a footing in the principality, and the Celts in Scotland have long since abandoned Rome. England has really never been a dutiful child of the pope.

We pass quickly over the conversion of the other provinces of England. Edwin, the King of Northumbria, had married Ethelberga, the daughter of Ethelbert, the Christian King of Kent. The peaceable exercise of her religion was assured her. With her there

[1] Bede, i, 30.

[2] iv, 24, 25. Bright has some excellent remarks on this, Early Eng. Church History, pp. 72–76. [3] H. E., ii, 2. [4] Ch. Hist., iv, 37.

went Paulinus, who had already been designated as the Archbishop of York. In a meeting, described with dramatic effect by Bede,[1] Edwin renounced his gods, and his priests led an onslaught against the idols. For thirty-six days Paulinus was engaged in catechizing, and in baptizing in the neighboring stream. So great was the transformation of the people, and so benignant yet firm the rule of Edwin, that a woman might pass uninjured from sea to sea. Christianity in Northumbria suffered a temporary overthrow by the defeat and death of Edwin at Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster, 633, at the hands of the ferocious Penda, King of Mercia. It was renewed again by Aidan, the discreet and holy monk from Iona, thus bringing the Scottish (Celtic) influence to bear on English heathenism. Under him Northumbria was thoroughly Christianized.[2]

NORTHUMBRIA CONVERTED.

Wessex was converted by Birinus, who came from Pope Honorius for this purpose. Mercia, the kingdom of the great conqueror, Penda, was at length brought into the faith by the marriage of his daughter to Alchfrid, a Christian prince of Bernicia. The son of Penda, Peada, visited his sister, and became enamored of the sister of Alchfrid. Through the influence of this Christian family Peada went back to his father a baptized Christian, with four northern priests. Penda did not oppose the preaching of the faith. But with his well-merited defeat on the banks of the Aire, near Leeds (655), heathenism went to pieces throughout Mercia. It is interesting to notice the various agencies used in the conversion of England—preaching, marriages, battles.

WESSEX AND ESSEX BROUGHT OVER.

The Scottish missionaries from Lindisfarne converted the East Saxons, and reestablished Christian services where St. Paul's Cathedral stands. Sussex was converted by the famous Bishop Wilfrid (681), who, though an English monk trained at Lindisfarne, had become by residence in Rome and foreign travel a thorough Roman partisan. Of all the English provinces, the Latins converted only the East Angles, Kent, the South Saxons, and Wessex, while the Scottish missionaries converted the great kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, also Bernicia and Deira,

[1] H. E., ii, 13. See Milman, ii, 187, 188; Maclear, The Conversion of the West: the English, pp. 49–53, who calls this one of the most striking scenes enacted in the whole history of missionary enterprise.

[2] On Aidan, besides the ordinary authorities, see the posthumous volume of historical sermons by Lightfoot, Leaders of the Northern Church, Lond., 1891, pp. 37–54, with valuable notes by Harmer. The original authority is Bede, book iii.

and the old British Christians occupied Wales and West Wales (Cornwall, Devon, and neighboring counties), the Scotch inhabiting South Strath-Clyde (Cumberland and Lancashire).

The conversion of England was the most important event in mediæval Church history. Thence have sprung the religion and civilization of the greater portion of Christendom. Thence came the unity of the English race and nation.[1] All the nobler qualities of modern civilization are the direct product of English Christianity.[2]

The work of the Scotch monks over so large a part of England brought up the question again as to whether the Latin or Celtic Church would control the destiny of England. Again Rome won. Wilfrid, the greatest English ecclesiastic of his time, thoroughly imbued with Roman ideas, conquered the Celts at the synod at Whitby in 664. The leading Scottish monks, however, would not yield an inch, and returned to Scotland. Theodore, the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury (668–693), a Greek-Roman ecclesiastic of imperious temper, reduced the whole English Church to the authority of Rome. He was the organizer of the English Church. And, as the Congregationalism of New England was the type and forerunner of the American democracy, so the Church of Theodore was the prophet of the English State. "The regular subordination of priest to bishop," says Green, "of bishop to primate, in the administration of the Church, supplied a mold on which the civil organization of the State quickly shaped itself; it was the ecclesiastical synods which by their example led the way to our national Parliament, as it was the canons enacted in such synods which led the way to a national system of law."[3]

SYNOD OF WHITBY.

[1] Comp. Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, i, 217.

[2] The late Dean Church finely develops this thought in his Gifts of Civilization and other Sermons and Lectures, Lond., 1880. Comp. his On the Influence of Christianity upon National Character, Lond., 1873.

[3] Short Hist. of the English People, ch. i, sec. i (p. 30, Lond. ed.). Comp. Lane, Early English Church History, Lond., 80th thousand, 1893, p. 94.

LITERATURE: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

English literature is rich in contemporary materials. In the excellent editions of the Master of the Rolls these are nearly all available. The Introductions to these various works, written by the ablest historical scholars in England, are of independent value. For complete bibliographical details see Sonnenschein, The Best Books, pp. 406–413; Gardiner and Mullinger, Introd. to the Study of English History, pp. 207–301; Wright, Biog. Brit. Literaria, 2 vols., 1846, and the same author's Descriptive Catal. of Materials relating to the Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland, 3 vols., Lond., 1862–71, an invaluable critical account; the bibliographical notes in Green, Hist. of the English People. Many of these authorities are published also in the English Historical Society Publications, Lond., 1838–56, and translations of the most important are given in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

1. Foxe, John. Acts and Monuments of Christian Martyrs, and Matters Ecclesiastical passed in the Church of Christ, from the primitive beginning to these our days. Lond., 1563. A thesaurus of documents and facts. Referred to with respect by Strype and other historians of the seventeenth century. Severely criticised by Maitland (in a series of Pamphlets, 1837–42) and other High Church and Roman Catholic historians, but vindicated by G. Townsend in the Preliminary Dissertation to Cattley's ed., 8 vols., Lond., 1837–41 (vol. i, pp. 1–482). It is incorrect in details, but remains a valuable source. Its errors have been corrected in later editions. Best ed. by J. Pratt and J. Stoughton, 8 vols., Lond., 1877. It was the last book ordered by the King, Parliament, and Convocation to be placed in Churches, Halls, and Colleges of England. Foxe was a fine Latin scholar, and in advance of his age in his tolerant spirit. Mullinger says that comparatively few of his statements have been disproved. (Gardiner and Mullinger, Introd. to Study of Eng. Hist., p. 309.) The first three vols. deal with the pre-Reformation times. Foxe was also a pioneer in the study of Anglo-Saxon. The History ends in 1559, with appendi to 1574.
2. Fuller, Thomas. Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ until 1648. Lond., 1656; ed. by Nichols, 3 vols., Lond., 1837; ed. by Brewer, 6 vols., 1845 (best ed.). Quaintly written, with witty and wise observations.
3. Collier, J. Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain to Death of Charles II. Lond., 1708–14. New ed. by Lathbury, 9 vols., 1840. A learned work by a High Church divine. Warburton used to say that there were only "two genuine histories of our Church of importance, those by Collier the nonjuror, and Fuller the jester."
4. Rock, D. (R. C.). The Church of our Fathers. Lond., 1849–54, new ed., 1893, 3 vols.

5. Hook, W. F. Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. 12 vols. Lond., 1860–77.
6. Haddan, A. W., and Stubbs, W. Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland. 3 vols. Lond., 1869–78. An inestimable collection, founded on Spelman and Wilkins, Concilia.
7. Stubbs, W. Constitutional Hist. of England (to 1485). 3 vols. Lond., 1874–78; new ed., 1883. A monumental work. Stubbs's, Hallam's, and May's Constitutional Histories form a connected series.
8. Herford, B. Story of Religion in England. Lond., 1878. A brilliant sketch by a Unitarian. See Crit. Rev., iii, 425.
9. Perry, G. G. Student's Manual of English Church History. 3 vols. Lond., 1878–87. An excellent work from a moderately High Church point of view.
10. Bridgett, T. E. (R. C.). Hist. of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain. 2 vols. Lond., 1881. A scholarly investigation of wider scope than the title would indicate.
11. Lumby, J. R. English Church History. Lond., 1885.
12. Lane, C. A. English Church History. 2 vols., 1886; 80th thousand, rev., 1893.
13. Hunt, W. The English Church in the Middle Ages. Lond., 1889. Valuable. See Presb. Rev., x (1889), 321; Church Quar. Rev., xxx, 264.
14. Allies, M. H. (R. C.). The Church in England, A. D. 30–1509. Lond., 1892.
15. Ingram, T. D. England and Rome: A History of their Relations. Lond. and N. Y., 1892. An able work by an English layman.

Special works in the order of the periods treated are:

1. Ussher, J. Britannicarum ecclesiarum Antiquitates quibus inserta est Pelagianæ Hæreseos historia, 1639. A work of twenty years' labor, and of fine critical penetration. In Works, Dublin Univ. Press, 16 vols., 1842–48.
2. Stillingfleet, E. Origines Britannicæ. Lond., 1685, new ed., 1840. Learned discussions. A "surprising mixture of critical and uncritical research."
3. Smith, George. The Religion of Ancient Britain Historically Considered. Lond., 1844; new ed., 1865. Smith was a layman of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, who in his mansion at Camborne, Cornwall, employed his learned leisure in writing historical works. His best work is his History of Wesleyan Methodism. 3 vols. Lond., 1859–63; new ed., 1865.
4. Haddan, A. W. The Churches of the British Confession. In his Remains, ed. A. P. Forbes. Lond., 1876.
5. Pryce, J. The Ancient British Church. Lond., 1878. An excellent historical survey.
6. Loofs, Friedrich. De Antiqua Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesia. Leipz., 1882.
7. Newell, E. J. Hist. of the Ancient British Church. Lond., 1887. Scholarly. See Church Quar. Rev., Lond., xxvi, 251.
8. Alexander, W. L. The Ancient British Church. Lond., 1889.
9. Cathcart, W. The Ancient British and Irish Churches. Phila., 1893. Written to portray Baptist anticipations in the history.
10. Soames, H. The Latin Church during the Anglo-Saxon Times. Lond., 1848. The Anglo-Saxon Church: its History, Revenues, and Character. Lond., 1828, new ed., 1856. Corrected by Lingard.

11. Lingard, J. History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. 2 vols Lond., 1845.
12. Bright, W. Chapters of Early English Church History. Lond., 1878; rev. ed., 1888. The story told exhaustively and critically. See Church Quar. Rev., vi, 237; xxviii, 228.
13. Lappenberg, J. M. Hist. of England under Anglo-Saxon Kings. 2 vols. Lond., 1845. See the works of Palgrave, Kemble, and others mentioned by Sonnenschein, pp. 407, 408.
14. Giles, J. A. Memorials of King Alfred. Lond., 1863. Thomas Hughes has told the story of Alfred with excellent spirit. Lond., 1870; new ed., 1878. Bost., new ed., 1890. The best modern life is Pauli, ed. by B. Thorpe. Lond., 1852.
15. Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs. Lond., 1847.
16. Eadmer (12th Cant.). Vita S. Anselmi. Leipz., 1886.
17. Hasse, F. G. Anselm von Canterbury. 2 vols., 1843–52. Ab'd tr. by W. Turner, Lond., 1850. Thorough and authoritative.
18. Remusat, C. Anselm de Cantorbéry. Paris, 1853; 2d ed., 1868.
19. Church, R. W. St. Anselm. Lond., 1870; new ed., 1888–92. A faithful and brilliant sketch.
20. Rule, M. Life and Times of St. Anselm. Lond., 1883. See a scathing review of this work by R. L. Poole in Modern Rev., iv, 424–428. "The author's interest is confined to the mean, the trivial, the temporary; and he is as ignorant of philosophy as he is of history." "In everything there is the same defiance of historical method, the same ignorance of the choice and use of authorities, the same dependence upon irrelevant evidence and straining of it until the original meaning is entirely destroyed or inverted." Church Quar. Rev., xvi, 476–479, is equally unfavorable, though not so outspoken. An excellent sketch of Anselm is in W. H. D. Adams, Great English Churchmen. Lond., 1879, pp. 1–69. For bibliography of Becket see below *in loco*.
21. Perry, G. G. Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. Lond., 1879. Chr. Wordsworth, St. Hugh, in Church Quar. Rev., ix, 89, ff., and in Miscellanies, vol. iii. Magna Vita S. Hugonis, a contemp. Life, ed. by J. F. Dimock in Rolls Series, 1864.
22. Maurice, C. E. Lives of English Popular Leaders in Middle Ages. 2 vols. Lond., 1872–75

The secular histories must be consulted throughout. The civil and ecclesiastical currents intermingle constantly.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

THE latter part of the Saxon period—the eighth and ninth centuries—was the Golden Age of the English Church. The Church was firmly established everywhere, and was reverenced by the people. The clergy sat with the nobles in local and national assemblies. At official gatherings they took precedence of the gentry. Both orders worked together in peace for the Church. The principle of lay representation was recognized. The nobles had an equal voice with the clergy in ecclesiastical legislation. In the witenagemots laws were enacted for State and Church, as now in the English Parliament. Hunt says: "Bishops were usually appointed, and often elected, in the witenagemots. Wilfrith was elected by 'common consent' in a meeting of the Northumbrian witan, and the election of Ealdhelm by the West Saxon assembly is said to have been made by the great men, the clergy, and a multitude of people."[1] Even in the distinctively ecclesiastical councils kings and nobles were present and joined in attesting the proceedings. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether an assembly was a council or a witan. Monasteries were frequent, and in Northumbria they were the homes of learning. Their fame was in all the known world. The libraries of Europe were ransacked for treasures for the Anglo-Saxon monasteries.

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

An interesting question is the relation of the Anglo-Saxon Church to Rome. On the one hand, the pope was considered the successor of St. Peter, the spiritual head of Christendom, and the Roman Church the chief Church of the world.[2] No less than eight English kings are said to have paid their homage in person to the pope. Monastic charters were secured from him.[3] Gregory the Great divided England into two provinces. Vitalian placed all the Anglo-Saxon territory under the jurisdiction of Theodore of Canterbury. Leo I established a second metropolitan at York; Adrian, a third at Litchfield. Leo III revoked the grant to Litchfield, and confirmed precedence to

RELATION OF ANGLO-SAXON AND ROMAN CHURCHES.

[1] The English Church in the Middle Ages, p. 29.

[2] Bede, ii, i, 4; Op. Min., ii, 336. See Lingard, Hist. and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, i, 108, ff. [3] Bede, H. E., iv, 18.

Canterbury. The archbishop received his pallium from the pope. About 787 two legates came from Pope Adrian and held councils. On the other hand, this reverence for the Roman see did not pass into slavish obedience.[1] The bishops were appointed without reference to Rome. When Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was ousting all the English bishops he procured the deposition of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester. "I know my own insufficiency," said Wulstan, "and in deference to the sentence of this holy synod I will give up my pastoral staff, not to you, however, but to him who gave it to me." He then rose and laid his crozier on the marble tomb of Edward the Confessor. Wulstan's deposition was thereupon abandoned.

All details of spiritual oversight were regulated by these assemblies of clergymen and laymen without reference to the papal authority. When the pope took Wilfrid's side in his celebrated quarrel, even so zealous a Catholic as Benedict Biscop, who had five times visited Rome, paid no attention to the papal requisitions. The most eminent prelates of the English Church at that time sided with the national Church in that quarrel and without the slightest consciousness of blame.[2] Ingram, who has thoroughly investigated the ecclesiastical relations of England and Rome, says that the "Saxon kings assumed without question, and as a matter of course, an authority in the Church which differed in no respect from the later Tudor supremacy, so called, as if it were peculiar to that family. They carried out a right to correct, to reform, and to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs. They asserted over the Church the same rights which Constantine, who convoked general councils, presided in them, prescribed the subjects of debate, and confirmed their decrees, had exercised over the empire. This is shown by the celebrated address of Edgar the Pacific to the English clergy.[3] Edward the Confessor, a canonized saint, claimed as king to be the vicar of God, appointed for the high purpose of ruling and defending the Church.[4] No subsequent English sovereign made so large a claim."[5]

[1] See Bright, Early Eng. Ch. History, pp. 296, 297.

[2] See William of Malmesbury, Gest. Part., 240 (Rolls Series). Comp. the able and thorough book by J. Dunbar Ingram, England and Rome, Lond.. 1892, pp. 25-28.

[3] In Twysden Scriptores, x, 360.

[4] Rex autem qui vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc constitutus est, ut regnum et populum Domini, et super omnia, sanctam ecclesiam regat et defendat ab injuriosis, maleficos autem destruat et evellat. . . . Illos vocari decet reges qui vigilanter defendunt et regunt ecclesiam Dei et populum ejus.—Reges Edwardi. Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, p. 198. These are remarkable words, and fully bear out the statement of Ingram.

[5] England and Rome, pp. 12, 13. See below, pp. 598, 604, 605, 607.

The Danish conquest was carried on with wholesale brutalities. The first Northmen landed in the year 787, and the first Danish king came to the English throne in 1017. In that terrible interval the Church was in some places scourged from the face of the earth. Churches and monasteries were destroyed and the monks and clergy were slain. It was a long and fiercely contested fight. The great name of Alfred now appears as warrior, statesman, scholar, saint,

> "King to Justice dear,
> Lord of the harp and liberating spear;
> Mirror of princes."

Alfred not only conquered the Danes, but, what was better, since they were in England to stay, converted them. Guthrum and his followers gave up all attempt to conquer Wessex, and were baptized near Athelney, 878. In the demoralization which came with the Danish incursions learning had been swept away. "Formerly," said Alfred, "foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and instruction, and we must now get these abroad. There is not south of the Thames a man able to translate Latin into English. When I considered all this I remembered how I saw, before it had all been ravaged and burnt, how the Churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books, and there was also a great multitude of God's servants, and they had very little knowledge of the books, for they could not understand anything of them, because they were not written in their own language." He says it was wonderful why in former times "good and wise men who were all over England" wrote no translations. Still there were many left who "can read English writing." Remembering which "I began among other various and manifold troubles of this kingdom to translate into English the book which is called in Latin Pastoralis, and in English Shepherd's Book [Hirdeboc—Gregory's Pastoral Care], sometimes word for word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learnt it from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and Grimbold, my mass-priest, and John, my mass-priest."[1] To show the catholicity of Alfred's search after learned men it is interesting to notice that Plegmund was an Anglo-Saxon, Asser a Welshman (Briton), Grimbold a Frank, and John a Saxon. Asser was to Alfred what Alcuin was to Charles the Great, the founder of schools and literature. In his literary work, as Jusserand well says, Alfred "chooses books likely to fill up the greatest gaps in the minds of his countrymen,

ALFRED THE GREAT.

[1] See H. Sweet, King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, with an Eng. transl., Lond., Early Eng. Text Soc., 1871–72, p. 2.

'books which are most needful for all men to know,' the book of Orosius, which will be for them as a handbook of Universal History; the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, that will instruct them concerning their own past. He teaches laymen their duties with the Consolation of Boethius, and ecclesiastics with the Pastoral Rule of St. Gregory."[1] Of all these he attached most importance to the last, and sent a copy to each of his bishops. The copy sent to Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, can still be seen in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[2] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, begun at Alfred's order, is the earliest history which any European nation possesses in its own tongue. But Alfred's greatness, after all, was in himself rather than in what he did. "No other king ever showed forth so well in his own person the truth of the saying, 'He that would be first among you, let him be the servant of all.'"[3]

ALFRED'S INTEREST IN LEARNING.

The Danes and the English were of the same blood. They mingled together, and eventually could not be distinguished. The final conversion of the Danes removed the last barrier from the complete amalgamation and consolidation of the two peoples.

The influence of the Church is illustrated in the history of St. Dunstan, the forerunner of Becket, and the first of the long list of ecclesiastical statesmen. He was born at Glastonbury in 924 or 925. He was educated by Irish monks at Glastonbury, and he excelled in all the arts of the time except those of the warrior. He became Abbot of Glastonbury, and later chief treasurer of the kingdom. When Edwin, the king, 955, left the witan's banquet of coronation, to seek the society of Elgiva, his kinswoman, with whom he was enamored, Dunstan was sent by the witan, to bring him back to the banquet. To separate the two Dunstan had used violence. This so enraged the mother of Elgiva that Dunstan was obliged to flee. But under the reign of Edwin's two successors, Edgar and Edward, Dunstan, now Archbishop of Canterbury, regained his influence. Dunstan was a statesman, rather than an ecclesiastic. He had the statesman's instinct for conciliation and compromise. The Danes were to be allowed their own laws, and their peaceable assimilation was encouraged. The great ealdormen were to be conciliated, not repressed. The standard of knowledge and morality was to be raised. Foreign teachers were

ST. DUNSTAN.

[1] Jusserand, Literary Hist. of the English people, N. Y., 1895, vol. i, p. 82.

[2] All these works of Alfred have been published by the Early English Text Society, with Introductions and Notes by various scholars. The authenticity of the supposed Alfredian translation of Bede is doubtful. See the Introd. by J. Miller, 1890.

[3] Gardiner, S. R., Student's Hist. of England, p. 60.

brought in. In the great movement to bring the Cluniac strictness into the monasteries, to supplant the secular clergy at the cathedrals with monks, and to enforce celibacy on the parish priests, Dunstan took a moderate interest. He neither enforced celibacy on his priests nor threw them out of the cathedral to make way for monks. He spent his old age in the government of his diocese and in the pursuits of literature, music, and the finer handicrafts, to which he was always attached. Stubbs well calls him the Gerbert, not the Hildebrand, of the tenth century.[1]

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Three times England had been conquered by pagans. Its fourth and last conquest was by Christians. On October 13, 1066, Harold, the bravest and most patriotic Englishman of his time, after one of the most stubbornly contested battles in history, went down before the lances of William the Conqueror. The Norman conquest had no profound influence on English Christianity. Church development went on very much as before. William, indeed, thrust Norman prelates into nearly all the sees and abbey stalls of England; but this did not change the ordinary course of affairs. The principal change was the withdrawal of the clergy from the witenagemot, and the government of the Church through clerical synods. William's ideal of clerical character was high. He appointed only the best men, and held them to their best work. In this he had a helper after his own heart in the great teacher and theologian, Lanfranc, whom he appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. This learned Italian, long domiciled in the Norman monasteries, was one of the leaders of that reform in ecclesiastical life which sprang from Clugny, and was championed by Hildebrand. The monks were compelled to keep the rules of their order, and to give themselves to learning. The canons of the cathedrals were forced to send away their wives, and in the future no priests should marry. The married clergy in the country, however, were allowed to keep their wives. With the help of Lanfranc, William put new life into the English Church.[2]

WILLIAM AND LANFRANC.

Perhaps it was William's interest in a pure Church which kept

[1] Introd. to Memorials of Dunstan (Rolls Series), Lond., 1874, which gives the best biography and estimate of Dunstan. There is a suggestive and scholarly treatment in E. W. Robertson, Hist. Essays, Edinb., 1872, essays on Dunstan's Policy and the Coronation of Edgar. Hume's account, like that in ordinary histories, is worthless. Gardiner is better than Green. Comp. Prof. Tout, in Dict. of Eng. Hist. (Pulling and Low), pp. 394, 395.

[2] On the administration of this great ecclesiastic, see Church, St. Anselm, ch. vii; Freeman, Norman Conquest, iv, 345–450. For the Works of Lanfranc and the Chronicles of Bec, see Giles, Opera Lanfr., Oxf., 1844, 2 vols. The Eccl. Hist. of Ordericus Vitalis also contains original materials.

Hildebrand at peace with him. For the Norman-English king was by no means inclined to surrender to the papal autocracy. William appointed bishops and abbots by giving them investiture, as the presenting of the ring and staff was called. He declared that no pope should be obeyed in England who was not acknowledged such by himself, that no papal wills and letters should have any force until he had allowed them, and that the decrees of an ecclesiastical synod should bind no one until he had confirmed them. When, at a later time, Gregory required William to do homage to the see of Rome, William refused, on the ground that homage had never been rendered by his predecessors. To all this Gregory submitted."[1] And he submitted because power in the hands of William was used, not to waste the Church, but to increase its spirituality and effectiveness. "Hubert, your legate," writes William to the pope, "coming to me on your behalf, admonished me, religious Father, that I should do fealty to you and your successors, and that, touching the money which my predecessors were accustomed to send to the Roman Church, I should take better order. The one claim I have admitted, and the other I have not admitted. Fealty I neither have been willing to do, nor will I do it now, for I never promised it; and I find not that my predecessors did it to yours." In the great conflict between Gregory and Henry, William did not take sides, but the letter of Lanfranc proves that the English king reserved the right to form his own judgment and take his own course.[2]

WILLIAM AND HILDEBRAND.

[1] S. R. Gardiner, Student's Hist. of England, p. 108. See Ingram, England and Rome, pp. 13, 14.

[2] On the ecclesiastical administration of William, see Church, St. Anselm, pp. 146–174.

CHAPTER XXI.

ST. ANSELM.

AOSTA is a gloomy old Piedmontese town lying among the smiling orchards and vineyards near the opening of the great St. Bernard Pass. It abounds in ruins of the Roman period, and to the modern traveler recalls the story of Calvin while giving wise counsel to the unhappy Queen Renata of Este. Myers thus sings its natural beauties:

"Far off the old snows ever new
With silver edges cleft the blue
Aloft, alone, divine;
The sunny meadows silent slept,
Silence the somber armies kept,
The vanguard of the pine.

"In that thin air the birds are still,
No ringdove murmurs on the hill,
Nor mating cushat calls;
But gay cicalas singing sprang,
And waters from the forest sang
The song of waterfalls."[1]

Here Anselm was born about 1033. His father was a rough and violent man and a spendthrift. His mother was a devout woman, who brought up her son in the ways of piety. After the death of his mother his father's harshness drove Anselm from home. He crossed the Alps into France, and followed Lanfranc to the newly founded monastery of Bec, in Normandy. This had been founded about 1034 by Herlwin, a noble who became tired of the wild and fierce life led by the barons of that time. The fame of Lanfranc made it one of the most illustrious seats of learning in the Middle Ages. By the "irony of fate," after a Colbert, a Rochefoucault, and a Bourbon Condé had held the abbacy, the last successor of Anselm was M. de Talleyrand. Anselm became monk in 1060, prior in 1063, and abbot from 1078 to 1093. Lanfranc found a ready pupil in his brother Italian, a man after his own heart in zeal for learning, godliness, and all high and noble pursuits. Lanfranc was called to England, and

LANFRANC AND ANSELM.

[1] For Aosta, see Aubert's Valleé d'Aoste, and Church, St. Anselm, pp. 9–18.

the pupil stepped into the master's place. Church says: "The man who succeeded him was one who, to childlike singleness and tenderness of heart, joined an originality and power of thought which rank him, even to this day, among the few discoverers of new paths in philosophical speculation. Anselm was one of those devout enthusiasts after exact truth who try the faculties of the human mind to the uttermost, and to whom the investigation of new ideas, pushed to their simplest forms and ultimate grounds, takes the place of the passions and objects of life. He had all that dialectical subtlety and resource which awakening mind in half-barbarous times exacts from and admires in its guides; but he had also, besides this, which was common enough, the daring and the force to venture by himself into real depths and difficulties of thought, such as have been tried by the greatest of modern thinkers, and in which lie the deepest problems of our times. Fixed at Bec,[1] the philosophic inquirer settled to his toil, and reverently and religiously, yet fearlessly, gave his reason its range. His biographer records the astonishment caused by his attempts to 'unravel the darkest, and before his time the unsolved and unusual questions concerning the divine nature and our faith, which lay hid, covered by much darkness, in the divine Scriptures.' 'For,' adds Eadmer, 'he had such confidence in them that with immovable trust of heart he felt convinced that there was nothing in them contrary to solid truth. Therefore he bent his purpose most earnestly to this, that according to his faith it might be vouchsafed to him to perceive by his mind and reason the things which were veiled in them."[2]

ANSELM'S BOLD PHILOSOPHY.

Out of these meditations came the Monologion, an attempt, by the reason, without the aid of Scripture, and by plain and simple argument, to elicit the idea of God, as including also a belief in the Word and Spirit, and to justify it. His chief method is by postulating the existence of certain qualities in men and nature which undeniably exist to mount up to the ground of their existence in a perfect and transcendent Being. Out of severer and more painful meditations, as out of birth-pangs, came his Proslogion, in which for the first time was laid the foundation of the ontological argument for the existence of God, which was revived by Descartes, and which has had a great fascination for deep thinkers, especially in France and Germany. The thought of the Proslogion is this: the idea of God in the human mind necessarily involves the reality of that idea. With mas-

ANSELM'S WORKS.

[1] Bec is twenty-one miles from Bironne. The best account is Church, ch. ii.

[2] St. Anselm, pp. 81, 82.

terly boldness and originality this great pioneer develops this argument.[1]

Anselm was more than a thinker. He was an inspiring teacher, of wide sympathies, who drew his pupils to him by his tact, moderation, and gentleness. He was the confidant of the monks and students, to whom they went for sympathy and help. In the infirmary no nurse could exceed his assiduity and kindness. He anticipated our modern method of school management. He substituted a study of individual needs by seeking to draw out the best that was in each pupil, and this by kindness, gentleness, and firmness, for the common method of forcing all into a common mold by brutal punishments. What those punishments must have been in that fierce and bloody time need not be told when we remember what they were even in our own boyhood. Eadmer tells of a lesson an abbot received on school training. "What am I to do with the boys in my monastery?" asked the abbot of Anselm. "Do what we will, they are perverse and incorrigible; we do not cease beating them day and night, and they only get worse." "And what do they turn into when they grow up?" said Anselm. "They turn only dull and brutal." "Well, you have had bad luck in the pains you spend on their training," said Anselm, "if you only turn them into beasts." "But what are we to do then?" said the abbot. "In every kind of way we constrain them to improve, and it's no use." "*Constrain* them! Tell me, my lord abbot, if you planted a tree in your garden, and tied it up on all sides so that it could not stretch forth its branches, what sort of a tree would it turn out when, after some years, you gave it room to spread? Would it not be good for nothing, full of tangled and crooked boughs? And whose fault would this be but yours, who had put such constant restraint upon it? And this is just what you do with your boys. You plant them in the garden of the Church, that they may grow and bear fruit to God. But you so cramp them round with terrors and threats and blows that they are utterly debarred from the enjoyment of any freedom. And thus injudiciously kept down they collect in their minds evil thoughts tangled like thorns; they cherish and feed them, and with dogged temper elude all that might help to correct them. And hence it comes that they see nothing in you of love, or kindness, or good will; they cannot believe that you mean any good by them, and put down all you do to dislike and ill nature. Hatred and mistrust

ANSELM AS A TEACHER.

ANSELM'S TREATMENT OF YOUTH.

[1] Eadmer describes the long, anxious thought which preceded the great joy of the dawn of this idea, which flooded his soul with glory as the sight of a new ocean from a peak in Darien.

grow with them as they grow; and they go about with downcast eyes, and cannot look you in the face. But, for the love of God, I wish you would tell me why you are so harsh with them. Are they not human beings? Would you like, if you were what they are, to be treated as you treat them? You try by blows and stripes to fashion them to good; did you ever see a craftsman fashion a fair image out of a plate of gold or silver by blows alone? Does he not with his tools now gently press and strike it, now with wise art gently raise and shape it? So, if you mold your boys to good, you must, along with the stripes which are to bow them down, lift them up and assist them by fatherly kindness and gentleness." Anselm continues to argue for tact and consideration in the treatment of the young—a beautiful plea, the urgent need of which has not yet passed away.

WILLIAM RUFUS, THE RED.

William the Conqueror was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus (the Red), 1087, who had all his father's indomitable will and imperious temper, without his conception of right or obedience to conscience. He was utterly self-willed, blasphemous, and restrained by no religious scruples. He was a ruffian, a robber, and a debauchee. Under the terror of an illness he repented and promised amendment. When he arose from his bed, he, however, plunged into his former wickedness. "God shall never see me a good man," he said. "I have suffered too much at his hands." Of all the clerks (clergymen) who did the writing at the court, he advanced Ranulf Flambard (Ralph the Firebrand) to the highest secular office, that of Justiciar, because he was the coarsest, most unscrupulous, and most cruel. The people groaned under his brutal exactions.

ANSELM'S RELUCTANT ACCEPTANCE OF THE SEE OF CANTERBURY.

In 1089 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and for four years William Rufus kept the see vacant, as was his wont in such cases, that he might appropriate the resources. Finally, in 1093, supposing himself to be a dying man, he yielded to the persuasions of his bishops, and appointed Anselm as the successor of the great master. Anselm had been an occasional visitor to England, to look after the lands of the monastery of Bec, which were situated there, and these visits had endeared him to many of the English clergy for his courtesy, character, learning, and kindness. But Anselm knew the situation, and, with genuine reluctance, refused the honor. The incident is characteristic of the age. When Anselm refused to go to the bedside to receive the pastoral staff the bishops covered him with reproaches and expostulations. At last they dragged him by force to the room. Still holding out, the

bishops and bystanders grew "angry with themselves for their own irresolution. The cry arose, 'A pastoral staff, a pastoral staff!' They dragged him to the king's bedside and held out his right arm to receive the staff. But when the king presented it Anselm kept his hand firmly clinched. They tried by main force to wrench it open, and when he cried out with the pain of their violence they at last held the staff closely pressed against his still closed hand. Amid the shouts of the crowd, 'Long live the bishop!' with the *Te Deum* of the bishops and clergy, he was carried rather than led to a neighboring church, still crying out, 'It is naught that ye are doing, it is naught that ye are doing.'" When the farce was over Anselm addressed the bishops, and asked them why they had yoked an old and feeble sheep with a wild bull. He would only be the victim of violence which he would be helpless to prevent. Then, when the conflict came, they would not stand by him. And when he was crushed they too would find themselves under the king's feet.[1]

After William recovered Anselm laid down the conditions under which he would accept. All the possessions of the see as Lanfranc had held them must be restored. In things pertaining to God the king must take him as his counselor and spiritual father as he took the king for his earthly lord and defender. In the quarrel going on between the two popes, Urban and the antipope Clement, who was recognized by the emperor, as Anselm, with the rest of the Norman Church, had acknowledged Urban, he could not swerve from his former position. William gave at least a partial promise, and as Anselm could not endure longer the reproach that he was standing in the way of the recovery of the wasted Church of England, the gentle abbot of Bec was consecrated to the see of his departed friend, December 4, 1093, in the presence of nearly all the English bishops.

CONFLICT OF ANSELM WITH WILLIAM RUFUS.

Now the fight began. There were several points of contention: Anselm would not allow the right of the permanent alienation of Church lands which William had given to his vassals since the death of Lanfranc; Anselm wanted the king's aid in bridling the fearful immorality of the times; the vacant bishoprics and abbacies must be filled up; a council was desired, "by which Christian religion, which had well-nigh perished in many men might be restored." This was refused in a wrathful manner by the king.[2] Then Anselm desired the permission to go

[1] Eadmer, H. N., i, p. 36; Ans. Ep., iii, 1; Church, St. Anselm, pp. 217-222; Hasse, Life of Anselm, tr. Turner, pp. 72-78.

[2] See the account of the dramatic interview in Church, p. 232.

to Rome to receive the pallium from Pope Urban. "If you receive in my realm," said William, "Urban or anyone else for pope, without my choice and authority, or if having received him you hold to him, you act against the faith you hold to me, and offend me not less than if you tried to deprive me of my crown. Therefore be assured that in my realm you shall have no part, unless I have the proof by plain declarations that, according to my wish, you refuse all submission and obedience to Urban." Also, Anselm was thoroughly in sympathy with the Gregorian reforms for the purification of the Church and its emancipation from the dictation of the State. Thus he stood squarely with the pope, that the right of investiture, that is, of conferring the ring and crosier upon bishops, belonged to the Church and not to the State. Unless the pope, therefore, would signify that in the case of England this right might be remitted, Anselm would not surrender to the king.

Such were the features of this historic quarrel in which a venerable scholar, one of the mildest and most devout and unworldly of men, was measured against one of the most brutal and godless tyrants in all history. The details will be found in the garrulous pages of old Eadmer and Oderic Vitalis, and in the noble biography by Church. It is a fascinating story, of almost romantic interest. The quarrel was suspended by the death of the king in the New Forest, August 2, 1100, by a stray or intentional arrow, but it was carried over into Henry I's reign, and was finally settled by a sensible compromise. In the presence of Anselm, the multitude standing by, the king granted and decreed that from that time forth forever no one should be invested in England with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring, either by the king or any lay hand. Anselm also allowed that no one elected to a prelacy should be refused consecration on account of homage done to the king. This, then, having been settled, fathers were appointed by the king, by the counsel of Anselm and the chief man of the realm, without any investiture of the pastoral staff and ring, in nearly all the Churches in England which had long been deprived of their pastors. The ring and staff, signs of spiritual jurisdiction, were kept in the hands of the Church. The wealth and temporal power of the bishops, who were really barons, were to be at the king's disposal when occasion demanded. The chapters were to elect their bishop and the monks their abbot, but only in the king's presence, thus giving him influence over their choice. The victory was really Anselm's, and it was won, as Church remarks, chiefly by the respect that was rendered to his spotless character and great attainments. Anselm died April 21, 1109.

ANSELM AND HENRY I.

In this age and from our standpoint we sympathize rather with the king than with the archbishop. We know to what that Tiberian usurpation grew and on what a basis of fraud and unhistoric pretensions it rested. But the eleventh century did not know that. Anselm and his opponents equally reverenced the pope. William and his time-serving bishops could say nothing when Anselm made his great plea: "You want me to swear, in order that you may feel safe of me, that I will never more appeal to St. Peter or his vicar. This is a demand which as a Christian you ought not to make. For to swear this is to forswear St. Peter, and to forswear St. Peter is to forswear Christ, who made him chief over his Church. When I deny Christ, then I will readily pay the penalty in your court for asking for this license." Anselm appealed to the only recognized court of his time against the lawless violence of the king. Anselm could not foresee that that court would itself become a throne of lawlessness as an instrument of an unscrupulous and unspiritual tyranny. But that spiritual and august tribunal, whom all men acknowledged as holding its authority directly from God, was the only barrier that the times knew against the swellings of that feudal and kingly despotism that trampled upon the sanctions of God and the rights of men. There was no appeal to law in England. But "there was a very real and living law in Christendom, a law, as we know now, of very mixed and questionable growth, yet in those days unsuspected and in its character far more complete, rational, and imposing than any other code which had grown up in that stage of society—equal, impartial, with living and powerful sanctions." The appeal of Anselm was not against the king and constitution of England to a foreign power, as we would now interpret it, but was the "only appeal practicable then from arbitrary rule to law."[1]

ANSELM'S APPEAL TO ROME.

Gardiner says that the temporary truth of one century may cease to be the temporary truth of another, and that, therefore, the "day would come when those who were most bitterly opposed to the Roman see would be those who most truly maintained the principles of Anselm. His spirit rests with the men who in the seventeenth century passed the Toleration Act and founded the liberty of the press."[2]

[1] Church, St. Anselm, pp. 268, 269; see also pp. 266–268, 336–347.

[2] In Gardiner and Mullinger, Introd. to Study of English History, pp. 353, 354.

LITERATURE: ST. THOMAS BECKET.

The original materials for the life of Becket may be found in Giles, Vita S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, Epistolæ S. Thom. Cant. et aliorum, Ep. Gilberti epis., Lond., Opera Omnia Herberti de Bosham, 8 vols., Oxf., 1845; Giles, Joan. Saris, Opera Omnia, Oxf., 1845; and in the better edited collection of J. C. Robertson, Materials for the History of Thos. Becket, Lond., 1875–85, 7 vols., which gives all the contemporary Lives, Epistles, and other sources. More available is the Conspectus of the sources (translated) in W. H. Hutton, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Lond. and N. Y., 1893, in the admirable series, English History from Contemporary Writers, ed. by F. York Powell.

1. Froude, R. H. History of the Contest between Thomas à Becket and Henry II. Chiefly a transl. of Contemporary Letters. Derby, 1839. In Remains, 3 vols. As violently for Thomas as his brother is against him.
2. Giles, J. A. Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket. 2 vols. Lond., 1846. Useful, though without critical appreciation.
3. Stanley, A. P. Hist. Memorials of Canterbury, Lond., 1855, 6th ed., 1872. Describes last scenes in Becket's life, with a valuable history of his shrine.
4. Robertson, J. C. Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Lond., 1859. Generally accurate as to fact, dry, but bitter in spirit against Becket.
5. Morris, J. (R. C.). Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket. Lond., 1859.
6. Buss, F. F. Der heil. Thomas u. sein Kampf für d. Freiheit der Kirche. Mainz, 1856. An elaborate and careful study from a R. C. point of view.
7. Reuter, H. Alexander III. 3 vols. Leipz., 1860–64.
8. Magnusson, M. E. Thomas Saga Erkibyskups. 2 vols. Lond., 1875, 1884. An Icelandic Life, with translation.
9. Froude, J. A. Life and Times of Thomas Becket. Lond. and N. Y., 1878. Also in Nineteenth Century for 1877, and in Short Studies, iv, 1–150. Intensely hostile to Becket. Freeman calls Froude's Becket "not history, but fiction," and says that Froude's mind is so constituted that he is incapable of writing history.
10. Freeman, E. A. St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers, in Hist. Essays, Series I. Lond. and N. Y., 1871; 4th ed., 1886. Becket and Mr. Froude in Contemporary Rev., 1878 (a series of articles). Freeman takes a statesmanlike and just view of Becket. His calmness and impartial tone contrast with the feverish spite of Froude's fascinating pen.
11. Wells, N. W. The Becket of Mr. Froude and Lord Tennyson. And. Rev., Aug., 1885, pp. 113–125. Prefers the poet's estimate to the historian's.
12. Norgate, Kate. England Under the Angevin Kings. 2 vols. Lond., 1887. An excellent work, written under the direction of J. R. Green.
13. Thompson, R. A. Thomas Becket, Martyr and Patriot. Lond., 1889.
14. Schaff, P. Thomas Becket, in Papers of the American Society of Church History, iv (1893), pp. 3, ff. An impartial view, with literature.

The Church and secular histories should be consulted. Milman has a long and able treatment. See Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors of England, 5th ed., 1868, vol. i, ch. iii, and Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

CHAPTER XXII.

THOMAS BECKET.

THE curse of the English Church in the Middle Ages was the despotism of kings and the secularism of bishops. The bishops were little better than fighting barons possessed of immense lands and numerous retainers. Very few of them had any conception of the spiritual calling of the ministry. After Anselm's death Henry kept the see vacant for five years. Political or personal considerations governed all matters relating to the Church. The king secularized the Church in order to make it serve the State. Under the troublesome reign of Stephen, 1135–54, the Roman Church gained more power. The king put forth a charter in which he said that he was "king by the grace of God, elected by the clergy and people, hallowed by William, archbishop and legate, and confirmed by Innocent, pontiff of the Holy Roman See," and in which he promised to avoid simony, and that the persons and property of clerks should be under the jurisdiction of their bishops. It was one of the objects of Rome to diminish the power of the English Church by superseding so far as possible the authority of the archbishops of Canterbury by a papal legate. Appeals to Rome became common. When Stephen imprisoned the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln for suspected disloyalty he was made to appear before the papal legate stripped of his royal robes, and humbly received his censure for having "stretched out his hand against the Lord's anointed." Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139–61, tried to restore the Church somewhat. He also recommended Thomas of London to Henry II to be appointed to the office of chancellor. He brought over Vacarius from Italy to lecture in civil law in Oxford. This was soon followed by the study of common law. Thus the clergy had their own code.

DESPOTIC KINGS AND SECULAR BISHOPS.

In 1154 Henry II came to the throne. He was harsh, stern, unscrupulous, and imperious. He had the temper of a fiend, but with a rough patriotism. He was a man of ceaseless energy both of mind and body. Henry's first work was to restore order in England by crushing the barons and making all the castles his own. In this work of restoration to the customs of Henry I his chief helper was his able chancellor, Thomas

HENRY II AND HIS CHANCELLOR, THOMAS BECKET.

of London,' the son of Gilbert Becket, a wealthy trader. When a young man in business Thomas gained the attention of Archbishop Theobald, who induced him to devote himself to clerical studies. He studied at Bologna, Paris, and Auxerre. Theobald made him rector of St. Mary-le-Strand and Oxford in Kent, and prebendary of St. Paul's and Lincoln, and in 1154 archdeacon of Canterbury and Provost of Beverley. The duties of none of these offices were performed by Thomas, but were simply royal dignities. He carefully appropriated the revenues, however. His mind was thoroughly secular. In his chancellorship he seconded all of Henry's efforts to reform the kingdom and raise money, even to the levying scutage on the Church lands, a measure that was strongly opposed by Theobald. He magnified his high office and lived in great splendor. Everyone remarked the glory of his equipage when he went to France in 1158 to arrange the marriage of his pupil, the young prince. And underneath all this worldly enthusiasm was a heart as leonine as Henry's own. In the expedition to Toulouse in 1159 he equipped and led a regiment, and he was in the front of the fight, his brave battle-ax felling many a knight.

HENRY II'S SCHEME TO REFORM CHURCH.

Henry found that to bring all things in England under the royal hand he must deal with the Church. The Conqueror had exempted the Church from supervision of the secular courts in all ecclesiastical cases, and under Stephen they had also secured immunity even in civil cases. The ecclesiastical courts were much more lenient than the secular code. They could not inflict death, and their other punishments were far less brutal than the cruel methods of the civil law. This led many to seek the lower sacred orders in order to be outside the reach of the civil code. Clerks who were murderers, thieves, and robbers were common. This state of things Henry was determined to abolish. He had also other projects for the humiliation of the Church. To carry out these reforms he must have some one in the archbishopric who would thoroughly sympathize with his aims, and with energy enough to carry them out. Who better than his great chancellor? In vain Thomas tried to beg off. In vain he warned his king that their friendship would cease if he became the head of the English

[1] There is no authority for writing the name, Thomas à Becket, and only once in his life was he called Thomas Becket, and then by one of his murderers as an insult. Hereditary surnames had not then come into common use. He was called by his contemporaries Thomas, Thomas of London, Thomas of Canterbury, or with the designation of his office. See Freeman, Essays, First Series, p. 82.

Church. Through Henry's influence the monks of Christ Church and the suffragan bishops and clergy of Canterbury elected him archbishop 1162. Hitherto he had been only a deacon, but now he was ordained a priest, and the next day he was consecrated.

"No man can serve two masters," said Thomas Becket. The remarkable change which came over this man is not due to any inconsistency of character, as Freeman has well pointed out, but rather to the underlying habit of his life. Formerly he served his master the king with all his heart, now he must serve the Church with all his heart.

> "O my good lord Leicester,
> The king and I were brothers. All I had
> I lavished for the glory of the king;
> I shone for him, for him, his glory, his
> Reflection; now the glory of the Church
> Hath swallowed up the glory of the king;
> I am his no more, but hers."[1]

"The king has wrought a miracle," said Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London; "he has turned a soldier and a layman into an archbishop."[2] But it was no great miracle. Theobald's archdeacon, who had studied ecclesiastical law under the great canonist Gratian at Bologna, when once intrusted with the highest office in the English Church, could easily throw himself with passionate ardor into the work of making the Church a power in the land. Formerly his life, though worldly and luxurious, had been stainless—no small thing to say of the members of the court in those days. Now it became fiercely ascetic. Without the poise, inner harmony, and sanctification of nature of Anselm, he became as zealously in earnest to realize the monastic ideal of ministerial character. As Milman says, he tried to crowd a whole lifetime of monkhood into a few years, as though to make up for his past remissness. Under his clerical dress he wore a monk's frock,

THOMAS BECKET AS ARCHBISHOP.

[1] Tennyson, Becket (1884). This poem is founded on a study of the sources, and has admirably caught the spirit of Becket. Newell Woolsey Wells compares Tennyson's and Froude's conceptions of Thomas, giving the palm of just and sympathetic representation to the poet. See Andover Rev., iv, 113, ff. Aubrey de Vere has also made Thomas the subject of a poem, St. Thomas of Canterbury: a Dramatic Poem, Lond., 1876, which contains many spirited and beautiful lines. De Vere is more of a hero worshiper than Tennyson.

[2] Ep., Ed. Dr. Giles, i, 265. Lingard (Hist. of England, 6th ed., Note 8 in App., vol. ii, p. 809) is inclined to regard the letter in which these words occur as spurious, after Berington, Hist. of Henry II, Appendix ii. But Milman has well replied to this, Latin Christianity, iv, 323, 324, note. Milman is very full on Becket, but should be read in connection with Freeman.

with haircloth next his skin. His devotions and fasts were long and rigid, and at mass he was frequently melted into tears. Withal he submitted to private flagellations, and his charities were boundless. More than this, he sent to the king his resignation of the chancellorship, a step which dashed all of Henry's hopes to the ground, and indicated that, as now the prelate owed his first obedience to the Church, their paths must lie apart.

The first quarrel soon came. It must be remembered that this was the pre-parliamentary era of England, when, although State assemblies were called, the will of the king was almost absolute. The morning of Magna Charta had not yet dawned. The Norman kings were, like the Stuarts, the devotees of absolutism. Henry wished to revive the old tax of Danegeld—two shillings on every hide of land which the sheriffs of the counties had been wont to collect, and which Henry now wanted to come into royal revenue. Thomas, an unconscious Hampden, resisted.[1] "Saving your pleasure, lord king, we will not give it as revenue; but if the sheriffs and officers of the counties do their duty by us we will never refuse them by way of aid." "By the eyes of God," cried the king, in wrath, "it shall be given as revenue, and entered on the king's books; and you ought not to oppose me, for I am not oppressing any man of yours against your will." "By the same eyes you have sworn by, my lord king," said Thomas, "it shall not be levied from any of my lands, and from the lands of the Church not a penny." Strange to say, Henry did not press the claim, and nothing was ever after heard of that tax.

FIRST CONFLICT WON BY THOMAS.

Thomas was strenuous in insisting on the recovery of Church lands, and also on the immunity of the clergy from the secular courts. Henry held here the strong position that the Church should not shield murderers and robbers because they were clerks. They must come under the same penalties as laymen. Edward Grim, the biographer of Becket, makes a frank admission of the crimes of the clergy. No less than one hundred clerks were charged with homicide. Henry determined to have these things settled. He called a council at Clarendon 1164. Here Thomas's contentions were swept away, and the following, among others, were declared to be the customs of the realm:

THE CLARENDON CONSTITUTIONS.

I. Of the admission and presentation to Churches; if any dispute shall arise between laics, or between clerks and laics, let it be tried and decided in the court of our lord the king.

[1] This even Robertson allows, Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury: a Biography, Lond., 1859, p. 74.

II. Churches of the king's fee shall not be given in perpetuity without his consent and license.

III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the king's justice into the king's court to answer for whatever the king's court shall determine they ought to answer there, and in the ecclesiastical court for whatever shall be determined they ought to answer there; yet so that the king's justice shall send into the court of the holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there be handled; and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church for the future shall not protect him.

IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person, shall leave the kingdom without the king's license; and if they wish to leave it the king shall be empowered, if he please, to take security from them that they will do no harm to the king or kingdom, either in going, remaining, or returning.

VIII. No appeals can be carried beyond the archbishop's court without the consent of the king—directed against appeals to the pope.

XII. All vacant Church offices belong to the king. When the time comes to appoint a successor it shall be done in the king's chapel, with his consent and advice.

XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of their lord, in whose land they are known to have been born —a miserable provision, striking away the last opportunity of education and promotion of the children of the poor. It was an invasion of popular liberty thoroughly congenial to the temper of the Norman and Angevin kings of England.

To these sweeping Constitutions every prelate and noble in the kingdom consented with hand and seal. Under enormous pressure, and perhaps with the understanding that the king required only a nominal consent, Thomas at first signed, and then immediately recalled his signature, and utterly refused to attach his seal to the document. Henry then summoned him to his castle at Northampton to give an account of all the money which he had received as chancellor—money which he had spent in the king's service. This came in a succession of other demands, all intended to humiliate the archbishop and the Church. "Would you were no longer archbishop," said Bishop Hilary of Chichester, "but plain Thomas. Thou knowest the king better than we do; he has declared that thou and he cannot remain together in England. Who will be bound for such an amount [as that for which Becket was called to give an account]? Throw thyself on the king's mercy, or to the eternal disgrace of the Church thou wilt be arrested and impris-

oned as a debtor to the crown." At this council the bishops and nobles sided with the king, as they did in the case of Anselm. Thomas alleged that the justiciar had given him full acquittance for all the moneys of the chancellorship; that it was unlawful for the bishops to thus judge and condemn their archbishop in a lay court; and he ended by this solemn appeal: "My person and my Church I place under the protection of the sovereign pontiff."[1] When the Earl of Leicester arose to pronounce the king's sentence upon him Becket interrupted him. "Thy sentence! son and earl, hear me first. The king was pleased to promote me against my will to the archbishopric of Canterbury. I was then declared free from all secular obligations. Ye are my children. Presume ye against law and reason to sit in judgment on your spiritual father? I am to be judged only, under God, by the pope. To him I appeal. Before him I cite you, barons and suffragans, to appear. Under the protection of the Catholic Church and the apostolic see I depart." He arose and walked down the hall. Some one uttered the word "Traitor." "Were it not for my order you would rue that word," said Thomas, in great anger.

THOMAS APPEALS TO THE POPE.

The archbishop made his way to the coast and fled to France. In his rage Henry banished four hundred of the archbishop's kinsmen and friends, innocent folk who had taken no part in the quarrel.[2] Thomas laid his case before Alexander III, who was at the time an exile in France, for then, as in Anselm's time, the emperor was keeping an antipope on the throne. Alexander sympathized with Becket, but advised patience, because the pope did not want to break with Henry. Henry also appealed to the pope, and for six years the struggle continued. Alexander's vacillating course did not satisfy Becket, and he wrote: "In the Roman court Barabbas escapes and Christ is put to death."

THOMAS'S FLIGHT TO FRANCE.

> "This almoner hath tasted Henry's gold,
> The cardinals have fingered Henry's gold,
> And Rome is venal even to rottenness."

[1] For an account of the dramatic scenes of this trial see the biographers of Becket, and Milman, iv, 343–352.

[2] The king's wrath was uncontrollable. He was subjected to those "paroxysms of fury to which all the earlier Plantagenet princes were subject, and which were believed by themselves to arise from a mixture of demoniacal blood in their race." See the Murder of Becket, in the Quarterly Review, Sept., 1853. A writer describes him, "thwarted in his humor, groveling like a maniac on the rack, gnawing the wisps of straw, or gnashing his teeth, and groveling like a wild beast, with those frightful blood-spotted orbs glaring with hatred and ferocity." The Reunion Magazine, Lond., 1 (1879), 220.

The ill health of Henry and the necessity of providing for his successor brought about a kind of reconciliation. The mode of succession of the English kings was not then settled, and Henry caught at the French idea of having his son crowned in his own lifetime. The Church must therefore be conciliated, because the king was anointed by her representative. Henry obtained from the pope a commission to the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury to perform the ceremony on his son.[1] When Becket heard this he represented to the pope that it had always been the uncontested right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown the kings of England. Alexander then issued a letter of inhibition to the Archbishop of York. This letter was either disregarded or was not received in time, and the young prince was crowned.[2] With an interdict hanging over his head Henry consented to a reconciliation with Becket. The conference took place at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. Henry promised that Thomas could crown his son again, and also his son's queen. The king seems to have made a general and complete submission, but only in general terms. The Constitutions of Clarendon were not mentioned, and no definite promises seem to have been made.

RETURN OF THOMAS.

On December 1, 1170, Thomas landed at Sandwich, and rode to Canterbury amid universal shouts and rejoicing. He came in his hour of triumph, not to forgive and forget, but to reassert all his rights with vigor, and to thunder the papal excommunications against the bishops concerned in the late coronation. Yet he came with chastened heart, because, as he said, his end was near. His first text in his cathedral was, "Here we have no abiding city." On Christmas Day he preached, not in love, but in hatred, and repeated his excommunications against the knights who had robbed and insulted him. Then he spoke of the martyrdom of St. Alphege, and added, "There may soon be a second."

[1] Lingard thinks this letter a forgery, ii, 77, note 4. This is hardly likely. Alexander was full of duplicity.

[2] J. A. Froude, Life and Times of Thomas Becket, in Short Studies, iv, 79, says that the letter of inhibition was purposely withheld by Becket, for which there is no proof, and which is improbable in itself. The letter was given to the Bishop of Worcester. Gardiner, Student's Hist. of England, p. 149, says that the day before the coronation the Archbishop of York had received notice of the excommunication of all taking part in the ceremony. Hunt, The Church of England in the Middle Ages, p. 120, says that Henry himself prevented the prohibition from being brought into England. Milman, iv, 401, thinks that the king himself suppressed the letter, and that, in any event, no one would have dared to produce such a letter in England, as it would have been considered a misdemeanor or treason.

Since he would not withdraw the papal censures the offended prelates appealed to the king. Then in one of his fierce outbursts of madness the king exclaimed, "Are there no cowards who eat my bread who will rid me of this low-born and turbulent priest?" Among the fierce warriors of that fierce age such a challenge could not pass unheeded.

Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Reginald Brito departed by separate ways to meet at Canterbury. Fitz-Urse upbraided Thomas with disloyalty in opposing the coronation of the king's son, and commanded him to absolve the prelates. "On the contrary," said Thomas, "I would have gladly given him three crowns and a kingdom. As for the bishops, they had been suspended by the pope, by whom alone they could be absolved. Besides, they had given no satisfaction." Becket's enemy said: "It is the king's command that you and the rest of your disloyal followers leave the kingdom." "It becomes not the king," said Becket, "to utter such command; henceforth no power on earth shall separate me from my flock." "You have presumed to excommunicate the king's servants and officers, without consulting the king," was said in reply. "Nor will I ever spare the man who violates the canons of Rome or the rights of the Church," added Becket. "From whom do you hold your archbishopric?" demanded Fitz-Urse. "My spirituals from God and the pope, my temporals from the king." "Do you not hold all from the king?" "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "You speak in peril of your life." "Come ye to murder me?" answered the haughty prelate, invincible in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and who had never known fear; "I defy you, and will meet you front to front in the battle of the Lord." Then the knights gnashed their teeth with rage and rushed out for their arms.[1]

The knights met Becket at the vesper service in the cathedral. As the servitors heard the din of arms in the corridors they closed the doors. "Open the doors," said Thomas; "no one must be debarred from the house of God, for this is not a castle." They rushed in. With the exception of two or three friends the worshipers fled in terror. "Where is Thomas, the traitor?" shouted

[1] The best accounts of the closing scenes of this tragic story are found in Milman, Lat. Chris., iv, 412, ff.; Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury; Lee, Historical Sketches of the Reformation, Lond., 1878, pp. 134, ff.; Froude, Short Studies, iv, 104, ff., who is partial to the murderers, and says that Thomas "forced destruction on himself" (p. 106); Adams, Becket, in Great English Churchmen, pp. 146–159, whose whole account is full and fair.

one of the knights. To such an inquiry there could be no reply. "Where is the archbishop?" demanded Fitz-Urse. THOMAS'S MARTYRDOM. "Here I am, Reginald; no traitor, but your archbishop and a priest of God. What ask you?" "Absolve those bishops whom you have excommunicated," shouted the knight. "I can and will do no other than I have done," said Thomas. "You shall die, traitor! Fly at once! fly, for you are a dead man!" "I am ready to die for God and his Church, if God wills it; but I warn you in God's name to let my men escape." Then they tried to drag him from the sacred precincts, not willing to add sacrilege to murder. This angered him, and in his great strength he shook them off like dogs, and called Fitz-Urse by a foul name. Then they shouted, "Strike, strike!" The archbishop recovered his self-possession, and prepared to receive the blows. "We commend our cause to God, to St. Denys, and St. Alphege," he said, as the blood was pouring down his cheeks. He bent his neck to the smiters, saying, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." A third blow from Tracy brought him to his knees. "I die for the name of Jesus and in defense of his Church," he said as he fell at length upon the altar steps.

One of the most exact representations of the martyrdom occurs in an illuminated Psalter in the British Museum.[1] There was also an old fresco on the wall of Brereton Church in County Chester.[2] There is a representation in a beautiful manuscript in the library of Marischal College, Aberdeen, belonging to the early part of the fifteenth century. The panel at the head of King Henry IV's tomb at Canterbury contains a picture of this scene.[3] Some relics of Thomas can be seen in St. George's Cathedral in London.

James Anthony Froude held that Becket died as an ecclesiastical tyrant, and that he deserved his fate. He represents the struggle between Thomas and Henry as the eternal battle between Church absolutism and freedom. But how then can be explained the boundless popularity of Thomas among the English yeomanry and common people, who looked upon him as representing popular rights against kingly tyranny? As to the merits of the quarrel between him and Henry, the right was with neither. Henry would have had the Church the slave of the State, and would have crushed all self-government and free development. Thomas stood for a great Christian principle in resisting him. "Do you not owe all to the king?" He died because he would not say, Yes, to that, and he died for a great truth. Gardiner says: "In placing him

[1] Harl. MS., No. 1502. [2] Archæologia, ix.

[3] See Lee, Hist. Sketches of the Reformation, pp. 140, 408, 409.

in the archbishopric in order that he might betray to the crown the liberties of the Church, the king had asked him to perform an act of treason as contemptible as that of the man who accepts the command of a fortress in order to betray it to the enemy."[1] The Church represented laws to which even a king must bend, and the people knew that the force which would override that principle would, as in the case of King John, override all popular rights as well. Therefore Freeman justly says that, judging Thomas by the light and needs of the twelfth century, he is "fairly entitled to a place among the worthies of whom England is proud."[2] On the other hand, Becket was wrong in insisting on withdrawing the clergy from the civil courts in the case of heinous crimes. The Constitutions of Clarendon have long since been incorporated, for the most part, into the common law of England. If they had been balanced by those checks to the kingly power which were wrung from reluctant sovereigns only after dreary centuries of strife, the most of the Clarendon Provisions would have been salutary enough. But here the absolute Church met the absolute king. The Church was, in theory at least, bound to the law of Christ, but this king considered himself bound by no law, human or divine. The time would come when both ecclesiastical and political tyrannies would pass away. But Thomas of Canterbury is not to be blamed if, according to his best light, he resisted unto death a brute force which trampled on laws which all the nobler spirits of the time held sacred and divine.

VIEWS OF FROUDE, GARDINER, AND FREEMAN.

[1] Introd. to Study of English History, p. 60.
[2] Hist. Essays, First Series, p. 115.

LITERATURE: THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.

The original materials on the early Scottish Church will be found in the publications of the Bennatyne, Maitland, Wodrow, Spottiswoode, Spalding, and other Clubs and Societies; the Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, ed. by Stevenson and Skene, Lond., 1846; Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints; the State Papers relating to Scotland; Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, ed. by Reeves; Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern by Ælred of Rievaulx and Jocelyn of Furness, ed. by the late Bp. Forbes. Some modern works relating to the pre-Reformation period are:

1. Raine, J. St. Cuthbert. Describes opening of his tomb, 1827. Durham, 1828.
2. Russell, M. Hist. of Church of Scotland. 2 vols. Lond., 1834. Episcopalian.
3. Book of the Universal Kirk. 3 vols. Edinb., 1839–45. Pub. by Bannatyne Club. Valuable.
4. Hetherington, W. M. Hist. of the Church of Scotland from Introd. of Christianity to Disruption. 2 vols. Edinb., 1841; 7th ed., 1853. Presbyterian (Free Church). An able historian.
5. Calderwood, D. (d. 1650). Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland. 8 vols. Edinb., Wodrow Soc., 1842–49. Presbyterian. A source of great value.
6. Spottiswood, J. (d. 1639). Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland. 3 vols. Edinb., 1847–51. Episcopalian. Equally important with Calderwood.
7. Robertson, Jos. Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals. Quar. Rev., xxxv (1849), 103, ff. A remarkable essay. A pioneer in accurate research in old Scot. Church history. On the Scholastic Offices of Scot. Ch. in the 12th and 13th Centuries, in Miscellany of Spalding Club, v, pp. 56, ff. Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, ed. for Bannatyne Club, with Introd., 2 vols., Edinb., 1866. A most important work. See Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, pp. viii, ix.
8. Reeves, W. Adamnan, Vita S. Columbæ, ed. with Introd. and notes. Dubl., 1857. Exhaustive. Opened a new epoch in Scot. Church historiography. Since pub. by Bannatyne Club, Edinb., and also in series, Historians of Scotland, with trans. by Forbes, Edinb., 1874. The Culdees of the Brit. Isles as they Appear in History. Dubl., 1864. Scholarly and thorough.
9. Cunningham, J. The Church of Scotland from Beginning to Present. Edinb., 1859. 2d ed., 2 vols., 1883. Presbyterian. Excellent.
10. Innes, Cosmo. Scotland in the Middle Ages. Edinb., 1860. Important.
11. Grub, Geo. Eccl. Hist. of Scotland from Beginning to Present. 4 vols. Edinb., 1861. Episcopalian. Scholarly and strong.
12. McLaughlan, T. The Early Scottish Church (1st to 12th cent.). Edinb., 1864. Presbyterian. Able, but needs supplementing by more recent works.
13. Forbes, A. P. Scottish Religious Houses Abroad. Edinb. Rev., Jan., 1854. Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern; compiled in the 12th cent., with transl. and notes. Edinb., 1874.
14. Gordon, J. F. S. Eccl. Chronicle for Scotland. 4 vols. Glasg., 1867. Vols. i and ii are especially important for early and mediæval periods.
15. Stanley, A. P. Lects. on Hist. of Church of Scotland. Lond. and N. Y., 1872. Free and original way of treating Scottish affairs provoked a reply from Rainy, Three Lects. on Church of Scotland. Edinb., 1872; new ed., 1884.

16. Kinloch, M. G. J. Hist. of the Scottish Church. Edinb., 1874. Hist. of Scotland, chiefly in its Eccl. Aspect. 2 vols. Edinb., 1888. See Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), ix, 448 ; xxviii, 508–512. Miss Kinloch wrote under the guidance of Bishop Forbes, and her histories are well worth attention.
17. Skene, W. F. (Historiographer for Scotland). Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban. Vol. ii, Church and Culture. Edinb., 1877; 2d ed., rev., 1887. Of the first importance. With an unequaled knowledge of the early Scottish chronicles Skene was the first to lay the Sagas under contribution. See J. Raleigh in Crit. Rev., ii (1892), 25–31.
18. Campbell, J. A. (R. C.). The Early Scottish Church, Dublin Rev. (Lond.), 1879. For other important articles, see John Campbell (Pres.), of Montreal, Culdee Colonies in the North and West (Iceland and North America), in British and For. Evang. Rev., July, 1861, 455, ff. ; Pond, The Culdees, in Meth. Quar. Rev., N. Y., 1861, 681, ff. ; The Early Celtic Church, in Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), vii (1878), 149, ff. ; Moffat, Hist. of Early Scottish Church, in Presb. Rev., i (1880), 631, ff. ; Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, in Church Quar. Rev., x, 50, ff. ; and the same, xv (Jan., 1883), 291, ff., for Early Christian Remains in Scotland.
19. Anderson, Jos. Scotland in Early Christian Times : Rhind Lects. Edinb., 1879. 2d series, 1881. Indispensable, especially for the monumental and artistic remains. See Church Quar. Rev., xv, 291, ff.
20. Warren, F. E. Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. Oxf., 1881. Eminent authority.
21. Fryer, A. C. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne. Lond., 1881.
22. Moffat, J. C. The Church in Scotland from Earliest Times to First Assembly of Reformed Church. Phila., 1882. Presbyterian. Founded mainly on Skene. Reliable. See W. G. Craig, in Presb. Rev., 1884, 539–542.
23. Walker, N. L. Scottish Church History. Edinb., 1882. Presb. (Free Church). An admirable manual, compact, comprehensive, scholarly. See Briggs, in Presb. Rev., iii, 781.
24. Bellesheim, A. Hist. of Cath. Church of Scotland, from Beginning to Present. Trans. with notes and additions by O. H. Blair. 4 vols. Edinb., 1887–89. By a Roman Catholic, yet with critical industry, impartiality, and research, making a notable contribution to Church history. See H. M. Scott in Current Discussions in Theology, vi, 213, and in Presb. and Ref. Rev., iii, 561, 566 ; Church Quar. Rev., xxviii, 231–236, xxxiii, 246–248.
25. Blaikie, W. G. The Preachers of Scotland, 6th to 19th Cent. Edinb., 1888. Able and scholarly lectures. Presb. (Free Church).
26. Lightfoot, J. B. Leaders in the Northern Church. Lond., 1890.
27. Mackintosh, J. Scotland from Earliest Times to the Pres. Century. Lond. and N. Y., 1890. In Story of Nations series. Full on hist. of religion. Admirable. See Salmond in Crit. Rev., i, 219, 220; Hist. of Civilization in Scotland, 3 vols., Lond., 1878–84 ; rev. and rewritten, Edinb., 1892 (vol. i).
28. Muir, P. McA. The Church of Scotland. Edinb., 1891. Presb. (Church of Scotl.). Succinct, lucid, scholarly. See Crit. Rev., ii, 96.
29. Archibald, J. The Historic Episcopate in the Columban Church, and other Scottish Ecclesiastical Annals. Edinb., 1893.
30. Dowden, E. The Celtic Church in Scotland (to death of St. Margaret). Lond., 1894. By (Epis.) Bishop of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.

THE story of Donald, King of the Scots, making an application to Pope Victor I for the evangelization of Scotland, is a fiction.[1] Through intercourse with the South, no doubt, there were individual Christians in Scotland. But the first historic name connected with the conversion of North Britain is St. Ninian. ST. NINIAN. Unfortunately for us, his earliest biographer, Ælred, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, belongs to the twelfth century. The earliest mention is in these general words of Bede: "For the southern Picts who dwelt on this side of those mountains had long before, as they relate, forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the true faith at the preaching of Ninian, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the nation of the Britons, who at Rome had been regularly instructed in the faith and mysteries of the truth."[2]

Ninian, if we follow Ælred, was the son of a Pictish chieftain of Galloway, born about 360. He went to Rome under the bishopric of Damasus (366–384), and was thoroughly instructed in Christianity. "A worthy reward," says Ælred, "that he who for love of truth had sacrificed country, riches, and pleasure should be led into the very sanctuary of truth and receive for carnal goods, spiritual; for earthly, heavenly; for temporal, eternal."[3] He then returned to Scotland, visiting St. Martin of Tours on the way, by whom he was more thoroughly imbued with the glory of the monastic ideal. His field was Strathclyde, in the southwest of Scotland, from the Clyde to the Solway Firth, or even to the Mersey. He brought masons from the abbey of Marmoutier, in France, to erect the first stone church in Scotland. On account of the white stones it was called Candida Casa, Withern or White-house. This was about 402. Ælred describes it as situated on a promontory surrounded on three sides by the sea, and connected with the mainland only on the north. "This description," writes a Scotch antiquarian, "may apply to the Isle of Whithorn, where the ruins of a chapel of unknown date are still to be seen, but may equally

[1] See Innes, Civil and Eccles. Hist. of Scotland, p. 14.
[2] Bede, H. E., iii, 4. [3] Vita S. Nin., c. ii.

apply to the entire peninsula of Wigtown; and the Candida Casa of St. Ninian would be the town of Whithorn, some miles inland, where the cathedral of Galloway, beautiful in its ruins, still recalls the memory of Scotland's first apostle."[1] Ninian converted many of the southern Picts, appointed other missionaries, and erected at Candida Casa the great monastery which became in time a celebrated school for the training of missionaries. Ninian died about 432. In an old Irish Life of St. Ninian he is said to have visited Ireland in the latter part of his life, and founded a church in Leinster.[2] No less than sixty-three Scottish churches were dedicated to him.[3]

Some of the early annals are full of the exploits of St. Palladius, and he is even called the Apostle of Scotland, but a careful sifting by Skene, in which he is followed by Bellesheim, has made it very doubtful whether he ever set foot on Scotland.[4] In fact we are peculiarly unfortunate in regard to early Scottish records, due partly to the radical reaction of the Reformation. "The registers of the churches and bibliothecs or libraries," says Thomas Innes, "were cast into the fire, and these were so entirely destroyed that if in Scotland there had happened a debate about the consecrations or ordinations of bishops and priests, either before or about the time of the Reformation, I do not believe that of all our ancient bishops and priests, ordained within the country, there could have been found the register or act of consecration of any one of them, so careful were our first reformers to sweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized. At St. Andrews, the metropolitan church, besides the archives where were all the records and rights of the kings, all ecclesiastical acts, such as those of national councils, of diocesan synods, of processes of ecclesiastical courts, . . . consecration of bishops, all ordinations, dispensations, etc., were preserved. Since the time of the Reformation all these original records have no less entirely and universally disappeared (excepting some of the chartularies) than if they had never been."[5]

EARLY RECORDS DESTROYED.

By the middle of the sixth century a large part of southern

[1] Campbell, The Early Scottish Church, in Dublin Rev., 1879, p. 260.

[2] An extract from this life is given in Ussher, Brit. Ecc. Ant., and an abstract of it in Bollandus, Acta Sanct., Sep. 16.

[3] Forbes, Life of St. Ninian, in Historians of Scotland, pp. xiii–xvii; Bellesheim, Hist. of Cath. Church in Scotland, i, 4–12.

[4] Celtic Scotland, ii, 26–32; Bellesheim, i, 20–26.

[5] Critical Essays, ed. Grub, p. 312. See also Spottiswood, i, 372; Bellesheim, i, 30.

Scotland was evangelized. But an apostasy had taken place, and a revival of paganism ensued. It needed a stronger arm than that of the ordinary clergy, and a more compact and vigorous organization. That was given in the monastic Church of Ireland, to which we are indebted for the second Christianization of Scotland. North Britain was inhabited by two peoples, the Scotch, who had come over from Ireland, Christian, in part at least, and the Picts, who were pagan. Brendan of Clonfert was the first missionary. With fourteen of his monks he sailed from Ireland in search of the land of promise of the saints, and spent seven years in the search before he returned home. This became one of the most popular tales of the Middle Ages, and his long wanderings have been associated with the pre-Columbian voyages to America. There is no truth in these legends. What is true is that Brendan sailed to the Western Isles, that is, the islands northeast of Ireland and west of Scotland, and founded monasteries. In the ancient Acts of St. Brendan he is said to have founded a church in the land of Heth, that is, in the island of Tyree, in Argyleshire, nineteen miles northwest of Iona. He must also have labored in Bute, as the people of that island are called Brandanes, and his name comes down to us in Kilbrandan Sound, between Arran and Kintyre. Other places of the Western Isles also bear reminiscences of the holy adventurer. He died in 545.[1]

WORK OF IRISH MONKS.

BRENDAN.

But the chief apostle of that Irish evangelism was St. Columba. Fortunately, his two biographers succeeded him so soon in the abbacy of Iona, one Cummene, after sixty years, the other Adamnan, after eighty-two years, that we have a fairly reliable account of his life.[2] Columba was born at Gartan, Donegal, Ireland, about 521. He was educated at the Irish schools of Moville, Clonard, and Glasnevin. He later founded the monasteries of Derry and

[1] Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 78.

[2] For the literature of St. Columba, see above, p. 617. The old Irish Life (10th century) is not so reliable, nor is the elaborate Life by Manus O'Donnell, Chief of Tyrconnell, compiled in 1532. A full account of these Lives is given in pref. to Reeves's ed. of Adamnan, Edinb., 1874 This preface is in 184 pages. A later ed. of Adamnan is by Fowler, with Introd., Clarendon Press, Oxf., 1895; a useful ed., based on Reeves. See the Nation, N. Y., Apr. 18, 1895, p. 301. A transl. of Adamnan's Life is also published. Prophecies, miracles, and visions of St. Columba. Lond. and N. Y., 1895. Shairp has a good treatment in Sketches in Hist. and Poetry, Edinb., 1887. The old Irish Life is given in full in an appendix in Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 467–507, translated by the eminent Irish scholar, the late W. Maunsell Hennessey.

Durrow. The common account of the cause of his crossing into Caledonia is the improbable story that he incited a war between two tribes, and for this was banished, with the command that he win for Christ as many souls as were lost in the battle. Another alleged reason of the departure of Columba for Scotland is the dispute between him and Finnian over a copy of the Psalter, which Columba had transcribed without permission of the latter. King Diarmaid decided against Columba, on the principle that, inasmuch as to every cow belongs her calf, so to every monastery belong all copies made from its books. This legend is entirely spurious, as Finnian and Columba were on the best of terms all their lives.[1] On the contrary, Adamnan recognizes only Columba's boundless love of Christ as the reason for his Scottish trip, and the old Irish Life tells us that the "illustrious saint left his home for the love and favor of Christ," and that "this was the resolution which he had determined on from the beginning of his life."[2] A contemporary draws his picture thus: "A perfect sage, believing in Christ, learned and chaste and charitable; he was noble, he was gentle, the physician of the heart of every sage, a shelter to the naked, a consolation to the poor: there went not from the world one who was more constant in the remembrance of the cross."[3]

WORK OF COLUMBA.

In 563 Columba set sail for Scotland with twelve companions.[4] Among these was the son of an Ulster chieftain. In vain Columba tried to persuade him to return to his native land. "Thou art my father," replied the enthusiastic missionary, "the Church is my mother, and my country is wherever I can win souls for Christ."[5] They settled at Iona, a little island of the Hebrides, near the large island of Mull, in Argyleshire.[6] There he raised that monastery which shed immortal light on Scotland and England—"that

[1] These stories rest on the Life of Columba by Manus O'Donnell, 1532.

[2] Bede confirms this. H. E., iii, 6. [3] Dallan Forghaill, Amra.

[4] Twelve was a sacred number with the Irish. Bellesheim notes: 1. Missions undertaken by a leader and twelve companions. 2. Monasteries occupied by a superior and twelve monks. 3. The episcopate of a country consisted of twelve bishops and a metropolitan (Bede, H. E., i, 29). 4. Ecclesiastical colleges, containing twelve capitulars, including prelates. 5. Celebrated teachers, such as Finnian and Aidan, instructing twelve disciples. 6. The consecration of bishops was performed in the presence of twelve bishops (Bede, v, 19). 7. Caravans of pilgrims consisting of twelve members. Vol. i, 62, 63, note.

[5] See Moran, Irish Saints in Great Britain. Dublin, 1879, p. 61.

[6] A full description is in Skene, ii, 88–91. See the Duke of Argyle's Iona, 1871, new ed., 1889. The ancient name of Iona is I, or Hy, or Ii, "the island," called also Icolumkill, or Hi-Colum-Kille, "the island of Columba of the Church."

illustrious island," says Dr. Johnson, "whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." "Far from me and from my friend," he continues, "be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."[1] From this center Columba and his monks went out far and near through the Pictish and Scottish tribes. The Picts were rude and barbarous fetich worshipers. The legend is that, when Columba and two of his missionaries visited Brude, one of their kings, at Inverness, the king drew his sword to kill them; but when one of the missionaries made the sign of the cross the king's hand was suddenly withered, and so remained until the day on which he received baptism at the hands of St. Columba.[2] Once when the saint was chanting vespers not far from the royal residence the Pictish priests endeavored to interrupt his devotions. Then, in that marvelously clear and resonant voice which could be heard for miles, Columba began to sing the forty-fourth psalm, "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum." His voice rang like thunder in their ears, and they fled in terror from the spot.[3] Through the missionary labors of the Iona monks a large part of Scotland became Christian before St. Augustine started on his English mission.

IONA ISLAND.

Columba was a many-sided man. A man of royal blood, a great leader, impetuous, impatient of contradiction, and vindictive, as were all the Irish saints, he yet was a man of simple faith and unsurpassed devotion to Christ. A poet himself, he defended the poets at the synod of Drumceatt, and established the rights of the bardic order. He had a passionate love of natural scenery. As from his beloved Iona he looked over the sea to Erin, which was just as dear, he gave utterance to his longings:

CHARACTER OF COLUMBA.

"Delightful would it be to me to be in *Uchd Ailium*
On the pinnacle of a rock,
That I might often see
The face of the ocean;

[1] A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, 1775, in Works, ed. of 1825, ii, 681, and Works, Nimmo's ed., 1881, pp. 602, 608. Johnson visited Iona in 1773. Boswell was specially anxious to visit the holy island. This is one of the most interesting of Johnson's works, written with more vivacity than was common with him. His best accommodation at night at Iona was a haymow.

[2] Skene, Chronicles of Picts and Scots, Edinb., 1861, p. 67.

[3] Bellesheim, i, 68.

That I might see its heaving waves
Over the wide ocean,
When they chant their music to their Father
Upon the world's course;
That I might see its level sparkling strand,
It would be no cause of sorrow;
That I might hear the song of the wonderful birds,
Source of happiness;
That I might hear the thunder of the crowding waves
Upon the rocks;
That I might hear the roar by the side of the church
Of the surrounding sea;
That I might see its noble flocks
Over the watery ocean;
That I might see the sea monsters,
The greatest of all wonders;
That I might see its ebb and flood
In their career;
That my mystical name might be, I say,
Cul vi Erin (Back turned to Ireland);
That contrition might come upon my heart
Upon looking at her;
That I might bewail my evils all,
Tho' it were difficult to compute them;
That I might bless the Lord
Who conserves all,
Heaven with its countless bright orders,
Land, strand, and flood;
That I might search the books all,
That would be good for any soul;
At times kneeling to beloved heaven;
At times at psalm-singing;
At times contemplating the King of heaven,
Holy the chief;
At times at work without compulsion;
This would be delightful.
At times plucking *duilisc* from the rocks;
At times at fishing;
At times giving food to the poor;
At times in a *carcair* (solitary cell).
The best advice in the presence of God
To me has been vouchsafed.
The King, whose servant I am, will not let
Anything deceive me."[1]

[1] "The original of this interesting poem is in one of the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. It was transcribed and translated for the late Dr. Todd by Professor O'Curry, and was kindly given to the author by Reeves, Bishop of Down and Connor, then Dean of Armagh, in 1866."—Skene, Chronicles ii, 91–93. The descriptions of nature remind one of Homer in their force and simple grandeur. An abecedarian hymn on the spiritual history

Columba was passionately fond of illuminated manuscripts, and we see how legend has connected this passion with his alleged banishment from Ireland. This celebrated manuscript had an experience something like that of the Jewish ark. It was inclosed in a kind of shrine, and was venerated as a palladium in the clan O'Donnell, to which Columba belonged, who for more than a thousand years carried it into their battles as a sure pledge of victory. Within recent years this precious relic was placed in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.[1]

Columba founded numerous churches and monasteries in Scotland. Reeves gives a list of thirty-two churches either established by Columba among the Scots or dedicated to him, and nineteen among the Picts.[2] He had the true Irishman's love of his native land, and frequently visited it, where he was always received with honor.[3]

After over thirty years of missionary life in Scotland the veteran missionary felt that his end was approaching. In May, 597, he was carried over the western part of Iona. Gathering the brethren around him he said, "During the paschal solemnities in the month of April now past, with desire have I desired to depart to Christ the Lord, as he had allowed me, if I had preferred it. But lest a joyous festival should be turned for you into mourning I thought it better to put off for a little longer time my departure from the world." So he blessed the island and was carried back to his monastery. On the following Saturday the saint, leaning on his faithful Diarmaid, went out to bless the granary. "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest.[4] And this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the

DEATH OF COLUMBA.

of our world, Altus prositor vetustus dierum, et ingenitus, which is furnished in the appendix to the Lyra Sacra Hibernica, Belf., 1879, and in the 3d part of Todd, Liber Hymnorum, is by these authorities and by Duffield, Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns, N. Y., 1889, p. 357, ascribed to Columba, but in the Presb. Rev., 1884, p. 340, this last writer claims to have proved that the hymn was really written by Rabanus Maurus (died 856), Bishop of Mayence. The Marquess of Bute published an edition of this hymn, "The Altus of St. Columba," with an English transl., in 1882.

[1] Reeves, Adamnan, p. xxxvii. Sir William Betham took drawings of this case. It is a brass box 9½ in. by 8, 2 in. deep, the top being a silver plate riveted to one of brass. Betham, Irish Antiq. Research, 1827, i, 109. See Hole in Smith and Wace, i, 604. It is doubtful whether the MS. can be as old as the time of Columba. [2] Ed. of Adamnan, pp. ix, ff.; Bellesheim, i, 79, ff.

[3] For his reception in one of his visits, see Adamnan, Vita S. Columbæ, i, 3; Bellesheim, i, 83, 84.

[4] The monastic Church of Ireland, like the Jewish early Church, kept Saturday as a day of rest, with special religious services on Sunday. This was one of the customs opposed by St. Margaret. See note in Bellesheim, i, 86.

last day of my life of toil, and in it I rest after the fatigues of my labors. And this night at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's day, I shall go the way of our fathers. For already my Lord Jesus Christ deigneth to invite me, and to him, I say, in the middle of this night shall I depart at his invitation." Then he returned to his cell and continued his work in transcribing the Psalter on which he had long been engaged. After he had written the words of the thirty-third psalm, "They who seek the Lord shall want nothing that is good," he stopped, and said, "Here I must end. What follows let Baithene write." At midnight, at the sound of the bell for prayers, he was the first to enter the church. He prostrated himself before the altar, and in prayer, with a smile on his face, he breathed his soul away, on June 9, 597.

ESTIMATES OF COLUMBA.

Adamnan thus describes Columba's character: "From his boyhood he had been brought up in Christian training in the study of wisdom, and by the grace of God had so preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul that, though dwelling on earth, he appeared to live like the saints in heaven. For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate prudence. He lived a soldier of Christ during thirty-four years on an island. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still, in all these, he was beloved of all; for a holy joy ever beaming on his face revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul."[1] Montalembert, following O'Donnell's later biography, draws a different picture: "He was vindictive, passionate, bold, a man of strife, born a soldier rather than a monk, and known, praised, and blamed as a soldier, *insulanus miles*, even upon the island rock from which he rushed forth to preach, convert, enlighten, reconcile, and reprimand both princes and nations, men and women, laymen and clerks. He was at the same time full of contradictions and contrasts—at once tender and irritable, rude and courteous, ironical and compassionate, caressing and imperious, grateful and revengeful—led by pity as well as by worth, ever moved by generous passions, and among all passions fired to the very end of his life by two which his countrymen understand the best, the love of poetry and the love of country. Little inclined to melancholy when he had once surmounted the great

[1] Adamnan, Præf. Secunda; Bellesheim, i, 89.

sorrow of his life, which was his exile; little disposed, save toward the end, to contemplation or solitude, but trained by prayer and austerities to triumphs of evangelical exposition; despising rest, untiring in mental and manual toil; born for eloquence, and gifted with a voice so penetrating and sonorous that it was thought of afterward as one of the most miraculous gifts he had received of God; frank and loyal, original and powerful in his words as in his actions—in cloister and mission and parliament, on land and on sea, in Ireland and in Scotland, always swayed by the love of God, and of his neighbor, whom it was his will and pleasure to serve with an impassioned uprightness. Such was Columba."[1] Reeves, the learned editor of Adamnan, is inclined to agree with this emphasis on the dark side of Columba. He says that the primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the class known as saints, were impatient of contradiction and resentful. Excommunication, fasting against, and cursing were in frequent employment, and inanimate as well as animate objects were the subjects of their maledictions.[2] But Skene says that these contrasted characteristics are largely imaginary, and the darker features disappear on a critical examination. The original sources of his life do not lend sanction to the shadows in Montalembert's picture. Dallan Forgaill, in the ancient tract called the Amra Columicilla, speaks in the same strain with Adamnan, both bearing testimony to a peculiarly lovable and Christlike character.[3]

[1] Monks of the West, iii, 269. Montalembert gives a long and eloquent account of Columba.

[2] Ed. of Adamnan, p. xxxix. See Gammack in Smith and Wace, i, 604.

[3] Skene, ii, 145, 146, where a quotation from Forgaill is given.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST CHURCH SYSTEM OF SCOTLAND.

WHAT then was the character of that Church system which the Irish missionaries introduced into Scotland? It was not Episcopal, nor Presbyterian, but monastic. Its like has never been known before nor since. Bede describes it thus: "Moreover, the island itself is wont to have always an abbot, who is a presbyter, for its ruler, to whose jurisdiction all the province and the bishops also themselves, after an unusual order, are bound to be subject, according to the example of their famous first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and a monk."[1] The whole authority centered in the abbot of the monastery, who might be a layman, or even, as some say, a woman. The monasteries were really colleges, or mission stations. There the missionaries were educated, and thence they were sent out to their field of labor. Iona was the model of all the religious houses of Scotland. The bishops had hardly a place in such a system, as the clergy received their mission from the abbot. And yet it would be remarkable if the Celtic Church of the sixth century differed so radically from the Catholic Church that the bishops had no peculiar function as belonging to a higher order. Moffat indeed says that "presbyters could ordain presbyters, and a presbyter could also administer the eucharist without an assistant."[2] But there does not seem sufficient evidence for this. Skene, the most eminent authority on all matters relating to Celtic Scotland, who has gone into the original sources with great enthusiasm, says distinctly that the bishop existed as a separate order, whose authority was recognized for ordination but not for jurisdiction or government. The sacerdotal or canonical functions of the bishops were recognized according to the customs of the universal Church of that time. And yet Skene allows that in the Irish (Scotch) monastic Church the "episcopate was a personal and not an official dignity; and we find at a later period that inferior functionaries of the monastery, as the scribe and even the anchorite, appear to have united the functions of a bishop with their proper duties."[3]

MONASTIC CHARACTER OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

[1] H. E., iii, 4.
[2] The Church in Scotland, pp. 80, 93–95.
[3] Celtic Scotland, ii, 44. See pp. 42–44.

If this is the case it is evident that the Celtic Church had no idea of the *jure divino* theory of the episcopate. In fact, so eminent authority as Professor Mitchell still holds that the facts alleged by certain later writers are not sufficient to show that there were from the first in the monasteries of Scotland, as there undoubtedly were in Ireland, persons bearing the names of bishops. And if there were Ebrard is of the opinion that they were, like the abbots and lectors, simply presbyters appointed to a special work. In fact, Bede says that the monks of Iona ordained and sent forth Aidan on his mission,[1] which may only mean, however, that they ordained him by their bishop. In any event the whole situation of the early Scottish Church is clearly inconsistent with the sacerdotal, or rather monarchical theory of the episcopate.[2] The whole Church was monastic; that is, there were no secular clergy. Bede, the "most observant, as he is the most candid of historians,"[3] remarks thus: "All the presbyters, with the deacons, cantors, lectors, and the other ecclesiastical orders, along with the bishop himself, were subject in all things to the monastic rule."[4] The bishop was simply the servant of the monastery, called in when needed. The monastic college owed nothing to papal, episcopal, or kingly authority, but held directly under Jesus Christ.

SCOTTISH BISHOPS.

As to the liturgy of the Celtic Church, an able liturgiologist has shown that it differed but little from the other uses of the time.[5] It had the altar services, called the eucharist a sacrifice, had an unusually large number of collects, gave the kiss of peace after the consecration, practiced prayers for the dead as a recognized custom,[6] sang the communion hymn after the prayer of consecration, and had special priestly vestments and choral

THE LITURGY.

[1] H. E., iii, 5, at end.

[2] Mitchell, Keltic Church, in Schaff-Herzog, Encyc., ii, 1236, 1237. Blaikie, Preachers of Scotland, p. 84, and Walker, Scottish Church History, p. 10, ridicule the idea of Skene that the monastic colleges kept a bishop at hand, like a carpenter or a scullion, to perform ordinations for them. "Surely," says Blaikie, "if a bishop is anything he is a supreme ruler, and not a servant of presbyters." But such reasoning in the field of history is dangerous. Whether there were such bishops is purely a question of fact.

[3] Skene, ii, 44.

[4] Vita S. Cuthberti, xvi.

[5] The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, in Church Quarterly Rev., April, 1880, p. 50, ff.

[6] "Diptychs containing the names of the deceased were brought by the deacon to the celebrant, and their contents were announced by him during the offertory, after the first oblation of the unconsecrated elements, and before the canon. A special penance was assigned at Iona to the deacon who forgot this part of his duty," p. 59. This affords a presumption of the identity of the Gallican and Celtic liturgies.

services. The Celtic Church made a large use of music, singing, doubtless, Columba's own hymns. Harpers are represented on the most ancient sculptured stones of Ireland, and pipers are introduced in decorations of manuscripts of the eighth century. Organs were largely used. The Irish Church sang not the Gregorian or Roman chant, but the Eastern hymns and chants. Oblations of bread and wine and offerings of alms were received, unleavened bread was used, water was mingled with wine, according to the universal custom of the primitive Church, and the consecrated elements were reserved for the sick or absent, to whom they were conveyed. In fact, the early Celtic ritual differed in no material respect from the services of the present ritualistic party in the Church of England. It is one of the favorite claims of this party that in their peculiar ways they are not aping Rome, but are reviving the customs of the primitive British and Irish Church.[1]

DOCTRINAL TEACHING.

The theological teaching of the ancient Scotch Church was free from the corrupt elements of later times. The Holy Scriptures were the great books of the Celtic monks. Of their boundless devotion to the Scriptures we have proof in the fact that Columba with his own hand is said to have transcribed the gospels and the Psalms three hundred times. Columban, who went forth from the Celtic Church, left a volume of *Instructiones*, which are simple, fervent sermons, dwelling mainly on Christ, his love and his work.[2] Principally upon this work Ebrard founded his thesis that the Celtic Church was mainly evangelical in doctrine.[3] Burton, the best historian of Scotland, who follows Ebrard in this conception of early Scotch teaching, thus summarizes Ebrard's reconstruction of Celtic doctrine: "It had a full right to be called an evangelical Church, not only because it was free from the power of Rome, and always showed a determination, whenever the Roman Catholic Church came in contact with it, to appeal from the authority of Rome to the Holy Scriptures as the only supreme authority; but above all because its inner life was penetrated and stimulated by the inner form and substance of the evangelical Church. . . . To the Culdees the Holy Scriptures were no text-book containing a list of lawful doctrines, but the living word of Christ. They taught with all sincerity the innate sinfulness of the natural man, the reconciling death of Christ, justification by faith without the aid of works; above all, the worthlessness of all outward works, and regeneration as life in Him who died for us. The sacraments

[1] Church Quar. Rev., x, 83, 84.

[2] Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland, p. 21.

[3] See Ebrard, Iroschotische Missionskirche, Die Heilslehre, pp. 99–134.

were to them signs and seals of the one grace through Christ, and as such held only a second place in their teachings. They denied the efficacy of saints, angels, and relics, and urged to a very pure and heavenly life."[1] On the other hand, Montalembert says that "auricular confession, the invocation of saints, the celebration of the mass, the real presence, the sacrament of fasting, prayers for the dead, the celibacy of the clergy, the sign of the cross, and, above all, the duty of the deep and diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, are all proved to have been enjoined by Columba."[2] The fact is that there is truth in either representation. The Celtic missionaries were great preachers, and the staple of their preaching was the essential doctrines of the cross. There is abundant evidence that over against the modern Roman corruptions they had a firm grasp of the simple elements of Scripture truth. On the other hand, in their thought, cultus, and in various practices they were very similar to the continental Church of that day.

CLASSES IN COMMUNITY OF IONA.

The members of the community of Iona took the vow on bended knees, and were tonsured from ear to ear, that is, the fore part of the head was made bare. Those of advanced years and tried devotedness were called seniors. Their chief duty was reading and copying the Scriptures and attending religious services. The younger and stronger were called the working brothers. They were agriculturists and cattle-raisers. A third class were the young, who were under instruction, and were called *alumni*, or pupils. The penitential discipline was severe. They fasted on Wednesday and Friday and during Lent. A strange asceticism was often practiced. It was the complete immersion of the body in water, and in that condition reciting the whole or part of the Psalter. When a monk desired to enter upon a special course of exercises he did so under the direction of a distinguished saint as his soul's friend, or director. Confession of offenses was made before the whole community. In one case, where the sin was very great, Columba imposed as a penance perpetual exile in tears and lamentations among the Britons.[3]

[1] Burton, Hist. of Scotland, i, 404, 405. See also Blaikie, Preachers of Scotland, pp. 16–82.

[2] Les Moines d'Occident, iii, 300.

[3] Skene, ii, 102, 103. In Skene and in Reeves, ed. of Adamnan, new ed., Edinb., 1874, will be found a full account of the Iona Constitution. Reeves's Introduction is a thorough and elaborate study of the Columban Church. Starbuck, Did the Gaelic Church Revive Presbyterial Ordination? in the Methodist Rev., N. Y., May, 1897—a very able article.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCOTCH PERIOD BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

AIDAN THE MISSIONARY.

As Montalembert has said, Bede has made the character and life of Aidan "the subject of one of the most eloquent and attractive pictures ever drawn by the pen of the venerable historian."[1] Aidan went from Iona to convert the southern Scotch and northern English, in the place of a missionary previously sent out but who returned with the confession of failure on account of the stubborn and barbarous spirit of the English. "You did not," said Aidan, "after the apostolic precept, first offer them the milk of more gentle doctrine, till by degrees through the nourishment of God's word they might have strength to receive and practice God's more perfect and exalted counsel." That remark pointed him out as the proper person to undertake the work. He was consecrated bishop in 635, fixed his residence at Lindisfarne, afterward called Holy Island, a little island north of Northumberland, near Berwick-on-Tweed. Here Aidan fixed his see and built his monastery, and hence he and his monks went forth on their mission of love.

"In Saxon strength that abbey frowned,
With massive arches broad and round,
That rose alternate, row on row,
On ponderous columns, short and low,
Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle and shafted stalk
The arcades of our alleyed walk
To emulate in stone.
On the deep wall the heathen Dane
Had poured his impious rage in vain;
And needful was such strength to these,
Exposed to the tempestuous seas,
Scourged by the winds' eternal sway,
Open to rovers fierce as they,
Which could twelve hundred years withstand
Wind, waves, and northern pirates' hand.
Not but the wasting sea breeze keen
Had worn the pillar's carving quaint,
And moldered in his niche the saint,

[1] Monks of the West, iv, 23. See Bede, iii, 5.

> And rounded with consuming power
> The pointed angles of each tower;
> Yet still the entire abbey stood,
> Like veteran, worn, but unsubdued." [1]

It was the life as much as the preaching of Aidan which converted Northumbria.[2] "He left his clergy," says Bede, "most wholesome example of abstinence and continence, and the highest commendation of his teaching was that his own life corresponded with it."[3] He always traveled on foot. His companions, whether monks or laymen, were obliged to meditate, that is, either to read the Scripture or learn the Psalter.[4] Education was an important feature of his plan. Each church became also a school, where his Scottish monks gave a complete education to all who came. He redeemed many captives and trained large numbers of them for the priesthood. He had a helper after his own heart in Oswald, King of Northumbria, the Alfred of the North. Aidan's diocese extended from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, a region which he consecrated by his holy example and boundless benevolence. Bede qualifies his high praise in one particular: "His zeal for God was not altogether according to knowledge, for he was wont to keep Easter Day according to the custom of his country, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon."[5] He died in 651, and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Lindisfarne, beside the altar.[6] Aidan's independence of Rome was characteristic of the Columban Church. It gave to Rome a respect due to an ancient and powerful see, but the Columban Church would not change any of its customs at Rome's dictation. As Bishop Lightfoot says, Aidan is a "true type and symbol of the freedom of the Church of England."[7]

AIDAN'S WORK.

On the night that Aidan died, a shepherd boy, watching his flock on the Northumbrian hills north of the Tweed, believed that he saw a convoy of angels bearing to heaven a soul of surpassing brightness. The next day this boy learned that Bishop Aidan had died on

[1] Scott, Marmion, ii, x. Aidan's monastery was merged into the Benedictine priory church, built in 1093, using its materials in part. As Durham grew in importance the island cathedral was allowed to fall into ruins. The castle was not built until 1500, about a dozen years before the year in which the plot of Scott's most stirring and successful poem was laid. In August, 1887, three thousand barefooted pilgrims crossed the sound to Lindisfarne.

[2] Lappenberg, Anglo-Saxon Kings, i, 200 (new ed., Lond., 1880).

[3] Bede, H. E., iii, 5. [4] *Ibid.*, iii, 5. [5] *Ibid.*, iii, 3.

[6] Bellesheim, Hist. of Cath. Church in Scotland, i, 116–121; Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 155–159; Deedes, in Smith and Wace, *s. v.*; Lightfoot, Leaders in the Northern Church, pp. 37–54. The mediæval biographers add nothing to the statements of Bede. [7] Leaders of the Northern Church, p. 52.

the previous night. He went to the monastery of Old Melrose, on the Tweed, founded by Aidan, and asked for admission.[1] Thus began the missionary life of St. Cuthbert, one of the brightest lights of the northern Church. In 661 he was elected prior of the monastery. He went all over the country preaching, and reclaiming the people from the abject paganism into which many of them had fallen. In 664 he was made prior of Lindisfarne. He had adopted the Roman views on Easter, and after a long struggle he brought his monks to conform to the southern practice. He now ceased all missionary work and gave himself up to asceticism. In 676 he quitted the Holy Isle and built himself a hut on House Island, one of the Farne group,[2] a few miles south of Lindisfarne. He first reared a wall of turf and stone so high that he could see neither land nor sea. Within this he erected an oratory, in which he lived in utter solitude for nine years. In 684 he was called to the bishopric of Hexham. After the most earnest entreaties of the King of Northumbria and a large party who sailed to Farne, to induce him to accept, he left his retreat. Then his old friend Eata surrendered his own see to Cuthbert in exchange for Hexham; and thus for two years he became the active and earnest bishop of a familiar territory. He then retired to his rocky eyrie, where he died March 20, 687.[3]

ST. CUTHBERT.

St. Cuthbert was buried in Lindisfarne. Eleven years after the body was raised and, it was alleged, was found unwasted. In 793–794 the Danes ravaged Lindisfarne, but the body was left untouched. In 875 there was another Danish inroad. The monks took with them the body of the saint, and for seven years they wandered here and there, seeking a resting place, but found no permanent rest for the bones until they were given Chester-le-Street, a city six miles from Durham, as the seat of the bishopric of Lindisfarne.[4] In 990 another Danish invasion compelled the removal of

THE ASHES OF ST. CUTHBERT.

[1] This is not the celebrated Melrose Abbey, which was built two and a half miles farther west in 1136 by David I. The Old Melrose Abbey, founded about 635 by Aidan, was burned by Kenneth MacAlpine in 889, and finally abandoned.

[2] It was from one of these islands, Longstone, that Grace Darling and her father, in the early morning of the 7th of September, 1838, rowed their boat over a tempestuous sea for the rescue of the nine survivors of the wreck of the *Forfarshire*.

[3] The shells on that coast are still called St. Cuthbert's shells, and the sea birds, which breed in multitudes on the islands, are called St. Cuthbert's birds. Blair, note in Bellesheim, i, 163.

[4] On July 18, 1883, this church celebrated its millennium, when Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham, preached a sermon on St. Cuthbert, from the text, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday" (Psalm xc, 4). The sermon

the see and the coffin, which, after a few months' stay at Ripon, found a home on a site unequaled for beauty and strength by any other place in England. The wanderers cleared the summit of the hill and began the erection of a church of stone, the predecessor of the present magnificent cathedral of Durham. The church was finished in 999.[1] In 1104, after the building of the new cathedral of Durham by William of St. Carileph, Cuthbert's body was translated into the new feretory with extraordinary ceremony. The richest gifts came to the cathedral of Durham on account of these relics. The names of many of the benefactors were printed in gold and silver in a book kept for the purpose.[2] Scott repeats an old tradition that the exact place of interment was kept hidden by three members of the Benedictine order, who regularly transmitted the secret to three successors.

> "There, deep in Durham's Gothic shade,
> His relics are in secret laid;
> But none may know the place,
> Save of his holiest servants three,
> Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
> Who share that wondrous grace."[3]

This tradition was exploded in 1827 by the examination of the grave. The same relics were discovered as those described by Reginald, as found in the grave in 1104. Within the first coffin was another, which was supposed to belong to the year 1104, and this inclosed a third, which answered the description of the one made in 698. Within this was found the entire skeleton of Cuthbert, wrapped in five robes of embroidered silk. Fragments of these and other relics found in the coffin are to be seen in the cathedral library at Durham.[4] Until the Reformation no woman was suffered to approach

is found in one of the volumes published by the trustees of the Lightfoot Fund, Leaders of the Northern Church, Lond. and N. Y., 1890; 2d ed., 1891, pp. 71–86, with valuable notes by Harmer.

[1] A full history of the bones of Cuthbert is found in the works of Simeon of Durham (in Latin), pub. by the Surtees Society, Durham, 1868.

[2] This book has been published by the Surtees Soc., Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis.

[3] Marmion, ii, xiv. See the notes of Scott and Lockhart, in Rolfe, ed. of Marmion, Bost., 1885, pp. 266, 267.

[4] Full particulars as to the discovery of the relics of Cuthbert are given by Raine, in St. Cuthbert, Durham, 1828, with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in 1827. It has been maintained, without sufficient reason, that the bones discovered were not those of Cuthbert. This view found expression in Remarks on St. Cuthbert, by Raine (Newcastle, 1828), ascribed to Lingard, and more elaborately in the History of St. Cuthbert, by the (R. C.) Archbishop of Glasgow, Eyre,

the shrine. A sacramental cloth supposed to be used by him was carried in battle to give victory to the army which carried it, and one factor leading to the defeat of his countrymen at Flodden was the banner of St. Cuthbert.

CAUSES OF DECAY OF CELTIC CHURCH.

Several causes led to the decay and final extinction of the Celtic Church in Scotland. There were, first, the bitter feuds over the questions of ritual. Some of the monks were in favor of the Roman custom, others were strenuously attached to their own ways. At length, through the influence of Naiton, King of the Picts, the monks at Iona adopted the Roman rite, 716. But the affiliated monasteries refused to give up their ancient traditions. This enraged Naiton, who expelled the stubborn monks. Thus passed away the primacy of Iona, and with it the undivided and prosperous life of that marvelous Church.[1]

A second cause of the decay of the Columban Church was the introduction of secular clergy. This probably originated with Wilfrid of York, the champion of the Roman Easter. Boniface came from Rome, says the legend, with a number of priests and deacons, and, under the patronage of King Nectan, planted a Church which knew not Columba. There is no doubt an historic basis for the legend. It points to the "entrance into Scotland of a strong Italian influence, which was displacing the Irish or Columban."[2] Fourteen churches in the east of Scotland were dedicated to St. Peter. Northumbrian architects began to build churches in the Roman style. All this indicates clearly the passing of the Iro-Scottish Church.

A third cause was the development of the hermit life. It arose from the conviction that the solitary life, or the life of an anchorite, was a higher life than a cenobitical life in a monastery. Jerome

who thinks that the body was removed by some Benedictine monks in the reign of Queen Mary, and concealed in another part of the building. "There is a continuous and well-grounded tradition that such was the case, and that the secret as to the spot where the sacred relics lie has been jealously handed down to our own day in the English congregation of the Order of St. Benedict."—Dom Oswald Hunter Blair, note in Bellesheim, i, 170. The best source for Cuthbert's life is his Life by Bede, ed. Smith, pp. 227–264, ed. Stevenson, pp. 45–137. The latest life is by Fryer, Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, Lond., 1880. For notice of new ed. of Eyre, see Church Quar. Rev., Jan., 1888, p. 513. See also Browne, The Venerable Bede, Lond., 1879, pp. 99–117; Low, Historical Scenes in Durham Cathedral, Durham, 1887. A full description of the Cuthbert literature is given by Raine in Smith and Wace, *s. v.*, and Wright, Descriptive Catalogue.

[1] Skene, ii, 178; Bellesheim, i, 147, 148.

[2] Gammack, art. Bonifacius Queretinus, in Smith and Wace; Bellesheim, i, 176–178; Forbes, Kal. of Scottish Saints, pp. 281–283.

describes three kinds of monks: the cenobites, those living in common; the anchorites, those living apart from men; and the Remoboth, the "worst and most neglected."[1] John Cassian also speaks of the Sarabaites, who joined themselves by two or three in a company, to live after their own humor, not being subject to any man.[2] Bede, a Benedictine monk, regarded the anchorite as at the climax of religion. He describes St. Cuthbert as "advancing in the merits of his devout intention, and proceeding even to the adoption of a hermit life of solitary contemplation and secret silence," so that he was "permitted to ascend to the leisure of divine speculation, and rejoiced that he had now reached the lot of those of whom we sing in the psalm: 'The saints shall go from virtue to virtue, the God of gods shall be seen in Zion.'"[3] These anchorites came to be called *Deicolæ*, God-worshipers, or, by inversion, Colidei, Ceile De (in Ireland), Keledei (in Scotland), Culdees.[4] INFLUENCE OF HERMIT LIFE.

Hector Boece, professor in the University of Aberdeen, in the sixteenth century, originated the theory that the Culdees were the Columban monks, who differed radically from the Church of their time in the earnestness of their piety and evangelical tone of their theology.[5] This was the prevailing theory of Protestant writers until it was completely exploded by Reeves. The Culdees were the anchorite monks who invaded Scotland in the eighth and ninth centuries in large numbers, but who were finally brought under the rule of secular canons. These monks were not noted either for piety or knowledge. In fact, they were more superstitious and corrupt than their brethren of the ordinary monastic communities. The chief endowments of their monasteries were often held by nobles, who called themselves abbots, but who were laymen, and transmitted their privileges to their children. The Culdees took

[1] Ep. ad Eustochium, xxii. See below, p. 684.

[2] Collationes, xviii. For full description see Skene, ii, 283, ff.

[3] H. E., iv, 28; Vit. S. Cuthb., xvii.

[4] The history of these names and the monks to whom they applied is given with great clearness and research by Reeves, The Culdees of the British Island, Dublin, 1864, and Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 238–277.

[5] Episcopalian and Catholic writers have charged this theory to the partisanship of Presbyterian writers, but this charge is entirely unfounded. While the theory springs from Boece it is believed by other old romantic historians of Scotland. It is indorsed by Pond, The Culdees, in Meth. Quar. Rev., Oct., 1861, pp. 628–638. The researches of Irish and Scotch antiquaries, however, have made worthless a good deal of pious historical disquisition. See Mitchell, art. Culdees in Schaff-Herzog, and new ed. of Chambers's Encyc.

the place of the Columban clergy, and were themselves a disintegrating element in the mediæval Scotch Church.[1]

The invasion of the Danes was also another cause of the collapse of Celtic Scotland. They burned Iona in 795 and again in 802, and its "family" of sixty-eight persons was martyred in 806. A second martyrdom in 825 is the subject of a contemporary Latin poem by Walafridus Strabo. On the Christmas evening of 986 the island was again wasted by the relentless Norsemen. Thus the ecclesiastical capital was transferred from Iona to Dunkeld, thence in 865 to Abernethy, and finally in 908 to St. Andrews.

The reforms of St. Margaret were another feature of the new ecclesiastical life in Scotland. She was a native of Hungary, and was brought up in the court of her great-uncle, Edward the Confessor, with Lanfranc as teacher. In 1068, with her mother and sister and little brother, Edgar the Atheling, she fled from Northumberland to Scotland. Here her beauty, piety, and brilliant accomplishments won the heart of the Scotch King, Malcolm Canmore, to whom she was married in 1069. "There is, perhaps," says Skene, "no more beautiful character in history than Margaret. For purity of motives, for an earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and for entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed."[2] She at once began the reform of the Celtic Church. The customs of the Church she regarded as contrary to the true faith and sacred customs of the universal Church, and at her councils both she and her royal husband contended against the supporters of these strange customs.[3] The first point insisted on was the observance of Lent. The Catholic Church commenced the forty days' fast on Ash Wednesday, and so, omitting Sundays, which were never days of fasting, fasted forty days. The Celtic Church began on the Monday of the following week, and if the Sundays of Lent were not observed as fast days, as was probable, the Church fasted only thirty-six days. The representatives of the old order were satisfied with Margaret's reasonings, and brought their method into conformity with the universal Church.

ST. MARGARET AND HER REFORMS.

Another matter was that of the celebration of the Easter eucharist.

[1] Haddan, in Smith and Cheetham, art. Colidi, speaks of the "combined ignorance and partisanship" which have "perverted the facts" in regard to the Culdees. This is entirely gratuitous.

[2] Celtic Scotland, ii, 344. [3] Turgot, Vita S. Margaretæ, viii.

"How is it," said Margaret, "that ye receive not at the festival of Easter the sacrament of the body and blood of it, according to the usage of the holy and apostolic Church?"

"The apostle teaches us," said they, "that those who eat and drink unworthily eat and drink judgment to themselves; and since we acknowledge ourselves to be sinners we fear to approach that mystery, lest we should eat and drink judgment to ourselves."

"What then?" answered the queen, "shall no one that is a sinner taste of that holy mystery? If so, no one whatsoever dare approach it, for no one is sinless, not even the infant that hath lived but one day upon the earth."

Then she urged the text, "Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you," and explained the apostle's warning as applying to those who do not by faith distinguish the sacramental food from corporal food. "It is the man who partakes of the holy mysteries," says the fair theologian, "carrying with him the defilements of his sins, without confession or penance, that eateth and drinketh damnation to himself. But we who many days before have confessed our sins, have cleansed our souls by penance, and washed away our stains by almsgiving and many tears, and then on Easter Day draw near in catholic faith to the table of the Lord and receive the body of the Lamb without spot, we eat and drink, not to judgment, but to the remission of our sins." The queen again prevailed. The people ever after observed the sacrament of salvation, "Knowing the meaning of the Church's practices."[1]

Margaret was equally successful in regard to Sunday observance. The Scots had kept up the practice of the primitive Jewish Church and the ancient monastic Church of Ireland of observing Saturday as a day of rest and Sunday as a day of religious service, but not of cessation from work. "Let us," said Margaret, "venerate the Lord's day, inasmuch as upon this day our Saviour rose from the dead. Let us do no servile work on that day, whereon we are redeemed from the slavery of the devil." From this time no one dared to carry any burdens on the Lord's day. She also succeeded apparently in breaking up the custom of marry-

THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

[1] This is the language of Turgot, the queen's biographer. But Grub, Eccl. Hist. of Scotland, i, 196, note, well says that Turgot leaves something here unexplained. For all that appears to the contrary the Celtic Church had abandoned the reception of the eucharist at other times of the year as well as at Easter. Lord Hailes, Annals, i, 45, infers from this that the "clergy of Scotland had ceased to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper." But this could hardly have been the case.

ing a deceased brother's wife or a stepmother, which was a common custom both in Ireland and Scotland.

But darker abuses the good queen could not sweep away. One of these was the hereditary possession of abbacies and ecclesiastical posts. If the abbot was not married, or had no concubines, the tribe or family to which he belonged provided a fit person in order to fill the office. Thus the ecclesiastical offices came in direct succession in the family. Worse still, the abbots, as a next step, did not take orders at all, providing some ecclesiastic to perform religious duties, while they retained all the privileges and emoluments of the abbacy.[1] Thus powerful families kept the great ecclesiastical offices for their own use for generations. What did two or three days more or less in Lent amount to in the presence of such a crying evil as that? But perhaps the queen was restrained by knowing that her royal house owed its origin to the lay abbots of one of the principal monasteries, and was largely endowed with the possession of the Church.[2] She was also silent concerning the abominable Scotch custom of selling their wives, which the great moralist, Gregory VII (1073–86), pointed out to Lanfranc as a custom among the Scots, and which he called upon him rigidly to suppress.[3] Margaret died November 16, 1093, three days after her husband, at the age of forty-six, worn out by the cares and troubles of a turbulent reign. She bore her husband six sons and two daughters.[4]

ABUSES FIRMLY INTRENCHED.

The work of Margaret was continued by her younger son David, Prince of Cumbria (1107, ff.) and King of Scotland (1124–53). He reconstituted the great see of Glasgow, 1115, and erected churches and founded monasteries, which he endowed with possessions and covered with honors. He found in the whole kingdom of Scotland three or four bishops only, but left nine at his death. He left also monasteries of the Cluniac, Cistercian, Tyronian, Arovensian, Præmonstratensian, and Belvacensian orders.[5]

KING DAVID.

David's reign put the finishing stroke to the expiring Celtic Church. The old Celtic arrangement of Church government by

[1] Skene, ii, 338, ff., who gives full information on this outrageous abuse.

[2] *Op. cit.*, ii, 350.

[3] Tuam vero fraternitatem admonemus, quatenus inter omnia et præ omnibus, nefas quod de Scotis audivimus quod plerique videlicet proprias uxores non solum deserunt, sed etiam vendunt, omnibus modis prohibere contendat. See Robertson, Statuta, p. xxiv, note; Bellesheim, i, 251, note.

[4] The Latin Life of St. Margaret by her confessor, Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, has been trans. by Forbes-Leith, Edinb., 1884.

[5] Ailred of Rivaux, in Pinkerton, Vit. Sanct., p. 442; Skene, ii, 376.

abbots was completely superseded by the division of Scotland into dioceses, the erection of bishoprics, and thence the ordinary diocesan government in subordination to Rome. Along with this was the final suppression of the *Keledei* (Culdees). David ordered that the Culdee monks should be received into the canons regular, and if they refused they were to be allowed to retain their possession until their death, after which no more Culdees were to be appointed, but their revenues appropriated to the use of the canons. In a few years, therefore, this nondescript monastic guild entirely disappeared.[1] At the same time their place was taken by the invasion of the monastic establishments of the Catholic Church, thus completing the Romanizing of Scotland.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CULDEES.

Nothing could exceed the enterprise and liberality with which the pious and great-hearted King David established the Church in Scotland. He restored the fallen bishopric of Glasgow, founded and endowed the bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane, enriched the sees of St. Andrews, Moray, and Dunkeld, and revived the old see of Galloway (Whithorn). He founded or restored the abbeys at Kelso, Jedburg, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss, as well as a number of minor religious establishments. This enriching process led Bellenden to say that the "crown was left indegent throw ampliation of gret rentis to the Kirk," and James I of Scotland remarked when he stood on David's tomb at Dunfermline that "he was ane sair sanct for the crown." On the other hand, George Buchanan said that "if men were to set themselves to draw the image of a good king they would fall short of what David showed himself throughout the whole course of his life." David organized the judiciary system, established burghs, provided commerce and learning, and sought in every way to advance the State and Church of Scotland.[2] Though often called St. David, he was never canonized, but his name was inserted in the calendar of Laud's Prayer Book for Scotland, printed in Edinburgh in 1637.

VIGOROUS REIGN OF DAVID.

"And thus," says Skene, "the old Celtic Church came to an end, leaving no vestiges behind it, save here and there the noble walls of what had once been a church and the numerous old burying grounds, to the use of which the people still cling with tenacity, and where occasionally an ancient Celtic cross tells of its former state.

[1] Full information as to this is found in Skene and Reeves.

[2] Full particulars of David's reign according to best recent light will be found in Robertson, Scotland under her Early Kings, Edinb., 1862, Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages, 1860, and Skene, Celtic Scotland, new ed., 1887.

All else has disappeared; and the only records we have of their history are the names of the saints by whom they were founded, preserved in old calendars, the fountains near the old churches bearing their name, the village fairs of immemorial antiquity held on their day, and here and there a few lay families holding a small portion of land, as hereditary custodians of the pastoral staff or other relics of the reputed founder of the Church, with some small remains of its jurisdiction."[1]

[1] Celtic Scotland, ii. 418.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LEARNING AND LITERATURE OF THE OLD SCOTCH CHURCH.

THE Scotch Church made large provision for the cultivation of learning. This was the special mission of the monasteries. In the parent school at Iona, Columba spent much of his time daily in study, prayer, and writing, or some other holy occupation. Here he transcribed the Psalter and compiled or wrote a book of hymns, for the office of every day in the week.

> "Thrice fifty noble lays the apostle made,
> Whose miracles are more numerous than grass,
> Some in Latin, which were beguiling;
> Some in Gaelic, fair the tale."[1]

He was a characteristic product of the Celtic Church in its first and palmiest days, and left us his Rule, letters on important ecclesiastical affairs of his day, seventeen instructions or sermons addressed to monks, and one or two practical works, all written in pure Latin and exhibiting profound knowledge of the Scriptures and of the contemporary history and literature of the Church. He exalts the Bible as the only rule of faith. He declares that his Church receives nothing beyond the teaching of the evangelists and prophets, and, when speaking of one of the doctrines of the Church, says, that, as to the Trinity, we must accept only what the sacred Scriptures themselves say.[2]

COLUMBA'S LITERARY WORK.

At the end of the seventh century the Celtic monasteries had a special officer whose business it was to teach, lecture, and transcribe the ancient records. One of the literary monuments of this Church is the Book of Armagh, compiled by the scribe of the Church of Armagh in 807. It begins with the oldest memoirs of St. Patrick, followed by his Confession. Then come St. Jerome's Preface to the New Testament, and then the

THE BOOK OF ARMAGH.

[1] A quatrain quoted in the Old Irish Life of S. Columba.

[2] Migne, Pat. Lat., xxxvii, col. 233. Skene (ii, 422, 423, note) thinks that his remark, "Cæterum disputatio, seu ingenium humanum aut aliqua superba sapientia, quæ vel mundi in natione fallitur, de Deo magistra esse non potest, sed sacrilega et impia in Deum præsumenda est," is intended as a protest against the Athanasian Creed, with its metaphysical subtleties, which was making its appearance about that time.

Four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles (prefaced by remarks chiefly from Pelagius), the Apocalypse, the Acts of the Apostles, and finally the Life of St. Martin of Tours, written by Sulpicius Severus, and a short litany for the writer. The Epistle to the Laodiceans, found in many ancient Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, is inserted between the Epistle to the Colossians and the First Epistle to Timothy. The celebrated verse on the heavenly witnesses (1 John v, 7) is omitted, as it is also in the oldest copy of the Vulgate.[1]

THE BOOK OF DEER.

The Columban Church gave the northern Picts letters and a written language. That language was the standard written Irish, and became the language of the Church, the monastery, and the school. For generations these Scottish monks were the teachers of the Picts. An interesting specimen of their writing is the Book of Deer, a manuscript belonging to the Church of Deer, a village of Buchan, Aberdeenshire. In 1715 a Latin manuscript, a small octavo of eighty-six pages, found its way into the Cambridge University Library. There it lay comparatively unnoticed until 1860, when Henry Bradshaw, the librarian, called the attention of scholars to it. It contains St. John's and parts of the other three Gospels in the Vulgate, the Apostles' Creed, and a fragment of an office for the visitation of the sick, with a Gaelic rubric. On the blank leaves of the manuscript, in the handwriting of the early part of the twelfth century, are several Gaelic entries, written in the Irish character, relating to the endowments of the monastery. These are the oldest specimens of the Scottish Gaelic. The Gaelic ornamentations enriching the manuscript are also interesting. In 1869 this valuable discovery was placed before the public by the Spalding Club.[2] It was left to the Protestant Renaissance to give to the Scotch a literature in their native Gaelic[3] —a desire never professed by either the Columban or the Roman Catholic Church.

ADVANTAGES UNDER THE PAPAL SYSTEM.

The organization of Scotland under the papal system was both a blessing and a curse. It was a blessing in that it brought Scotland into relation to the wider currents of culture, and made her take part in the highest civilization and art of the age. This was necessary for the larger development of Scotland, and her strengthening in all elements of national growth and greatness. Scottish students were found in the European uni-

[1] See Reeves, Book of Armagh, first pub. in 1861; Skene, ii, 423, 424.

[2] Edited by John Stuart, with a valuable preface. See also Anderson, Scotland in Early Christian Times, Edinb., 1881; Skene, ii, 458; Chambers's Encyc., new ed., iii, 729, 730 (1889).

[3] Skene, ii, 468.

versities. Scottish literature received an impetus. Erasmus noted the fact that the Scots had a remarkable affinity for abstract thinking. Michael Scott was the first to introduce the Aristotelian Commentaries of Averrhoes into the Western schools—an event of great importance in the intellectual history of Europe. To Duns Scotus—undoubtedly a Scotsman—belongs the credit of leading, by his remorseless logic, to the emancipation of men's minds from the scholastic philosophy, after it had done its work of discipline in the mind of Europe. The historians John of Fordun (1384–87), Bower, Boece, and Major wrote their country's annals. The Scottish universities were founded late—St. Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1494—but they performed an immense service to the country. It was Scotland's relation to the Continent which gave her the Reformation.

But the Romanization of Scotland was also her curse. It induced a downward tendency in morals, which seemed to be a universal result of the full-fledged Roman system wherever it could work without check. This decadence was seen in several ways. First, we see it in morals. Clerical piety had declined. The clergy lived in unblushing concubinage. Clerical preferments were given by favoritism, or fraud, or force. Wealthy and unscrupulous laymen possessed Church offices. Bloodshed was an accompaniment of a change of Church offices. Cardinal Beaton was open in his amours, and succeeded in marrying his oldest daughter to the son of the Earl of Crawford. Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, was equally shameless, but with a coarseness of bravado against which the cardinal was guarded by his culture and better taste. Even the decorous Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, did not die childless.[1] Other sins kept pace with the unbridled licentiousness of the clergy. Profane swearing was so common that "to swear like a Scot" became a proverb throughout Europe. The writings of Bishop Douglas are interlarded with profane oaths. The spirit of the new order attempted to arrest this evil.

ABUSES UNDER THE PAPAL SYSTEM.

The Parliament of 1551 turned its attention to the swearing clergy. A prelate of Kirk, earl or lord, was fined twelve pence for the first offense, and for the fourth offense such prelate or lord was banished or imprisoned for a year and a day. The rapacity of the clergy was equal to their depravity. The property of the nobility and commoners had long been sliding into their hands. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they possessed by far the larger part of the landed property of the realm. The

RAPACIOUS PRIESTS.

[1] Moffat, The Church in Scotland, pp. 274, 275.

beds of the dying were besieged by importunate priests seeking legacies for their convents. And no sooner had the poor wight breathed his last than the priest came and carried off his "corpse-present,"[1] and if he died rich heavy charges were made for his purgatory masses. One of the offices of the priest was cursing, calling down a curse upon the head of an offender. For this office a charge was made. Knox describes this process thus—that is, the ordinary cursing for small offenses: "The priest whose duty and office it is to pray for the people stands up on Sunday and cries. 'Ane has tint a spurtill' [some one has lost a porridge-stick]; 'thair is ane flaill stolen from them beyond the burne;' 'the guid wife on the other side of the gait has tint a horne spune;' God's malison [curse] and mine I give to them that knows of this geir and restores it not."[2] An unhappy precentor was overheard saying in his sleep, "The deevil tak the priests, for they are a greedy pack."[3] For this he was arrested, and would have been put to death had it not been for a timely recantation. Tithes and other church dues were exacted, and if these were not forthcoming "letters of cursing" were issued, and these letters were the preliminary step of a warrant for arrest and imprisonment and for the impounding and seizure of goods. What with distraining, exactions, and excommunications for property, on the part of the Church, is it any wonder that the eternal Justice had sounded the doom of Roman Catholic Scotland?

CLERICAL CURSING.

The decadence was seen also in preaching. The Roman Scottish Church cared nothing for preaching. It was a lost art on the part of the bishops and secular clergy. Sir David Lindsay reproaches the clergy with their inability to preach:

> "Great pleasure were to hear one bishop preech,
> One abbot who could well his convent teach,
> One person flowing in philosophy;
> I tyne [lose] my time what will not be;
> Were not the preaching of the begging friars,
> Tynt were the faith among the secular."

When Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow came to Ayr to stop George Wishart's mouth, who revived preaching, the "bischope preeched to his jackmen and to some old bosses of the town. The

[1] The corpse-present was the priest's perquisite on the death of a parishioner. In the family of a farmer this would usually be one of the cows, and what was called the "upmost cloth," or outer garment of the departed; "nor does it seem to have been usual to remit the claim if the clothing of the family was already too scant or if the one cow was all the poor man had." Moffat, The Church in Scotland, pp. 283, 284.

[2] Knox, Hist., p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 15; McCrie, Sketches of Scottish Church History, 6th ed., p. 15.

sum of all his sermon was, 'They say that we should preech; why not? Better late thrive than never thrive; had us still for your bischop, and we will provide better for the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the bischop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfill his promise."[1] When the queen regent was trying to coerce the people of Edinburgh into the old religion the Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, ascended the pulpit of the abbey church of Holyrood, and "after he had vomited a little of his superstition, he declared that he had not been well exercised in the profession [of preaching]: therefore desired the auditors to hold him excused."[2] "It is a remarkable fact," says Blaikie, "that two heads of the Church, the Archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, should have earned so unquestionable a title as to be enrolled in the list of 'stikit ministers.'"[3] Lindsay of Pitscottie tells a story characteristic of the age. Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, who had won the gratitude of the pope for his offices of intercession between the pope and the King of France, was invited to Rome, where he was loaded with honors and made a legate. In return Forman made a dinner for the pope and his cardinals. Being a poor Latin scholar, when he began to say grace he stuck at the word Benedicito, expecting his guests to say Dominus. But as they said Dans, he lost his temper, and broke out in Scotch, "To the devil I give you all, false carles, in nomine patris, filii et spiritus sancti." "Amen," quote they. "Then the bishop and his men leugh [laughed]. And the bishop showed the pope the manner, that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendment [out of his intention]; and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scotch, and then the pope leugh among the rest."[4]

DECAY OF PREACHING.

In 1560 John Knox mounted the pulpit of St. Giles Church in Edinburgh, and the old order changed, giving place to the new.[5]

[1] Knox, Hist., i, 166.

[2] Historie of the Estate of Scotland, in Miscellany of the Wodrow Soc., p. 67.

[3] The Preachers of Scotland, 6th to 19th centuries, p. 38.

[4] Pitscottie, Hist. of Scotland, 3d ed., p. 166; Blaikie, Preachers of Scotland, p. 38.

[5] The preaching of the Lollards and the sufferings of the protomartyrs of Scotch Protestantism will be treated under the head of the Scotch Reformation.

LITERATURE: ST. PATRICK AND MEDIÆVAL IRELAND.

I. DOCUMENTARY MATERIALS.

1. Colgan, Joann. Acta triadis thaumaturgæ, sive divorum Patricii, Columbæ et Brigidæ. (Tom. 2, of the Acta Sanctorum. . . . Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ.) Lovan, 1647. This celebrated collection contains seven lives of St. Patrick, dating from the seventh to the tenth centuries. The last is the most important, and is called Trias Thaumaturga, as it treats Saints Columba and Bridget as well as St. Patrick. See Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 202. The ninth life, that by Jocelyn, a Cistercian monk of the Abbey of Furness in the early part of the 12th century, was transl. by Edmund L. Swift. Dubl., 1809.
2. Ware, J. St. Patricii qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit adscripta Opuscula. Lond., 1656.
3. Villaneuva, J. L. S. Patricii Synodi, Canones, Opuscula et Scriptorum qui supersunt Fragmenta. Dubl., 1835. These books by Ware and Villaneuva are careful compilations, with notes, of the spurious remains of Patrick.
4. Book of Armagh: edited by Sir W. Betham, in Irish Antiquarian Researches. Dubl., 1826–27. This is the most valuable of all the remains of early Irish literature, and dates, as Graves proved in Proc. of Royal Irish Acad., iii, 316–324, from 807. It contains Patrick's Confession and other invaluable materials. Betham's ed. was the best for the time, but inaccurate. Reeves was working on a critical ed. when he died, but it was published later. Hogan published in Analecta Bollandiana a fine edition of all the Irish part. Brussels, 1873. Migne also publishes the Confession, with Prolegomena, vol. liii. Paris, 1847.
5. O'Curry, E. Lectures on Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History. Dubl., 1861.
6. Gilbert, John. Facsimiles of the National MSS. of Ireland, Part ii. Lond., 1878. Rolls series. A splendid work.
7. Olden, Thos. Epistles and Hymns of St. Patrick, with the Poem of Secundinus, Dubl., 1876; new ed., Lond., 1889. The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago; Selections from the Würzburg Glosses. Trans. by T. Olden. See Church Quar. Rev., xxviii, 407–414.
8. Wasserschleben, H. Die irische Canonensammlung. 2d ed., Leipz., 1885.
9. Wright, C. H. H. The Writings of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. Lond., 1889; 2d ed., 1894. English translation of all of Patrick's works. The best ed., with fine literary introduction and notes.
10. Stokes, Whitley. The Tripartite life of St. Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint. Ed. with translations and Indexes. Parts i and ii. Lond., 1887. Critical and exhaustive, by far the best source. Lives

of the saints from the Book of Lismore. (Anecdota Oxoniensia.) Oxf., 1890.

Translations of the Confessions, and other matter, are also to be found in Cusack, Life of Patrick, made by the eminent Irish scholar, W. M. Hennessey; in De Vinne, as below; by A. F. Foster, The Confession of St. Patrick, with introduction and appendix, Glasgow, *n. d.;* by Sir Samuel Ferguson, pres. of R. I. A., on the Patrician Documents, in Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy, xxvii, Dubl., 1885; this last into English blank verse. For full information as to the literary materials for early and mediæval Irish history, see the Introd. by Stokes, Trip. Life; Joyce, Hist. of Ireland, pp. 1–47; Stokes, art. Patrick, in Smith and Wace; O'Curry, as above; and in the volumes of Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

II. MODERN WORKS.

1. Lanigan, J. Eccl. Hist. of Ireland. 4 vols. Dubl., 1829. A Roman Catholic of liberal and candid spirit.
2. Moore, Thomas. History of Ireland. Lond., 1827.
3. Todd, J. H. St. Patrick, with introduction on early usages of the Church in Ireland and its historical position from the establishment of the English colony to the present. Dubl., 1864. The standard life, able and learned.
4. Greith, C. T. Geschichte der altirischen Kirche und ihrer Verbindung mit Rom, Gallien und Alemannien, als Einleitung in die Geschichte des Stifts St. Gallen. Freib. i. B., 1867. By the R. C. Bishop of St. Gall. Mistakes pointed out in a review in Church Quar. Rev., Oct., 1885, pp. 89, ff.
5. Nicholson, R. S. St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland in the Third Century. Dubl., 1868. Gives Lat. texts and translation of Patrick's writings, but his hypothesis that Patrick lived in the third century has been disproved and is completely discredited.
6. De Vinne, D. History of Irish Primitive Church, with a Life of St. Patrick. N. Y., 1870. The first American to give a correct idea of the beginnings of Irish Church history, written with rare learning and judgment.
7. Cusack, Miss M. J. Life of St. Patrick. Lond., 1871. The best R. C. Life. Has all the legends, but gives some valuable documents. The author afterward left the R. C. Church.
8. Killen, W. D. Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. 2 vols. Lond., 1875. Killen is the most learned and able Protestant Church historian of Ireland.
9. Skene, W. F. Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. Church and Culture. Edinb., 1877; 2d ed., 1887. Critical and exact. A large part is taken up with St. Patrick and the early Irish Church.
10. Sherman, J. F. Loca Patriciana: an identification of localities visited by St. Patrick. Dubl., 1879.
11. Scottish Rev., July, 1884.
12. Zimmer, H. Keltische Studien. 2 vols., 1883–84. Ueber die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Cultur (in Preussische Jahrbücher, Jan., 1887, vol. 59). English translation, by Jane L. Edmands, The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture, N. Y. and Lond., 1891. The translation is incorrect, mischievous, and discreditable—bad throughout. The original is full of interest, and excellent.

18. Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1885. The Position of the Old Irish Church.
14. Stokes, G. T. Ireland and the Celtic Church. Lond., 1886, 3d ed., 1891. The best history of the first age of Christianity in Ireland, treated in an interesting manner, and illuminated with many side lights by a variously informed scholar. Arts. St. Patrick, in Smith and Wace, and in new ed. (1891) of Chambers.
15. Stokes, Whitley. Introd. to Tripartite Life, as above.
16. Morris, W. B. Life of St. Patrick. Lond., 1868. Ireland and St. Patrick. Lond. and N. Y., 1892. This is the latest spokesman for the R. C. Church. Of the Life of St. Patrick an accomplished reviewer says: "A volume of 297 pages, which contains not one new fact, not a single new idea, not the least evidence of independent thought; it would be difficult to match it for mistakes, misrepresentations, and general inaccuracy." Church Quar. Rev., xxviii, 403.
17. Crosthwaite, C. Which Church has Orders from St. Patrick? Dubl., 1889. Written from Protestant point of view.
18. The Origins of Irish Christianity. In Church Quar. Rev., July, 1889, pp. 391, ff.
19. Wells, B. W. The Earlier Life of St. Patrick. In English Historical Rev., July, 1890.
20. Gradwell, Succat. Story of Sixty Years of Life of St. Patrick. Lond. and N. Y., 1892. (R. C.)
21. Malone, S. Chapters Toward a Life of St. Patrick. Dubl. and Lond., 1892.
22. Newell, E. J. St. Patrick. Lond. (S. P. C. K.), 1890. Written with fine scholarship, containing complete notes and references to the sources; the best handy life.
23. Olden, T. The Church of Ireland. Lond., 1892. One of the best of the series on "National Churches," written by a competent and enthusiastic Irish Episcopalian scholar.
24. Joyce, P. W. Short History of Ireland to 1608. Lond. and N. Y., 1893. By an eminent Irish antiquarian and scholar, who, while a R. C., writes from a careful study of the sources, and, in general, in an impartial spirit.
25. Cathcart, W. The Ancient British and Irish Churches, with a Life of St. Patrick. Phila., 1895.
26. Sanderson, Jos. St. Patrick and the Irish Church. N. Y., 1895.

See the art. by Schöll in 2d ed. of Herzog-Plitt; by Stokes in Chambers, last ed., and in Dict. of Ch. Biog.; by Olden, in Dict. of Nat. Biog.; and by Sullivan in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. PATRICK.

CŒLESTIUS.

THE first Irishman who meets us in ecclesiastical history is Cœlestius, the friend and follower of the great Welsh heretic, Pelagius. Cœlestius was an irrepressible agitator. He is one of the most prominent figures in the literary and political world of the early years of the fifth century. He is first found at Rome practicing law. But the law proved for him a road to theology. He became acquainted with Pelagius and embraced his views with ardor. Pelagius was a recluse and student who hated the din of controversy. In Cœlestius he found a man of untiring activity. Before Augustine at Carthage, the pope at Rome, and the patriarch at Constantinople, he expounded his views. Edicts of emperor and pope were directed against him. St. Jerome describes him as an "Alpine cur reared upon Scotch porridge."[1] Until the tenth century and after, the word Scotch always referred to Ireland, which was the Scotland of antiquity. In 416 Cœlestius gained Pope Zosimus to his side. But Augustine and Jerome soon convinced Zosimus that this was a fatal mistake. The pope then veered, and condemned Cœlestius. In 431 he was at the council of Constantinople, defending Pelagius and Nestorius. He was then condemned, and the undaunted Irish agitator passes out of sight. The life of Cœlestius proves that Irish characteristics were much the same in the fifth as in the nineteenth century, and that Christianity was known in Ireland before the mission of Patrick.

PALLADIUS.

The pioneer in Irish evangelism was Palladius, of whom a contemporary, Prosper of Aquitaine, says that in 431 he was "consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Scots [Irish] believing in Christ as their first bishop."[2] He was a Gaul, a disciple of Germanus of Auxerre, and sailed for Ireland, landed at Wicklow, preached, possibly founded a church or two,

[1] Com. in Jer. Proph., 1 Prolog. and Præf. in lib. iii, Migne, xxiv, col. 682, 758. Marius Mercator, in Commonitorium, gives much information about Cœlestius and Pelagius. See Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 20–23; Gammack, in Smith and Wace, i, 588; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 16, 17.

[2] Prosper, Chron., in Migne, Pat. Lat., li, col. 595. See also Prosper, Lib. cont. Collatorem, cxxi, in Migne, li, col. 271.

was driven out by the natives, went to Britain and died there. These are the chief records of him, and what is beyond this is conflicting.[1]

RECORDS OF ST. PATRICK.

Few men have been the subject of more biographies than St. Patrick, and yet the authentic materials for his life are exceedingly scanty. His works consist of his Confession, his letter to Coroticus, and his Hymn. Outside of these the earliest historical sources are the Annotations of Tirechan and the Life of Patrick by Muirchu Maccumaetheni, and these are both two hundred years later than the saint, while the eminent Irish antiquaries, Whitley Stokes and the late Bishop Reeves, think that portions of them are as late as the ninth or tenth centuries. After these are Hymns in praise of Patrick, by St. Fiace and St. Sechnall, which the best authorities place between 700 and 900. Then come the seven lives published by Colgan, in his Trias Thaumaturga,[2] 1647, ranging from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. The last of these, called the Tripartite Life, from its three sections or divisions, is not later than the ninth century, and forms the basis of the best collection of the Patrician materials, that made by Whitley Stokes for the Master of the Rolls.[3] A large part of this mass of materials is worthless. All these Irish lives "too often bid defiance to truth, reason, and decency, and, instead of history, present a specimen of the meanest fiction."[4] From them can be culled a few notices out of which a meager and reliable history can be constructed, but they are mostly filled with extravagant legends. The wildness of these fictions leads us to conjecture, with Stokes, that they have been fashioned after the mythology of a heathen Celtic god, the stories being transferred to

[1] He is mentioned in the Book of Armagh. Sherman in his Loca Patriciana, Dubl., 1879, has discussed with thorough knowledge all the localities traditionally connected with Palladius and historically or traditionally connected with Patrick. Ussher, in Eccles. Britann. Antiq. (Works, ed. Elrington, vol. vi), subjected Irish antiquities to a sifting that has left comparatively little to recent research. See Stokes, art. Palladius, in Smith and Wace; Olden, The Church of Ireland, pp. 10, 11, 406–411.

[2] So called because it gives the lives of three wonder workers, St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba.

[3] The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other Documents relating to that Saint, with Introd., translations, and Indexes, 2 vols., Lond., 1887. Full information concerning the sources of Patrick's life may be found in Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, notes to chap. ii, and his art. on Patrick, in Smith and Wace; Stokes, Tripartite Life, Introd.; Wright, Writings of St. Patrick, Introd.; and in other authorities mentioned in the notes below.

[4] Reeves, Adamnan, Vita S. Columbæ, in Historians of Scotland, vi, 223.

Patrick by a confusion of names.[1] In fact, one of the grounds for the authenticity of the Confession and the Epistle to Coroticus is the bald plain story, without miracle or fantastic story, with every mark of genuineness and honesty on its face.[2]

He thus confesses: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible to very many, CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK. had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, a son of Potitus, a presbyter, who dwelt in the village of Bannavem Taberniæ, for he had a small farm hard by the place where I was taken captive. I was then nearly sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God; and I was taken to Ireland in captivity with so many thousand men, in accordance with our deserts, because we departed from God, and we kept not his precepts, and were not obedient to our priests, who admonished us for our salvation."[3]

Nearly all recent critics agree that Patrick's birth place was at or near Dumbarton, on the Clyde. The objection urged by De Vinne[4] that, though Patrick says his father was a deacon, Christianity had not been introduced into Scotland, does not hold, inasmuch as Ninian had built churches in that region as early as 397, and besides this, through the influence of the Roman army, Christian teachers were by no means unknown even beyond the pale of established Christendom. Two touches in Patrick's account PATRICK'S EARLY LIFE. prove his origin in the fourth century. His father was a deacon, a town councilor, and a farmer, for it was common in that time for the clergy to combine secular offices and employment with their sacred profession. In Africa, about the year 250, Cyprian tried hard to break up this practice, but did not succeed. Even much later, in the time of Justinian, an inscription on the walls of Assos, in Asia Minor, tells us how the walls were restored by Helladius, a presbyter and chief magistrate of the city.[5] Patrick's father was a decurion, which is the same as town councilor. The decurions regulated the social and municipal life of the town, in fact, everything coming

[1] Tripartite Life, p. cxxxvii; Newell, St. Patrick, His Life and Teaching, Lond., 1890, pp. 177–179.

[2] For a specimen of the historic criticism by which these documents are proved genuine, see Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 201–203.

[3] Confession, i.

[4] The Irish Primitive Church, N. Y., 1870, p. 20. De Vinne was a pioneer among American scholars in Irish Church history. His book is interesting, of solid learning, and still valuable. For an account of the life of this earnest student and consecrated minister, see Supplement to McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, ii, 272.

[5] Boeckh, Cop. Inscr. Græc., No. 8838; Contemp. Rev., June, 1880, p. 988; Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 42, 43.

under the view of our town councils. By the end of the fourth century these decurions were found nearly all over the Roman empire, a part of that wonderful system of administration by which Rome taught the world its best lessons of municipal government.[1] The decurions disappeared after the barbarian invasion. Another touch of antiquity and veracity is the mention of the fact as an ordinary matter that his father and grandfather were both clergymen. Clerical celibacy was not then the rule, at least in the provinces. It required many generations to enforce the new law. As late as 1076 the council of Winchester decreed that married priests living in castles or villages should not be compelled to abandon their wives.[2]

In this Roman town Patrick grew up to the verge of manhood. The example of his parents did not affect him. He looked upon his captivity at the age of sixteen as a reward for his sins. The Irish often made raids on the Roman camps and Scottish towns on the Solway. Many Roman coins have been found in the northeast of Ireland, on which the Romans themselves never set foot. Patrick became the slave of Milchu, King of Dalaradia, the most powerful kingdom in northeastern Ireland. In the center of County Antrim, at Broughshane, five miles east of Ballymena, he fed Milchu's swine, perhaps in the exact spot where Ballyligpatrick, the "town of the hollow of Patrick," commemorates the humble service of the apostle of the Irish. After six years he made his escape to France. His captivity had converted him, because he speaks of his faith and prayer at this time. It is very difficult to construct an intelligible account of Patrick's life from the time of his escape from captivity to that of his entering Ireland as a preacher. His Confession is meager and rhapsodical, and the later accounts are unreliable. It would appear that he again was taken captive in Gaul, which was even then largely pagan.[3] We next find him with his parents in Britain. Many years had now passed. It would appear that they were spent in hardship, pain, and toil—not in study under Germanus at Auxerre, as some think, because his uncouth Latin shows that there was something in the sneer of his enemies against his lack of learning. But during the dreary years of discipline the indomitable Romano-

PATRICK'S DISCIPLINE THROUGH HARDSHIP.

[1] On decurions see Hubner, vol. vii, Nos. 54 and 189, who proves that they were in Britain; Mommsen, Handb. der römischen Alterthümer, iv, 501–516, and Ephen. Epigr., ii, 137, iii, 103; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 201.

[2] Wilkins, Concilia, i, 367.

[3] See Confession, iii, and note by Stokes in Wright, Writings of St. Patrick, p. 114. Ferguson (on the Patrician Documents, in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxvii, 1885) thinks that Patrick refers to spiritual captivity, but this is unnecessary.

Scotchman ever kept before him as the goal of his life the conversion of Ireland. In this he was encouraged by dreams and visions, many of which he reports in his Confession in his broken, incoherent way. His training in Christianity he received in Gaul and in Ninian's Church in North Britain, and Celtic Christianity, whether in Gaul or Britain, was after the same pattern. It is likely that he was trained for the priesthood at Candida Casa in Galloway.[1] But he would not go to Ireland until he was made bishop, to which dignity he was ordained by Arnatorex.

PATRICK'S MISSION TO IRELAND.

At the age of forty-five he started out on the career of his life.[2] He had been disciplined in a bitter school. Through many a fight of afflictions he kept unsullied his dauntless faith and purpose. Without great learning, but with wisdom derived from long and hard experiences with the world, and with the piety and serene confidence in God that came from protracted communion with Christ, he was now ready to carry out his great desire. He landed at Wicklow with several companions, and was received with a shower of stones. This was somewhere between 430 and 440. He pressed toward the North, to the place of his former captivity in Antrim. He passed Dublin, then a village beside a ford or bridge of hurdles over the Liffey. He sailed up to Strangford Lough, entered the lake, and landed at its northern end. His first convert was Dichu, a local chief, who gave him his barn (sabhall, thence saul) for a church. This is the present church at Saul, which has been used as a church ever since. Patrick then went to Milchu, the King of Antrim, his former master. The king's incantations made him no response, and he gathered up his household goods, set fire to his palace, and perished in the flames. The evangelist went throughout the surrounding country winning many converts.

But something more spectacular and effective must be done before it could have any effect on the great mass of Irish people. Patrick, therefore, resolved to strike a blow at the very heart of Irish paganism, at Tara, the ecclesiastical and civil capital of Ireland.[3] When Patrick arrived there the king was celebrating a

[1] Art. St. Patrick in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed. See above, pp. 619, 620.

[2] Many of his biographers make sixty the age of his consecration, and this is followed by Stokes, Tripartite Life, p. cxxxviii. But the best computations from Patrick's slender data make forty-five the age. See Todd, Life of St. Patrick, p. 392; Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 12; Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 18, 428, 429; Newell, St. Patrick, p. 32.

[3] The Irish nation consisted of a number of provinces, each of which had its own king and made its own laws. But the King of Meath, having his seat at Tara, was an overlord, and held assemblies of all the subordinate chiefs.

pagan feast, and had lighted a fire in his palace. It was a rule that on that night no other fire should shine forth within sight of Tara's palace. Patrick kindled a fire for the celebration of the paschal feast on the opposite hill.[1] The king in consternation summoned his council. "This fire which has been lighted before the royal fire," said the Druids, "will never be extinguished unless it be extinguished this night. Moreover, it will conquer all the fires of our religion. And he who has lighted it will conquer us all, and will seduce all the subjects, and all kingdoms will fall before him, and he will fill all things and will reign forever and ever." The king took his magicians and proceeded to visit and punish the bold innovators. The Lives in the Book of Armagh then relate that Patrick was bidden to approach the royal presence. The Druids began to abuse the Christian faith and to blaspheme. One was especially abusive. The saint looked at him sternly, and then cried aloud to God, "O Lord, who canst do all things, by whose power all things consist, and who hast sent me hither, let this wretch who blasphemes thy name be forthwith raised aloft, and let him speedily perish." Whereupon the magician was caught up into the air, dashed head foremost against the earth, and thus miserably perished. This enraged the king, and he ordered Patrick to be seized. Then the saint began intoning the sixty-eighth psalm, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate him flee before him." A horror of thick darkness came down upon the Druids, and they began to fight one another. An earthquake added to the terrors. The guards took to flight, and the king and queen stood with two attendants alone before St. Patrick. Other prodigies followed—miracles upon miracles. Finally the king yielded to the prayers of his chief men, was baptized, and gave the heroic evangelist a safe conduct through Ireland.

PATRICK'S SUCCESS.

Patrick then began his missionary journeys through Ireland, attacking paganism in its chief centers. He recognized the Celtic polity, the devotion of the tribes to their chiefs, and thus always directed his attention to the kings and princes. He knew no fear. He went to Moy Slecht, where stood the great national idol, Crom Cruach, surrounded

PATRICK'S TRAVELS AND WORK IN IRELAND.

[1] Eusebius says that Constantine observed Easter Eve with such pomp that "he turned the sacred or mystical vigil into the light of day by means of lamps suspended in every part, and setting up huge waxen tapers as big as columns through the whole city." Bingham describes this custom at length, Antiquities, bk. xxi, ch. i, sec. 32; Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, i, 595; Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 74, 75, note.

by lesser idols. Here he preached and argued, convinced the chief, destroyed the idols, and terminated forever the abominations connected with that sanctuary. The Book of Leinster says that here the Irish sacrificed their children to idols. But the Book of Leinster is a late authority, and this horrid custom is not mentioned in any of the mediæval Lives of Patrick, and some authorities believe that Irish paganism never sunk so low.[1] At Croagh Patrick (Patrick's Hill), Mayo, he spent a long time in fasting and prayer, and the mountain has ever been a place of pilgrimage. He spent seven years in Connaught, then preached in Ulster, where he founded the metropolitan Church in Armagh, 445, traveled throughout Munster, baptizing large numbers, and finally returned to his first church at Saul, County Down, where he died. According to the Bollandists he died in 460, but according to Joyce in or about 465, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Ussher and Todd hold he died in 493.[2] He was buried in Downpatrick, County Down. The old biographers say that he founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, baptized twelve thousand persons, ordained four hundred and fifty bishops and a vast number of priests, and blessed many monks and nuns. His relics were destroyed at the time of the Reformation.

Mention should be made of some of the more picturesque legends connected with St. Patrick—first, the shamrock legend. It is said that at Tara Patrick illustrated the doctrine of the Trinity by the three-leaved shamrock growing at his feet. From this time the shamrock was the emblem of Ireland. This legend, however, is not older than 1600. In

LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH ST. PATRICK.

[1] See Joyce, A Short Hist. of Ireland (to 1608), Lond. and N. Y., Longmans, 1893, p. 141.

[2] Joyce, p. 149; Ussher, Antiq., pp. 879–884; Todd, pp. 494–497. The whole chronology of Patrick's life, as given in his mediæval biographers and followed by many later ones, is fictitious. Newell, who has some excellent remarks on this subject, thinks the date of Patrick's death given by his first biographer, Tirechan (469), as probable as any. As to his age there is observable in Tirechan and others a determination to mete out his life after the model of Moses. According to the chroniclers the Celtic saints were a long-lived class. All the old writers unite in giving Patrick an age from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifty-three, St. Cadoc one hundred and twenty, St. David one hundred and forty-seven, and St. Kentigern one hundred and eighty-five. Ussher says that, according to Asclepiades, people were wont to live to the age of one hundred and twenty in Britain, and he quotes Trebellius Pollio as saying, "The most learned of the mathematicians judge that one hundred and twenty years are given to man to live, and they repeat that no more is granted to anyone;" which last assertion Ussher refutes. See Newell, St. Patrick, pp. 147–151.

pagan Ireland the trefoil was held sacred. The shamrock emblem grew out of this. Many of these pagan practices were Christianized.[1] Patrick is also said to have freed Ireland from snakes and all noxious insects and animals. While fasting during Lent in the magnificent mountain Croagh Patrick, overlooking Clew Bay in Mayo, the demons and venomous reptiles of Ireland assaulted him. He drove them all into the sea. This is the story of Jocelyn, in the twelfth century. But other mediæval histories relate this story of Joseph of Arimathea, and Solinus, a geographer of the third century, speaks of the immunity of Ireland in regard to reptiles. A celebrated legend is that of St. Patrick's purgatory. This had a large vogue in the Middle Ages. It is still shown—a cave in an island in Lough Derg, near Pettigo, in County Donegal. Pilgrimages are often made to it. Giraldus Cambrensis recognized it as only a device of St. Patrick to enforce on the rude people the sense of eternal realities.[2]

PATRICK'S THEOLOGY.

St. Patrick's theology is simple and evangelical. There is not the slightest trace of the later Roman dogmas. His writings are full of Christ and the Scriptures. For the most part there is nothing to offend the most orthodox Protestant sentiment.[3]

St. Patrick's hymn, the "Deer's Cry," or "Breastplate," is, like the early creeds, a poetical confession of faith:

"I bind myself to-day
To a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity,
I believe in the Threeness with a confession of a
Oneness in the Creator of judgment.

"I bind myself to-day
To the power of the birth of Christ, with his baptism,
To the power of the crucifixion, with his burial,
To the power of his resurrection, with his ascension,
To the power of his coming to the judgment of doom.
.

"I bind myself to-day
To the power of God to guide me,
The might of God to uphold me,

[1] See Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 78, and the articles in Notes and Queries, 1864–69, by F. R. Davies.

[2] Topogr. Hibern., dist. ii, cap. v. Full information is given in Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, Lond., 1868, and Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lond., 1844. See Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 205.

[3] In fact, St. Patrick's writings have been published by the Religious Tract Society of London in the admirable edition of Charles H. H. Wright, and the Confession, by the Methodist Book Concern of New York, as edifying reading for their patrons.

The wisdom of God to teach me,
The eye of God to watch over me,
The ear of God to hear me,
The word of God to speak for me,
The hand of God to protect me,
The way of God to lie before me,
The shield of God to shelter me,
The host of God to defend me
Against the snares of demons,
Against the temptations of vices,
Against [the lusts] of nature,
Against every man who meditates injury to me,
Whether far or near,
Alone and in a multitude."

He had a true Celtic belief in charms and incantations:

"I summon to-day around me all these powers
Against every hostile merciless power directed against my body and my soul,
Against the incantations of false prophets,
Against the black laws of heathenism,
Against the false laws of heretics,
Against the deceit of idolatry,
Against the spells of women, and smiths,[1] and Druids,
Against all knowledge which hath defiled man's body and soul."

But he had a vivid sense of the nearness of Christ and an absolute faith in his divinity:

"Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height.
Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,
Christ in the eye of every man who sees me,
Christ in the ear of every man that hears me.

"I bind myself to-day
To a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity,
I believe in a Threeness with a confession of a
Oneness in the Creator of judgment.

[1] "Workers in metals were held in the highest estimation; the smith especially was invested with superhuman attributes of intelligence and power. The ordinary smith of common life is to this day regarded by the peasantry as endowed with magical power and influence. In ancient times he was looked on as a sorcerer and an adept in necromancy."—Ulster Journal of Archæology, No. 35, pp. 219, 220.

"Salvation is the Lord's,
Salvation is the Lord's,
Salvation is Christ's,
Let thy salvation, O Lord, be ever with us."[1]

In his Confession[2] Patrick gives a statement of his belief. It is a brief Trinitarian confession, fewer in particulars than the Apostles' Creed, grouping everything around Jesus Christ. His was the theology of the apostolic Fathers, neither sacramental nor Roman.[3]

PATRICK'S RELATION TO ROME.

The question of Patrick's relation to the pope has been contested. Even if he were commissioned by the pope as the foremost bishop of the West, it would mean nothing for the Roman claims, nor for the obedience of the Irish Church to the Roman see. The question is of no controversial importance. But, as a matter of fact, the Roman mission of Patrick rests on no contemporary evidence. In his Confession, written especially to vindicate his call as the evangelist of Ireland, he makes no mention of such a mission. Nor in any of his writings is there reference to any relation to the pope. This omission is inexplicable if Patrick drew his commission from Celestine. But the writers of later legend took all their heroes to Rome. Cadoc, Kentigern, and all the Celtic saints are conducted by their biographers to Rome, and so St. Patrick must be similarly honored.[4] The silence of Prosper of Aquitaine, who mentions Palladius's mission from Celestine, and the remarkable fact that Bede makes no mention of St. Patrick whatever—a silence which has led some to hold that Patrick himself is a myth—is very hard to explain on the hypothesis that the Apostle of Ireland went out from under the hands of the Bishop of Rome. Patrick himself,

[1] The original of this antiphon is in Latin, the rest of the hymn is in Irish. The form of this hymn reminds us of our own pagan Walt Whitman.

[2] Ch. i, 2.

[3] His first biographers, writing two hundred years after, have imputed to him various sayings and sentiments which need to be tested by his own writings.

[4] But on this subject the earliest Patrician literature is as silent as Patrick himself. It is not mentioned in the Hymn of Secundinus, or the Hymn of Fiace, or by Muirchu. Even Tirechan does not name it in the main narrative, but in the supplementary notes to Tirechan it is said Patrick "is sent as bishop to teach the Scots [Irish] by Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome." Tirechan lived over two hundred years after Patrick, and this note is probably two or three centuries later than Tirechan, for the removal of Columba's bones to Saul, in County Down, is mentioned in the sentence immediately preceding, an event which happened in 877. Reeves, Antiquities of County Down and Connor, p. 224; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 205.

like Paul, attributed his mission to the direct call of Christ. In fact, the first Celtic Church was not troubled with too much reverence for the pope. Columba never sought his sanction for the conversion of the Picts, nor Columban for the conversion of the Germans and Swiss. We clear our minds of much misconception when we cease to transfer later theories and conditions into the earlier ecclesiastical history.[1]

[1] For a discussion of St. Patrick's alleged mission from Celestine, see, for the affirmative, Moran, Essays on the Early Irish Church, Dublin, 1864, and his art. in the Dublin Review for April, 1880; and for the negative, see Todd, Life of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1864; Newell, St. Patrick, ch. iv; Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, Lond., 1892 (3d ed.), lect. iii; Olden, The Church of Ireland, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, appendix i; The Position of the Old Irish Church, in Church Quar. Rev., Lond., Oct., 1885, pp. 89 ff., and The Origin of Irish Christianity, in the same, July, 1889, pp. 391 ff.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MEDIÆVAL IRELAND.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

THE early Irish Church was organized after the fashion of the political organization of the country. When a chief became a Christian, and bestowed his dune and his lands upon the Church, he at the same time transferred all his rights as chief. But these rights still remained with his sept or clan, though subordinate to the uses of the Church.[1] At first the ecclesiastical offices were confined to the members of the sept or clan, and were hereditary. This even applied to the office of bishop, and down to a late period. Belonging to the ecclesiastical family were all the tenants, vassals, and slaves connected with the Church land. As a temporal lord the head of these tribal monastic Churches could exact rent and tribute and make war. It was not unusual to find these coheirs, as they were called, making war against one another. The colonies that went out from the original house remained subordinate to it.

The monastic king, as he might be called, was the supreme head of the Church—popes, bishops, and all other hierarchs being as nothing before him. Often this abbot-king was a layman, and it never entered the mind of the pre-Catholic Irish Church that there was anything anomalous or inconsistent with Christianity in a layman being the fountain of ecclesiastical authority. This place was sometimes held by a woman. When St. Bridget was abbess of Kildare, the first monastery in Ireland which included both men and women, she was the chief of the clan. For religious services she employed a bishop, who was completely under her dictation.[2] The bishop was in order higher than the presbyter, but was completely under the power of the monastic head, whether presbyter or layman. From what Bede says about Iona ordaining Aidan,[3] and from the statement in the rule of the French abbot Aurelian, that "when the abbot may desire he has the power of ordaining,"[4] and from the case of the abbot Paphnutius, a presbyter advancing the monk

[1] Sullivan, art. Ireland: History, in Enc. Brit., 9th ed.

[2] See Olden, The Church in Ireland, pp. 38–44. [3] H. E., iii, 5.

[4] Et quando abbas voluerit ordinandi habeat potestam. Migne, lxviii, 392.

Daniel to the priesthood,[1] it has been thought by Killen and others that the bishop as a separate order did not exist in the old Irish and Scotch Church. But this view arises from a misunderstanding of *ordinare*, which often means to appoint, to profess (as a monk). Bishops swarmed throughout the country. In the time of Patrick there were three hundred and fifty of them. St. Mochta, of Louth, a disciple of Patrick, could rejoice over one hundred bishops in his monastic family:

> "No poverty had Mochta in the burg of Louth,
> Three hundred priests, one hundred bishops, together with him,
> Eighty psalm-singing noble youths;
> His household, vastest of courses.
> Without plowing, without reaping, without kiln-drying,
> Without work, save only reading."[2]

The Irish chroniclers looked upon the time when all the clergy were bishops as their golden period, and one sign of decay was the depression of the other clergy under a few bishops. The Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, in the eighth century, says that there were in the order of time as well as of sanctity three orders of Irish saints; the first most holy, the second very holy, the third holy. "The first order of Catholic saints," says this ancient authority, "was in the time of Patrick. And then they were all bishops, famous and holy and full of the Holy Ghost, three hundred and fifty in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick. They observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one Church all excommunicated. They rejected not the service and society of women, because, founded on the rock of Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation." The second order of saints is spoken of as an order of "Catholic presbyters, in number three hundred." In the third order of saints there were "holy presbyters and a few bishops."[3]

IRISH CLERICAL ORDERS.

The first Irish monasticism centered in a family. The monastery was an ordinary sept or family whose chief had become a Christian. Sometimes the chief himself was the head. The ordinary family life went on as before. Some members

MONASTICISM IN IRELAND.

[1] Et quando abbas voluerit ordinandi habeat potestam. Migne, lxviii, 392.

[1] See a case reported by Cassian, Collatio, iv, 1; Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 85.

[2] The Lebor Brece, in Oengus, cxxxii; Olden, p. 33.

[3] Newell, St. Patrick, pp. 204, 205.

were celibates and some were not. Some of the monastic clergy lived with their wives. All joined in the various religious exercises of the abbey. The system had, as Sullivan says, many striking analogies to the Shaker communities of the United States. But this earlier system gave way to a stricter type of monastic discipline. Under the influence of Wales and France the anchorite principle was introduced. When once it gained a foothold it propagated itself like wildfire. All over Ireland the hermits lived in solitary cells. The nomenclature of the country shows this. A very common name is Desert, or Disert, as Desertmartin in Londonderry, Desertserges in Cork, and Killadysert in Clare. It signifies simply the solitary place where the anchorite took up his abode.[1] Often the anchorites lived near, or in connection with, a monastery, where there were monks living a more active and sensible life. St. Donlough's Church, near Dublin, was originally, in the twelfth century, an anchorite's cell.

Many of the cathedrals had anchorite cells attached to them. Then there were the beehive cells of Ireland, all inhabited by anchorites. The Irish monastery resembled a village of wattled huts. It was formed entirely after the Eastern or Greek pattern. On Mount Athos, the celebrated mountain of monasteries, the same system is prevailing to-day. In the Convent of St. Matthew at Mosul and in other celebrated monasteries of the East one will find the model of Iona, Clonmacnois, and Glendalough. Stokes has described the monastery of St. Molaise, on the island of Inismurray, seven miles from the western mainland, midway between Sligo Bay and the Bay of Donegal. In the outside inclosure the women lived, with their own chapel. Beyond them was a wall fifteen feet high, built of red sandstone slabs, like a peasant's cottage. This is the cashel or fortification. It is circular, and incloses half an acre. Inside are the famous beehive habitations and the old chapels. Seven of these cells remain. Stokes says: "I entered them all, and had to crawl on hands and feet to do so; they are circular, or nearly so, inside, and one or two still retain a stone offset about two feet above the floor to serve as a couch for the hermits. The roofing is formed by the slabs gradually overlapping one another, the courses thus drawing closer until they are capped by one central flag; the builders being entirely ignorant of the principle of the arch, this was the nearest approach they could make to it."[2] The largest of these very ancient churches is twenty-four feet by fifteen, while the chapel of St. Molaise is only ten feet high, twelve

[1] Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 178 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 184–188.

feet long, and eight feet broad. They are rectangular in shape, had no chancels, and were of marble masonry. It is interesting to notice that so far west as Donegal Bay one may find an exact reproduction of the Syrian cells and churches built in conscious imitation, as Adamnan says, of Eastern models. Indeed, Ireland was indebted to the East for many peculiarities of religion, learning, and architecture.[1]

Egypt had her share in mediæval Ireland. Cashels inclosing numerous churches and convents are common to both countries. The roofs of the Egyptian churches are like those of the ancient Irish. Embossed metal covers for manuscripts, hand bells, book satchels, and ecclesiastical fans are common to both the Coptic and Irish Churches. A notable illustration of the common life of these two Churches is found in the wide use in Ireland of the Book of Adam and Eve, written in the fifth or sixth century, in Egypt, and which is known in no other European country except Ireland. It had large vogue in Ireland in the Middle Ages.[2]

THE ROUND TOWERS.

The round towers are another evidence of the marvelous interblending of Greek and Irish Christianity. Various hypotheses have been used to account for these famous buildings. They have been attributed to the fire-worshipers, to the pagan inhabitants of Ireland, and to the Danes. Some say they were pillars for Stylite saints, like St. Simeon of the Pillar. If so, the Irish saints had to stand or sit on the apex of a conical roof a hundred feet from the ground, where the merest slip would consign them to destruction. But the investigations of Petrie in 1830, which have been followed by Lord Dunraven and Miss Stokes, have dissipated any amount of speculation, and have placed the whole subject in scientific light. The conclusions of Petrie, which have been confirmed by later archæologists, are: 1. The round towers are of Christian origin, erected at various periods between the ninth or tenth century and the thirteenth century. 2. Their use was twofold, as belfries, and also as keeps or places of strength, into

[1] De Locis Sanctis, ii, 27, in Migne, Pat. Lat., lxxxviii, col. 801.

[2] It is the eleventh or twelfth of the biblical poems and paraphrases which compose the Saltair na Rann, a collection of one hundred and sixty-two mediæval Irish poems, which have been published in the Anecdota Oxoniensia by Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1883. The Book of Adam and Eve was translated into Æthiopic, and discovered in Æthiopia, and published by E. Trump, of the University of Munich, Munich, 1880. A translation was published by S. Malan, Lond., 1882. See Hort, in Smith and Wace, i, 84; Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 188–216, notes. This was a missionary trophy, brought home from Abyssinia by the missionary Krapff. A transl. into German was made by Dillmann, Gött., 1853.

which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables might be carried in case of danger, and to which their guardians, the ecclesiastics, might take refuge when suddenly attacked. They were the answer of the monks to the Danish incursions. 3. They were probably used also, when occasion required, as beacons or watch towers.[1] The elder chroniclers call them bell houses, and it is well known with what superstitious reverence the bells were held in the ancient Church. The first tower was built in 964, and between this date and 1008 a great movement in church building was going on in Ireland. There are one hundred and eighteen of these towers in Ireland, twenty of which remain either nearly or altogether entire. Their average height is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet, the average diameter at the base is fifty feet, and the average height of the doorway above the ground is thirteen feet. They are always built near a church, the doorway facing the church.

The development of ecclesiastical architecture, from Syria to Ireland, is a study of surpassing interest. The earliest churches were simple basilicas. Neither Roman nor Greek architecture possessed a tower. The Count de Vogué, who was sent out by Napoleon III to study Syrian remains, in his work on Syrian architecture from the first to the seventh century proves that to these ancient Syrian Christians we owe the church tower. They first discovered the use of cupolas and towers built upon pendentives or hemispheres. De Vogué brought to light the first cupola at Omneez Tertoun, built in 282. This method of construction reached its highest development in the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, built in the sixth century by Justinian. As we stand beneath the magnificent dome of St. Paul's, or that of the Capitol at Washington, we should remember the humble Syrian Christians of the third century as the creators of this architectural triumph. It was from the Syrian school of architecture at Antioch that Justinian drew both his architects, Anthemus of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, for his cathedral in Constantinople.[2] Justinian was a great builder. New

[1] Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 286, who has an excellent chapter on this subject. See Petrie, Christian Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, in Transl. of Royal Irish Academy, vol. xx (1834), new ed., Dubl., 1845; Dunraven, Memorials of Adare, and Notes on Irish Architecture, ed. by Margaret M. Stokes, 2 vols., Lond., 1875–77; Miss Stokes, Early Christian Architecture in Ireland, Lond., 1878. O'Brien, The Round Towers of Ireland, Dubl., 1834, held to a Phallic origin, but there is no evidence of this. See Anderson, Round Towers, in new ed. of Chambers's Encyc.

[2] See Bayet, L'Art Byzantine, in Bibliothèque de l'Enseignment des Beaux Arts, Paris, 1883, esp. pp. 309–318.

structures and restorations of all kinds were the order of his day. All over the empire could be seen his churches, with their towers and arches and domes. Ravenna was specially favored. To this day among the frescoes of the Church of St. Vitalis, a church which he built soon after St. Sophia, the traveler can see his portrait.

CONNECTION OF THE ROUND TOWER WITH GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

Now this church and several other churches of Ravenna are built with round towers, identical in principle and construction with the round towers of Ireland.[1] From Ravenna the tower was introduced into western Europe. Miss Stokes gives such examples as the tower of Dinkelsbühl in Bavaria, the belfries of San Nicola at Pisa, San Paternian in Venice, one at Schœnen in Switzerland, two at the Church of St. Thomas in Strasburg, two at Gemrode in the Hartz, two at Nivelles, and one at St. Maurice Epinal in Lorraine. Then there occurred that shortsighted iconoclastic crusade which exerted previously the same influence on mediæval Europe as did the intolerance of Louis XIV on Europe in the eighteenth century. One drove the artists, artisans, and skilled workers out of the East to enrich the West, and the other drove the most intelligent and conscientious workmen of France into Germany and England. This iconoclastic expulsion developed such very various departments as the manufacture of silk, the carving of ivory, and the production of goldsmith's work, while it alone explains the outburst of architectural art which marks the ninth and subsequent centuries.[2] In the Irish monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, there is preserved a plan for the rebuilding of the great church of that place, drawn about 829, in which we see lines for two round towers at the east end of the apse,[3] while in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, erected between 796 and 804, there are two round towers at the west end of the church.

[1] For a description of the Church of St. Vitalis, see Reber, Hist. of Mediæval Art, pp. 51-56; Vincent, Ravenna, in Presb. Rev., Jan., 1880, p. 119. For connection of Ravenna with Ireland, see works of Dunraven and Miss Stokes, above, and Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 243-245. There is a dispute as to the date of these campaniles or bell towers of the Ravenna churches. Hulsch considers them of the same date as the churches themselves, or mostly earlier than the close of the sixth century, but Freeman (Hist. Essays, 3d series) maintains that they are all later than the days of Charles the Great (d. 814).

[2] Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 247. Stokes here recognizes the labors of Labarte in his Industrial Arts in the Middle Ages, and of Viollet le Duc, the greater modern writer on architecture.

[3] This plan was published by Keller, of Zürich, and repub. by Willis in Archæological Journal, 1848, p. 85. See Dunraven, Memorials of Adare, p. 335; Stokes, p. 248.

IRELAND'S RELATION TO EUROPE.

Ireland would not be long in learning the arts of Europe. Intercourse between the island and the Continent was most frequent. The French king Dagobert I was sent to Ireland for his education. French coins found in Ireland prove that there was constant commercial contact with the South. Foreign ecclesiastics abounded. Fifty Roman monks settled in Ireland for the purpose of discipline and study, especially the study of the Scriptures, then much cultivated in Ireland. The Litany of Oengus the Culdee commemorates vast numbers of strangers who came to Ireland—Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, and, among others, Egyptian monks and orientals.[1] There was also constant correspondence between the Irish monasteries and the scholars of the Continent. Readily, therefore, could the Church towers of Byzantium be reproduced on the green sward of Ireland. The Danish invasions gave the pretext.

MIXTURE OF BARBARISM AND CULTURE.

Irish civilization in the Middle Ages was a curious mixture of barbarism and the highest attainments in literature and art. The tribal organization and customs were similar to those of prehistoric Greece. The Book of Rights reminds one of Homer.[2] Tribute in kind was furnished to the kings. Wars and quarrels between the kings and tribes were interminable. There was no national feeling. Jealousy, anger, and revenge were characteristic of the Christian chieftains of mediæval Ireland. A chief was ready to invite to his rescue or for vengeance a foreign force, although he knew that such an invitation would be the slavery of his country. Repeatedly Danish and English conquerors were invited by some discontented or defeated king, who nursed his wrath, like Achilles, in his tent. This fierce spirit of disunion and personal spite has been Ireland's greatest foe, even down to our century. Ireland was then chiefly a country of sheepfolds. Agriculture was little practiced. Plundering expeditions were ordinary diversions. The Book of Rights solemnly lays down among the privileges of the king of Cashel or Munster that of burning Northern Leinster and of plundering the cattle of Croghan, on the rich plains of Roscommon, while the cuckoo sings.[3] In fact, the country was often in a state of anarchy.

[1] Oengus lived in the time of Charlemagne, although Stokes attributes the Litany to the close of the 10th century. See his pref. to his ed. of the Calendar of Oengus, pub. in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1880.

[2] The Book of Rights is a mediæval directory of taxation and customs, of inestimable value for the study of Irish history. It was edited by an eminent archæologist, John O'Donovan, Dubl., 1847.

[3] Stokes, p. 198.

The ravaging expeditions were conducted with a barbarous cruelty. The tribesmen "spared neither age nor sex; they regarded neither monastery nor church. They reverenced their own local priest and their local sanctuaries, but they reverenced none other. Clonmacnois, Kildare, Clonard, Armagh, fared as badly at the hands of Christian Irishmen as at those of pagan Danes. These venerable shrines, whose history went back to the earliest ages, were often plundered, and finally burnt to the ground."[1] In the early part of the ninth century the King of Munster was at once abbot and bishop, barbarian and Christian. In his expeditions he plundered the most sacred places of Ulster, and put clergy and monks to the sword. Scandinavian rule could not be worse. The description of these things in the romances of Carleton simply recalls the mediæval chroniclers. In 755 Bishop Entighern, of Kildare, was killed by one of his priests at the very altar of St. Bridget, in his own cathedral. An ancient story about one of these marauders, who had died, says that he appeared before Bishop Corprius, of Clonmacnois, all wretched and filthy on account of the punishment he was enduring in purgatory. The spirit prayed that the good bishop would beseech the mercy of God for himself and his confessor, who was in the same plight. The bishop prayed for half a year, when the spirit came back bright and clean in the upper part of his body, but wretched and filthy as to the lower part. Another six months' prayers were sufficient to cleanse the soul of the sufferer, and he appeared clear and radiant throughout. This mediæval legend compares well with Charles Lever's story, in Charles O'Malley, of Mickey Free and his father's sojourn in purgatory.[2]

Another evidence of the primitive survivals in Ireland is the administration of law. Every man was a law to himself; there was no conception of the State, nor of a crime against the State; there were laws and penalties, but every man was his own avenger. The execution of the law rested entirely with the person aggrieved. The Brehon laws of Ireland, like the Twelve Tables of ancient Rome, and the old Lombard and Teutonic laws, recognized the administration of law as a private function.[3] The Irish had a magnificent scheme for the interpretation and exposition of law, but none for its enforcement, except the impulse of private revenge. From time immemorial the Irish had brehons, or hereditary judges, whose sole duty it was to explain and apply the law, and act as judges in all cases of dispute. These brehons were

LAW AND ANARCHY.

[1] Stokes, p. 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202; Salmon, Purgatory and Modern Revelations, in Contemp. Rev., Oct., 1868.

[3] See Maine, Ancient Law, chap. x.

held to a high standard of legal attainment and judicial fairness. They must spend all their time in the study of law, and the slightest partiality or injustice was punished. It was said that a divine avenger stood guardian over the right, and every brehon who swerved from it would feel the divine wrath. One legend told how a brehon of the first century wore a collar around his neck, which tightened when he delivered a false judgment and expanded again when he delivered a true one. "When the brehons deviated from the truth of nature there appeared blotches upon their cheeks."[1] But the brehons had no power to enforce their own decisions.

This primitive and almost anarchic condition of society existed in Ireland until the seventeenth century. The Teutonic races in their upward progress threw aside such a primitive system of law. "The Danes in Iceland," says Stokes, "showed their Teutonic genius for business by developing legislation and institutions more consonant with the wants of civilized society, and by the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland, that is, within three centuries of their settlement in Iceland, they had constructed a very elaborate judicial system with primary, intermediate, and appeal courts, very similar in many respects to those which now exist in these kingdoms. I do not think the student of comparative jurisprudence could come across a more interesting incident illustrating the varying genius of tribes and nations for political development than the very diverse fates which overtook the Brehon Code in Ireland and Iceland. The Celtic race clung to it. It suited their nature. It gave fine scope to their fighting capacities. If the decision suited the defendant he submitted to it; if not, he repudiated it, and fought it out with judge and plaintiff alike."[2] Froude, therefore, is in gross error when he says that "when the Normans took charge of them the Irish were, with the exception of the clergy, scarcely better than a mob of armed savages; they had no settled industry, and no settled habitations, and scarcely a conception of property."[3] The fact is, the Irish had set-

FROUDE'S ERRONEOUS JUDGMENT.

[1] Brehon Laws, iii, 305; Joyce, Hist. of Ireland to 1608, Lond., 1893, pp. 39, ff. The work of editing and translating these laws was given to two of the most eminent Irish scholars, John O'Donovan, professor of Celtic in Queen's College, Belfast, and Eugene O'Curry, professor of Irish Archæology in the Roman Catholic University of Ireland. The result was pub. by the Master of the Rolls, Lond., 1865–85, 4 vols. To these volumes, with their ample introductions and notes, to Maine, Early Hist. of Institutions, Lond., 1875, to the articles by Ferguson in the Encyc. Brit., and to Joyce as above, the reader is referred for full information.

[2] Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 205.

[3] The English in Ireland, vol. i, ch. ii.

tled habitations, though not of stone; they had settled industries; their conception of property was most definite, as the numerous provisions of the Brehon Code guarding property rights testify; they had mills, good roads, and some of the arts, as we shall see, in marvelous state of perfection; and they were the teachers of Europe. But all these things existed by the side of barbaric simplicity, rudeness, and fierceness.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEARNING AND ART IN MEDIÆVAL IRELAND—EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

IRELAND was the queen of Europe in art and learning. When the barbarians were wandering over Europe, the scholars took refuge in the Green Isle. Free from all disturbance except internal feuds, they there pursued their quiet work. The standard of learning in the Irish monasteries was higher than with Gregory the Great. It was derived from Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, as from direct fountain heads. Both classical and sacred literature were cultivated.[1] The scholars of the Continent corresponded with the learned men of Ireland. Alcuin wrote from the court of Charlemagne to Colcu, senior lecturer at Clonmacnois, in terms which showed his profound reverence for his Irish friend. An interesting illustration of Irish learning came to light in 1812, when Letronne found in the French National Library two Irish manuscripts of the ninth century. It proved a work in geography by an Irish monk, Dicuil, Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ, and is for that age remarkably accurate throughout. It actually quotes Pliny, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, Orosius, Isidore of Seville, and Priscian the grammarian, and is founded on the best information and observation of the time. The pride of Eastern learning, the Chronicle of Malalas, which reflects the highest culture of Antioch, is ridiculous for its mistakes when measured by the side of the Irish monk. Letronne was engaged in Egyptian investigations, and what attracted him to the geography of Dicuil was the fact that this Irishman, a thousand years before, gave as dimensions of the pyramids the exact figures which he had himself found by actual measurement. Dicuil also describes Iceland from the testimony of Irish missionaries who had gone there in the eighth century and established Christian worship.[2] Another learned Irishman was Johannes Scotus Erigena, who went from one of the Irish monasteries to the court of Charles the Bald of France, where he was from 841 head of the court school. He was a subtle and powerful genius, and his daring speculations disturbed the orthodoxy of the times. Aileran and Augustine, both of

IRELAND A REFUGE FOR SCHOLARS.

DICUIL AND ERIGENA.

[1] Zimmer, Irish Element in Mediæval Culture, p. 19.

[2] Stokes, pp. 213–217.

the seventh century, were masters of Scripture, and the latter was often confounded with his namesake of Hippo. Virgil was a distinguished missionary as well as an able scholar. He had learned from the Greeks the sphericity of the earth, and fearlessly promulgated his theories, some of which were similar to Lytton's in his last novel, The Coming Race. For this, and for his opposition to the hard and fast ecclesiastical schemes of Boniface, he was complained of to the pope. But he seems to have been able to keep his see of Salzburg undisturbed from 744 to his death in 784. Sedulius—eighth or ninth century—was another of these versatile Irish scholars. He was a profound biblical student, and familiar with all the exegetical writers of the Greek and Latin Church. He was also a poet and grammarian. His book on the Duty of Princes is enlivened with Latin verses, grave and gay. His commentary is one of the noblest remains of biblical exposition in the Middle Ages. While Erigena was a bitter opponent of Augustine's predestinarianism, Sedulius was a stanch believer in it. When Greek learning had perished out of Western Europe it was diligently caught up and cultivated in the Irish monasteries.[1]

SEDULIUS.

There was discovered at Würzburg an Irish commentary on the Bible, dating from the eighth or ninth century. It reveals an independent judgment and extraordinary learning. It frequently quotes Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Pelagius, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. Pelagius is the favorite, though the commentary by no means follows all his opinions.[2]

There was a rich sacred literature in mediæval Ireland. The Book of Kells is a Latin copy of the four gospels, written on vellum, and is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. It belonged probably to the seventh century, and is so called because kept many years in Kells, Meath. The celebrated Book of Psalms, which Columba copied, and over which a battle was fought, may be seen in the National Museum of Dublin. The Book of Armagh, one of the most interesting literary relics of the Middle Ages, which has already been described, was published in 807. It is the most precious possession

THE BOOK OF KELLS AND OTHER LITERARY TREASURES.

[1] See the interesting chapter, "Greek and Hebrew Learning in Irish Monasteries," in Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 210 ff., the references there given, and the interesting essay of Heinrich Zimmer, The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture, transl. by Jane Loring Edmands, N. Y., 1891. This last is a tribute to the scholarly labors of the Irish monks on the Continent.

[2] The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago. Selections from the Würzburg Glosses. Transl. by Rev. Thomas Olden, M.A. In R. I. A., Dubl. and Lond., 1888. Ch. Quar. Rev., July, 1889, pp. 407–414.

of which Trinity College Library in Dublin can boast. The libraries of the British islands and of the Continent abound in Irish lives of the saints, written in Irish and Latin. There were nearly a dozen Lives of Patrick.[1] An Irish scholar abroad, John Colgan, published at Louvain, where he resided in the Irish monastery, a volume entitled Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, 1645. These Lives were all translated by him from ancient Irish manuscripts. Two years later he published another Latin volume, Acta Triadis Thaumaturgæ, the Lives of the wonder-working Triad—namely, Saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. This contains seven Lives of Patrick, including the Tripartite Life. The industrious monk annotated his text with all kinds of learned information. Martyrologies are frequent, and Festival Lists of the saints, some of them poetical, with prologues and epilogues and prose prefaces, all in Irish.[2] The Book of Hymns, a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, contains ancient Irish hymns, with commentaries by the mediæval copyists.[3]

Early Irish literature is rich in annals, historical works, and genealogies. They are remarkably accurate. Many of these have been published either in the original or in translation by such enthusiastic Irish scholars as Stokes, Reeves, Todd, Hennessey, and O'Donovan.[4] While other European countries were still publishing their books in Latin, Ireland was developing a rich, varied, and learned literature in the vernacular.

But the attainments of Ireland in art are more wonderful still. The highest perfection was reached between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Pen ornamentation of a marvelously beautiful and perfect character was peculiar to the country. It was largely the work of ecclesiastics. It is "interlaced work formed by bands, ribbons, and cords, which are curved and twisted and interwoven in the most intricate way, something like basket work infinitely varied in pattern." The designs are all symmetrical, and are used chiefly in the capitals. One capital in

ART IN PEN WORK.

[1] Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 425–444, gives an excellent account of the Lives of Patrick and the Hagiology of the Irish Church.

[2] One of the most interesting of these, the Feilire of Oengus the Culdee, has been published, with translation and notes, by Stokes, Dubl., 1880.

[3] This interesting volume has been translated and edited by Todd for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, 2 vols., Dubl., 1865–69.

[4] A concise account of all this rich literary material is given by Joyce, Short History of Ireland to 1608, pp. 10–89. The author himself has translated many of the historical and romantic tales of mediæval Ireland in his Old Celtic Romances, Lond., 1879. For a list of recent editions of Irish mediæval works, see Sonnenschein, The Best Books, pp. 1004, 1005.

the Book of Kells covers a whole page. Probably that book of the seventh century is the most beautiful one in existence. The pattern is often so minute and complicated that it requires a magnifying glass to examine it. What is more wonderful, the work by the pen in these old books is often illuminated in brilliant colors, which have faded but little in the lapse of a thousand years.[1] Miss Stokes, who carefully examined the Book of Kells, says: "No effort hitherto made to transcribe any one page of this book has the perfection of execution and rich harmony of color which belongs to this wonderful book. . . . No single false interlacement or uneven curve in the spirals, nor faint trace of a trembling hand or wandering thought, can be detected. This is the very passion of labor and devotion, and thus did the Irish scribe work to glorify his book."[2] His work is a miracle of art. Professor J. O. Westwood, of the University of Oxford, who made a comparative study of all similar works in Europe, calls it the "most astonishing book of the four Gospels which exists in the world," and says that with a magnifying glass he counted, "within the space of three fourths of an inch long by less than one half an inch wide, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a splendid ribbon pattern, formed by white lines edged with black ones. How men could have had eyes and tools to work such designs out I am sure I, with all the skill and knowledge of such kind of work which I have been exercising for the last fifty years, cannot conceive. I know pretty well all the libraries of Europe where such books as this occur, but there is no such book in any of them."[3]

One of the most perfect works of art in book-making is the Codex Rossanensis, which was discovered in 1880 in southern Italy. It was executed by the imperial artists of Constantinople in the time of the highest development of Byzantine art, the period of Justinian and the Church of St. Sophia. It is written in gold and on purple ground, and enriched with pictures. It is a marvel of beauty and skill, and yet when we compare it with the Book of Kells the work of the Celtic artists proves immeasurably superior

[1] Hartley read a paper before the Royal Dublin Society in June, 1885 (pub. in Proceedings), in which he shows that the coloring matter used in the Book of Kells was identical with that of the ancient Egyptians. This is another link between Ireland, Egypt, and the East. See Stokes, p. 207, note.

[2] Early Christian Architecture in Ireland, p. 127.

[3] The Book of Kells, Dublin, 1887, pp. 5–11. Reproductions of many of these pages of the Old Irish books are given by Gilbert in his magnificent volumes, Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland, Dubl., 1874, ff., 5 vols. See Joyce, Short Hist. of Ireland, part i, ch. xii.

both in design and execution.[1] But this work does not stand alone. The Book of Durrow, the Book of Armagh, and other old manuscripts are splendidly ornamented and illustrated.

METAL WORK.

Almost equally fine in its way is the metal work, especially that of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The artists worked in bronze, silver, gold, and enamel, and made crosses, croziers, chalices, bells, brooches, shrines, or boxes to hold books or bells or relics, and book satchels. Specimens of all these, many of them of the most remote antiquity, may be seen in the National Museum in Dublin.

SCULPTURE.

Even in sculpture the Irish artists were equal to those of the Continent. There are forty-five great stone crosses which still remain in various parts of Ireland. Besides rich ornamentation on thirty-two, they contain groups of sacred history from both the Old and the New Testament. The ornamentation is of the same Celtic character that we find in metal work, and it exhibits the same masterly skill and ease in both design and execution. These sculptures in relief prove that these Irish workers were acquainted with the Byzantine and Roman schools of art. But the artistic genius of the Celtic mind improved upon the models.[2]

The external history of the mediæval Irish Church has not much of interest. The Norwegian invasions began in 795, and the Danes came in 851. Everything was disorganized. The Irish monasteries were plundered, and the clergy were slain. At length, however, the invaders settled down, intermarried, and became one of the best elements of the Irish race. The Danes founded both the kingdom and the see of Dublin. Down to the middle of the eleventh century the Irish Church had been organized after its own fashion. There was no diocesan episcopacy, and the clergy went on in supreme disregard of the pope. We owe to the Danish kingdom of Dublin the entering of the Roman wedge. When De Rossi was digging in Rome he came across a collection of Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. They had been sent as the first fruits of Peter's pence. Among them were the coins of Alfred, Althelstan, and Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin. Sitric in his travels had seen the magnificent fabrics of the Roman Church, and he determined to bring his kingdom into cosmopolitan fellowship. In 1040 he founded a bishopric in Dublin, but determined to seek a man for his bishopric in sym-

THE DANES IN IRELAND.

[1] Stokes, p. 207.

[2] Joyce, pp. 107, 108; Zimmer, Irish Element in Mediæval Culture, pp. 50, note; Neill, Ancient Crosses and Round Towers of Ireland, Lond., 1853–55; Stokes, Early Chr. Architecture of Ireland, Lond., 1878.

pathy with large ambitions. His bishop Dunan was a Celt, for the Danes were too warlike to care for clerical pursuits. Nor could Sitric be content with the small, plain, square, wooden or earthen or even stone, churches of the Irish, but must have a church such as he had seen on the Continent and in England. Therefore he and his bishop built the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church Cathedral, which, after many additions and changes, and Roe's magnificent restoration in 1878, still stands one of the most beautiful churches in the world.[1]

This was the beginning of the modern Irish Church. The next bishop, Gillpatrick, or Patrick (1074–84), was consecrated by Lanfranc, and in return he completely betrayed the freedom of the see of Dublin. He exacted this oath from the Irishman: "Whoever presides over others ought not to scorn to be subject to others, but rather make it his study to humbly render in God's name to his superiors the obedience which he expects from those placed under him. On this account I, Patrick, elected prelate to govern Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do, Reverend Father Lanfranc, Primate of the Britains and Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of my profession: I promise to obey thee and thy successors in all things pertaining to the Christian religion."[2] This opened the way for Norman influences, which soon made Dublin, and thence the east of Ireland, thoroughly Norman and Roman. The bishops continued to receive their consecration from Canterbury, and to make their canonical obedience to England. The other Scandinavian towns, like Waterford and Limerick, were also centers of Norman influence. Gilbert, Bishop of the Danes of Limerick, one of the most aggressive and vigorous ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages, hated the Irish ways as intensely as all the Danes and Normans did, and he determined to introduce the Roman system. For this purpose he, as papal legate, held a synod of the bishops and clergy of Ireland, at Rathbresail, in 1120. At this synod the old monastic system was thrown aside, and Ireland was

NORMAN INFLUENCE.

[1] Dublin possesses two Protestant cathedrals, Christ Church, founded in 1038 or 1040, and St. Patrick's Cathedral, founded in 1190, and restored in 1865 by Benjamin Lee Guinness, at his own cost (£140,000), and under his personal superintendence. Guinness was a member of the largest brewery concern in the world, and if his benefaction was not made under an impulse of justice, that of his son, Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, certainly was when he placed in the hands of trustees in 1889 the immense sum of £250,000 to be spent in providing sanitary dwellings for working-men at a low rate.

[2] See Ussher, Works, ed. Elrington, iv, 564; Stokes, 309; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, vol. i, ch. xxiv.

divided into twenty dioceses, of which the ancient see of Armagh was chief. On March 9, 1152, the papalization of Ireland was completed. On that day Cardinal Paparo held the synod of Kells, Ireland was divided into four provinces, and Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam were raised to the rank of archbishoprics. This severed Dublin from Canterbury, while it brought all Ireland under Rome. St. Lawrence O'Toole was the connecting link between the Celtic and the Norman Church. He was Bishop of Dublin, 1162–80, a learned, pious, generous man, a fine type of an ecclesiastic, one of the glories of the Irish Church.

The peaceable conquest of Ireland by Henry II in 1171 may be taken as the end of the mediæval Church in Ireland. For that conquest Henry had obtained full permission from Adrian IV, the only English pope who ever occupied the papal throne. This famous bull has been the subject of so much bitter controversy that we give it here entire:

THE BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably enough thy magnificence thinks of extending thy glorious name on earth, and heaping up rewards of eternal felicity in heaven, inasmuch as, like a good Catholic prince, thou dost endeavor to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extirpate the plants of evil from the field of the Lord. And, in order the better to perform this, thou dost ask the advice and favor of the apostolic see. In which work the more lofty the counsel and the better the guidance by which thou dost proceed, so much more do we trust that, by God's help, thou wilt progress favorably in the same; for the reason that those things which have taken their rise from ardor of faith and love of religion are accustomed always to come to a good end and termination.

There is, indeed, no doubt, as thy Highness doth also acknowledge, that Ireland and all the islands which Christ the Sun of righteousness has illuminated, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church. Wherefore, so much the more willingly do we grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive, by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required by us.

Thou hast signified to us, indeed, most beloved son in Christ, that thou dost desire to enter into the islands of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have taken root, and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire [that is, not confiscating their revenues]. We, therefore, seconding with the favor it deserves thy pious and laudable desire, and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, and for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou shouldst enter that island and carry out there the things that

look to the honor of God and to his own salvation. And may the people of that land receive thee with honor and venerate thee as their master; provided always that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and entire, and saving to St. Peter and to the holy Roman Church the annual pension of one penny from each house. If therefore thou dost see fit to complete what thou hast conceived in thy mind, strive to imbue the people with good morals, and bring it to pass, as well through thyself as through those whom thou dost know from their faith, doctrine, and course of life to be fit for such a work, that the Church may be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow, and the things which pertain to the honor of God and to thy salvation be so ordered that thou mayst merit to obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious through the ages.[1]

Some Roman Catholic writers have doubted this letter, first, because it is not found in the papal archives, and, second, because it differs in language from other papal documents of the time. But the Vatican archives have lost many documents through war, carelessness, and plunder. Ussher published several bulls issued on Irish affairs which are not in the Vatican, and the Irish Record Office has published several more. The internal evidence favors the genuineness of the document. Giraldus Cambrensis, who published this bull, had abundant means during his long residence in Rome to satisfy himself as to the authenticity of the document. Besides, the bull is nothing unusual. The Donation of Constantine, which no one thought of doubting in that age, conferred all islands on the pope. Adrian IV was another Hildebrand. He insisted on the emperor Frederick assisting him to mount his horse. He crushed all aspirations for freedom, and he it was who executed Arnold of Brescia. Besides, "pope after pope, legate after legate, even during Henry II's reign, solemnly proclaimed the papal sanction of the Norman conquest of Ireland. Alexander III confirmed Henry's action. The papal legate renewed the confirmation at a public synod in 1177. Numerous bulls extant with ourselves in Alan's Register, the Crede Mihi, the Liber Albus and Liber Niger of Christ Church, and in the documents published by the Vatican itself some twenty years ago, proclaim the same thing."[2] In fact, Roman Catholic scholars now generally admit the genuineness of the bull. Lingard takes it for granted,[3] and Joyce says that Adrian was deceived by the

[1] Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 10, 11; Lyttleton, Life of Henry II, v, 371; Leges Sax., 319; New Rymer, 19; Gir. Camb., Expurg. Hiberniæ, ii, 6.

[2] Stokes, Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church, Lond., 1889, 2d ed., 1892, p. 46; Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum, Rome, 1864. For further evidence, see Ussher, Works, iv, 546–548, Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), July, 1889, p. 406, and Olden, The Church of Ireland, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 242–246.

[3] Hist. of England, 6th ed., ii, 90.

misrepresentation of Henry's envoys as to the horrible social and religious condition of Ireland.[1]

REORGANIZATION UNDER HENRY II.

Henry at once organized the Church and State of Ireland on the English model. A synod at Cashel, in 1172, corrected the Celtic irregularities, regulated the mode of catechising and baptism, abolished the Irish looseness in regard to marriage, established the Roman table of affinity in that matter, and decreed uniformity of divine worship throughout England and Ireland. And thus the full papal and episcopal constitution was established in Ireland which has remained unchanged to the present day. In sections in the east of Ireland the Celtic Church still survived for centuries, and some of its customs are not yet extinct.[2] The anglicizing and romanizing of Ireland, with all the evils, nevertheless introduced order. The Celtic Church had no organizing capacity, and the innumerable feuds of the petty princes, which had been the curse of Ireland, now gave way to an established life.

[1] Short Hist. of Ireland to 1608, p. 247, 248. Joyce says that Henry did not care much about the bull, would have invaded Ireland anyway, and did not make it public until 1175 at a synod at Waterford. He says also that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of the bull. Lanigan, an eminently fair R. C. historian, says that "never did there exist a more real or authentic document." Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, iv, 167, note 20.

[2] See Stokes, Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church, chap. xv. No historian has ever told the story of a Church with more knowledge and interest than has Stokes related the fortunes of the Irish Church.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MONKS OF THE EAST.

MONASTICISM IN GENERAL.

MONASTICISM is one of the most instructive phases of ecclesiastical history. It represents a powerful historical current, which indeed touched many a land before it mingled itself in Christian history. That eminent Wesleyan missionary and scholar, Robert Spence Hardy, has made us familiar with monastic Buddhism.[1] Some think that Buddhism influenced Christianity in this respect, but of this there is no evidence.[2] We need not go so far east to find the preludes to Christian monasticism. Egypt, the prolific mother of religions, where the first Christian monks retired from the world, had a well-defined system of monasticism. Serapis was worshiped by a group of monks living in the Serapeum.[3]

It would be very natural for this ancient institution to make an impression upon the Egyptian Christians. The Essenes were a Jewish monastic club, who carried out the strict rules of Talmudical Pharisaism to the letter. They prove how congenial to the Jewish spirit was the ascetic ideal. The Therapeutæ were the more contemplative and pious of the Hellenistic Jews who in or near Alexandria lived a common life in abstinence and religious exercises, and were scattered all over the empire, although not living, except in Alexandria, in a brotherhood.[4] Similar ascetic associations sug-

[1] Eastern Monachism, Lond., 1850; new ed., 1864.

[2] Much has been said lately about the debt of early Christianity to Buddhism, but there is absolutely no evidence whatever of any contact between the two systems. It is thought that Buddhism spread as far as Parthia, but the earliest Armenian monasticism presents no resemblance to it. See Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, p. 158, note 42. Hilgenfeld, in Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theol., xxi (1878), 147 ff., is one of those who lay great stress on Buddhist influence.

[3] For a full reference to authorities see Hatch, p. 157, note 38.

[4] Lucius, Die Therapeuten, Strassb., 1879, has tried to prove that Philo's De Vita Contemplativa was a Christian forgery of about A. D. 300, and that the Therapeutæ were really Christian monks, it being the intention of the writer to recommend monasticism to both Jews and Christians by a name whom both revered—Philo. This view has gained wide acceptance, and has even been received by some as now beyond dispute: *e. g.*, Hilgenfeld, in Zeitsch. f. wissensch. Theologie, xxiii (1880), 423 ff., transl. by A. G. Langley, in Baptist Rev., Jan., 1882, p. 86 ff.; McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 177, note 2; Schürer, Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1880, No. 5; Ohle, Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol., 1887; and Jost, Gesch. des Ju-

gested themselves to the Christians. The whole Orient, in fact, was full of such suggestions.

GNOSTICISM A SOURCE OF MONASTICISM IN THE CHURCH.

But no great movement springs from external promptings alone. It must follow an impulse of its own life. Christianity had principles which, if perverted or exaggerated, would readily lead to monasticism. The strenuous endeavor after perfection; the bodily mortification which may be used as a discipline of the soul; and the surrender of earthly ties in times of emergency, could be readily used to lend sanction to the ascetic life. Then, the heavy taxation, the disordered condition of society, the crimes and outrages of a cruel court, the persecutions, the suspense, the uncertainty, the supposed impending judgments of God and the coming of the Lord, all served as causes of the rise of monasticism and of its rapid growth. The desire of holiness and the revulsion from the sins of society prompted many. In the seething unrest of the world the desire for solitude led many a noble soul to seek peace far from the madding crowd. The whole Montanist movement represented an aspect of Christianity which was not far removed from the finer impulses to monasticism.[1] Then the old subtle antichrist of Gnosticism, the antithesis between mind and matter, between the flesh and the spirit, though conquered by the Church after a hard battle, was not entirely driven out. As Harnack says, it was an enemy which "may be slain, but never destroyed. It even found its secret allies in many recognized theologians who united dualism in subtle manner with belief in God, the Almighty Creator. Under the most varied masks and shapes it has appeared ever and anon in the history of Christianity, though it has been compelled to disguise itself."[2] Gnosticism was the natural mother of monasticism.

denthums u. seiner Secten, i, 214, also H. 2, 3, 1888, H. 2. The older view of Grätz, Gesch. der Juden, iii, 549, refers the De Vita to a Christian source. Others, as Nicolas, Derenbourg, Kuenen, ascribe it to a Jew, but to one later than Philo. On the other hand, Edersheim, art. Philo, in Smith and Wace, and in Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, vol. i, and appendix; Massebieau, Revue de l'historie des religions, xvi, Nos. 2 and 3; and Conybeare, ed. De Vita Cont., Lond., 1895, defend the Philonic authorship. In spite of the weight of names who have followed the lead of the young Alsatian, Lucius, there seems no sufficient reason to believe that Eusebius, H. E., ii, 17, was mistaken in ascribing the work to Philo. "The women that are with them were called Therapeutrides"—a description which was not true of Christian monasticism at the end of the third century. Several other points are also wide of the mark.

[1] Harnack, Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte, Giessen, 1881, 3d ed., 1886. Transl. by C. R. Gillett, N. Y., 1895, reprinted from Chr. Lit., Nov., Dec., 1894, Jan., 1895. [2] In Chr. Lit., Nov., 1894, p. 11.

It is interesting to notice the reasons alleged by the monks and their apologists for their retirement from the world. Antony, one of the first of the monks, pondered over the fact that the apostles left all and followed the Saviour, and over the advice to the rich man, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," and resolved to divest himself of all property and devote himself to self-perfection by the solitary life. It was his method of attaining Christian perfection.[1] The feeling of Chrysostom was similar. He was a monk himself at one time, and in several of his treatises he speaks of this mode of life. He says it was absolutely necessary to flee from the cities to preserve one's self from contamination. The blame should fall, not to those who escaped from the city, but to those who made life there intolerable to virtuous men. Only in retirement could pious aspirations find encouragement and the soul be left free to cultivate the heavenly life. There the "true philosophy" could be uninterruptedly studied. According to Chrysostom monasticism is necessary for piety, at least in the present depraved condition of the world.[2] "What then is more blessed," says Basil, "than to imitate in earth the concert of the angels; than to haste to prayer at the very dawn of day, and to honor the Creator with hymns and songs; then when the sun shines clearly, turning to work in which prayer is ever present, to spice our labors with hymns as with salt?" Their study of Scripture was supposed to be fruitful and undisturbed. Augustine idealized the monastic life as the most perfect possible, and in his comments on Psalm cxxxiii (Lat. cxxxii) he speaks of the first verse of this beautiful lyric as a sound from God for the monks to come together: "For these same words of the Psalter, this sweet sound, that honeyed melody, as well of the mind as of the hymn, did even beget the monasteries. By this sound were stirred up the brethren who longed to dwell together." He calls this the "summons of God, the summons of the Holy Spirit."[3] The fact that this is perfectly fanciful is not to the point. His exposition of Psalm xxxvii (Lat. xxxvi), though it does not treat monasticism directly, yet so influenced St. Fulgentius toward the religious life that he renounced the world and assumed the vows.[4] In fact, after the rise of monasticism any conception of a true Christian life in the world seemed absolutely impossible.

REASONS FOR THE MONASTIC LIFE GIVEN BY FAMOUS MONKS.

In his long and famous letter to Eustochium, written in 384, Jerome describes the early monks. It is interesting to hear this

[1] Athan., Vita S. Ant., 2–4. On genuineness of this see below, p. 685, note 2.
[2] Adv. Oppug. Vitæ Mon., *passim*.
[3] Works, vol. viii, p. 622 (ed. Christian Literature Co.). [4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

contemporary account: "There are in Egypt three classes of monks, the cenobites,[1] or men living in a community;[2] the anchorites,[3] who live in the desert; and the Remoboth, a very inferior type peculiar to my own province (Pannonia). These last live together in twos and threes, and do exactly as they choose. In most cases they reside in cities and strongholds; and, as though it were their workmanship which is holy, and not their life, all they sell is extremely dear. They compete in fasting; they make what should be a private concern an occasion for a triumph. In everything they study effect; their sleeves are loose, their boots bulge, their garb is of the coarsest. They are always sneering at the clergy. When a holiday comes they make themselves sick by eating too much." The first principle of the cenobites is to obey superiors. They are divided into bodies of tens and of a hundred, so that each tenth man has authority over nine others, while the hundredth has ten of these officers under him. They live apart in separate cells. No monk may visit another before three o'clock, except the deans[4] above mentioned, whose office it is to comfort those whose thoughts disquiet them. After three o'clock they meet to sing psalms and read the Scriptures. When the prayers are ended one called the father begins to expound the portion of the day. Silent tears roll down their cheeks, but not a sob escapes their lips. After the meeting each company of ten goes with its father to its own table. No noise is made over the food; no one talks while eating. Bread, pulse, and greens form their fare; the only seasoning is salt. When the meal is over they all rise together, and after singing a hymn return to their dwellings. Each man keeps vigil in his own chamber. Each day has its allotted task. Every Lord's day they spend their whole time in prayer and reading. Every day they learn by heart a portion of Scripture. They keep the same fasts all the year round, but in Lent they are allowed to live more strictly. After Whitsuntide they exchange their evening meal for a midday one, both to satisfy the tradition of the Church and to avoid overloading their stomachs with a double supply of food. Jerome concludes his description by saying that: "A similar description is given of the Essenes by Philo, Plato's imitator; also by Josephus, the Greek Livy, in his narrative of the Jewish captivity."[5]

JEROME'S DESCRIPTION OF THE LIFE OF THE MONKS.

The first hermit of whom we have record is Paul, a native of the Lower Thebaid, who in the Decian persecution (249–258) fled to

[1] κοινὸς βίος, a common life.
[2] From ἀναχωρεῖν, to withdraw.
[3] In commune viventes.
[4] Decani, "leaders of ten."
[5] Jer., Ep. xxii, 34, 35.

the desert, where he established himself in a cavern by a palm tree and a spring of water. Here he remained until his death, which, according to Jerome, was in his one hundred and thirteenth year.[1] His chief successor was Anthony, who fixed his dwelling first in a tomb, and then in a ruined fort near the Nile, where he remained for twenty years. He left this place of retirement in 311, to encourage the Christians of Alexandria during the persecution of Maximin. His last residence was in a small grove of date palms, near the Red Sea, at Mount Kolzim. In 335 he left his grove at the request of Athanasius to preach against the Arians. "His fame," says Littledale, "drew not only frequent visitors to his cell, but numerous disciples and imitators around him, attracted not alone by his pious austerities, but by his cheerful and courteous manners and shrewd practical judgment. He made the solitary life honorable and popular, fully justifying Jerome's phrase in comparing him with Paul, Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator etiam Antonius."[2] At his death, in 365, aged one hundred and five, the desert was thronged with hermitages, so prepared was the soil for monasticism.

PAUL AND ANTHONY.

[1] See his life in Jerome, pp. 299 ff. (Chr. Lit. ed.).

[2] Art. Monachism, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed. His life has been written by Athanasius, and has occasioned great controversy. After a study of the evidence we are convinced that there is no sufficient reason for denying this work to Athanasius. On the contrary, as Principal Robertson says, there is no work of Athanasius which has so great weight of external proof in its favor. And, although there are internal difficulties, there are none which cannot be reasonably explained. In fact, nearly all the objections arise from *a priori* prepossessions of what a work by Athanasius should contain. The attack was led by the first Protestant historians, the Magdeburg centuriators, Rivet, Basnage, and has been continued by Weingarten, Ursprung des Mönchthums, Gotha, 1877, and in Herzog and Plitt; Gass in Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., ii, 274; Gwatkin, Studies in Arianism, pp. 98–103; Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, i, 335, note 4, and Contemp. Rev., Nov., 1887; Kurtz, § 44, i. On the other hand, Keim, aus dem Urchristenthum, pp. 207 ff., and Hilgenfeld, in Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theol., 1878, place the book in the lifetime of Athanasius without deciding positively for the Athanasian authorship, while Noël Alex.; Montfaucon, in various places in ed. of Athanasius, who critically sifted the whole question; Cave, Hist. Lit., i, 193; Tillemont, Mem., vii; Hase, Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol., 1880; Harnack in Theol. Literaturz., xi, 391; Möller, Church Hist., i, 356; Bright, in Smith and Wace, i, 161; Eichhorn, Athanasii de vita ascetica testimonia, Halle, 1886, a most convincing discussion; and Robertson, ed. Athanasius, in Schaff and Wace, Post-Nicene Library, iv, 188–193, who gives a fine summary of the evidence on both sides, agree in upholding Evagrius, Jerome, Ephrem Syrus and other contemporary and ancient authors in assigning the book to Athanasius. An excellent handy ed. of Greek text is that by Maunoury, Paris, 1887, with French notes.

PACHOMIUS.

The man who first organized the new departure, and brought it under rules was Pachomius, who established himself at Tabennæ, an island in the Nile, between Farshoot and Denderah. His rules were substantially those indicated in Jerome's picture of the cenobitic life. A number of cells clustered around each other were called a laura. Handicrafts were introduced. A community of nuns was founded by the sister of Pachomius, and at his death, 348 or after, he had no fewer than fourteen hundred monks in his own cenobium and seven thousand under his authority. Similar unions were established by Ammon in the Nitrian mountains and by Macarius in the Scetic desert. Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen with great enthusiasm introduced the monastic life into Cappadocia and Pontus, and very soon it was spread throughout the Eastern world.

There were not wanting, however, voices lifted against the monastic mania. These came from two sources. First, there were those who heartily responded to the new ideal, but who were too candid and farseeing not to appreciate what Wordsworth has said in our own times:

> "They who from willful discsteem of life
> Affront the eye of solitude, shall find
> That her mild nature can be terrible."

VOICES AGAINST THE CLOISTER.

Augustine speaks of the terrible revulsion of feeling of some when admitted to monasteries, and finding the same vices and crimes as in the outside world. He compares the retired life to a harbor which must be open on one side to the sea, and "on this open side the wind rushes in, and, where there are no rocks, ships dashed together shatter one another." There is safety nowhere, he says, until we enter heaven, "when the gates are shut and the bars of the gates of Jerusalem made fast." He speaks of the novice entering the monastery and saying impatiently, "I thought that love was here," and leaving in disgust.[1] In a powerfully dramatic passage Jerome describes his own bitter temptations in the desert: "I, then, who for fear of hell had condemned myself to such a prison, a comrade only of scorpions and wild beasts, was in imagination among dances of girls." "I used to dread my very cell, as though it knew my thoughts, and, stern and angry with myself, I used to make my way alone into the desert."[2] He describes monks whose renunciation of the world consisted in a change of clothes and a verbal profession. He speaks of their extravagance, pride, and avarice.[3] He says: "The depths of forests, the summits of hills, make not a man blessed, if he have

[1] Com. on Psa. c. [2] Ep. xxii (Fremantle ed., p. 25). [3] Ep. cxxv, 16.

not with him a solitude of the mind, a Sabbath of the heart, a calm of conscience, and inward aspirations. Without these all solitude is attended by listless despair, vainglory, and perilous storms of temptations."[1]

Another class who protested against the rage for monasticism were those who seemed to have little faith in it, and believed it was at best a perversion of Christianity. PROTEST OF VIGILANTIUS. Among these was Vigilantius, a presbyter of Barcelona at the opening of the fifth century, who had formerly been associated with Jerome at Bethlehem. He was a Protestant of his day. In a book which is unfortunately lost he called the Church back to a more spiritual religion. He protested especially, against, first, the reverence paid the relics of holy men by carrying them around the Church in costly vessels or silken wrappings to be kissed, and the prayers offered to the dead; second, the late watchings at the basilicas of martyrs, with their attendant scandals, the burning of numerous tapers, and the alleged miracles; third, the sending of alms to Jerusalem, which, he urged, had better be spent among the poor in each locality; fourth, the monkish vow of poverty; and, fifth, the exaggerated estimate of virginity.[2] His book enraged Jerome, who could not endure its calm reasoning. His reply is the weakest and most violent of all Jerome's books, although its vigorous language and spleen make it bright reading. One point made by Vigilantius was that monasticism is cowardice—the running away from the battle. This Jerome admits. But the odds are too heavy in the world. "I fly that I may not be overcome." "There can be no doubt," says Zöckler, "that Jerome wrote no treatise which, both as to the matters which he defended, and, as to its tone of hatred and passion, was more unworthy of him than this immoderately vehement apology for a superstitious idolizing of the creature and a ceremonial sanctity, against a man who at least in the main was striving to uphold the standpoint of pure evangelical truth."[3] Jovinianus, though himself a blameless monk, put forth a treatise to check the monastic development. He asserted that in the sight of God a virgin is no better as such than a wife, and that abstinence is no better than a thankful partaking of food. These were thoroughly radical views, and enough to eradicate monasticism. Jerome replied in a long treatise. No doubt these protests met the

[1] Ivo de Chartres, Ep. cxcii.

[2] Fremantle, ed. Jerome, p. 417, and in Smith and Wace, iv, 1142.

[3] Hieronymus, Gotha, 1865, p. 310. Justice has been done to the fame of Vigilantius by Gilly, Canon of Durham, Vigilantius and His Times, Lond., 1844, an accurate and careful study of the Christianity of the fourth century.

approval of many whose names have not come down to us. We know that Vigilantius was supported by his own bishop, and was not accounted a heretic in his day.

There was, indeed, reason for these counter voices. The cruelty, debauchery, avarice, pride, anger, and filthiness of the monks were incontestable. The fifth of the Conferences of Cassian, one of the great authorities on monasticism, is occupied with a treatment of these and other faults of the monks.[1] Melancholy and dark despair also seized upon them. "This anxiety of heart," says Farrar, "which they call by the Greek name *acedia*, was considered by the poor hermits to be the 'demon that walketh in the noonday,' of David's Psalms. It made them callous and apathetic, filling them with contempt for their brethren, horror of their abode, and disgust for their cell.[2] It paralyzed their souls with despair about themselves, their duty, and their choice of life. It is the dreadful reaction of a nature occupied with alternate self-conceit and self-disgust, resulting from conditions which God never intended for our human life."[3] Insanity, imagining monsters, hideous sounds, and hypochondria were attendants of the ascetic life. Cassian tells us that terrible crimes were committed under the influence of demoniac delusions, the poor victims thinking that they were performing heroic acts of virtue. Many ended their career in suicide—sometimes in horrible forms, and the heathen taunted them with being self-murderers.[4] Amélineau, who has gone into the early Egyptian monasticism with great thoroughness, says that the monks were "at heart far from true virtue. The great majority of them were simple *fellahin*, without education, or artisans of a low class; all were of nature rude, gross, and of violent passions." The Coptic accounts are full of details of their licentiousness and brutality. They even descended to the depths of sodomy; and insubordination, abortion, and infanticide were frequent. In fact, Amélineau thinks that the conversion in Egypt was chiefly in name.[5]

THE EVILS OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.

From such a hotbed of fanaticisms it was inevitable that many strange and sporadic products should spring. The Eustathianists,

[1] Cassian, Coll., 5 (Chr. Lit. ed., pp. 339–351).

[2] *Ibid.*, De Inst. Mon., x. [3] Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, ii, 165.

[4] Farrar, *Ibid.*, ii, 166, 167. On the suicide of the monks, see Nilus, Ep. 140; Pachom., Vita, 61; Ambrose, De Virginibus ad Marcillinam, iii; Greg. Naz., Carm., xlvii, 100, ff.; Zöckler, Krit. Geschichte der Askese, Frankf., 1863, p. 220.

[5] Étude historique sur St. Pachome et le cénobitisme primitif dans la Haute Égypte, d'apres les monuments Coptes, Paris, 1887. See H. M. Scott. in Cur. Disc., vi, 192–196.

so called from Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, carried out their monastic principle to its logical conclusion. They repudiated the Church fasts, ordained their own, the women dressed in men's clothes, servants forsook their masters and wives their husbands to join these monks.[1]

The Euchites were another of those extravagant bodies whose teachings were as vicious as themselves. The Abelites, who gained disciples around Hippo, married, but lived in abstinence, increasing their numbers by adopting a boy and girl in each family. The Boskoi or Grazers roved about Mesopotamia and Palestine shelterless and nearly naked, groveling on the earth and browsing like cattle on the herbs.[2]

FANATICAL RESULTS OF MONASTICISM.

Our modern imagination has been impressed more, perhaps, by the Pillar-saints, whose founder, Simeon Stylites, the genius of Tennyson has immortalized:

> "I, Simeon of the pillar, by surname
> Stylites, among men; I, Simeon,
> The watcher on the column till the end;
> I, Simeon, whose brain the sunshine bakes;
> I, whose bald brows in silent hours become
> Unnaturally hoar with rime, do now
> From my high nest of penance here proclaim
> That Pontius and Iscariot by my side
> Showed like fair seraphs."

Simeon was a Syrian monk, who after several years in monasteries, and after having performed the feat of fasting forty days, ascended a pillar to escape the crowds. The pillar was seventy-two feet high and four feet in diameter. Here he spent thirty years. At night he meditated and slept, and in the day he preached to the people and gave them spiritual advice. He sent letters to Theodosius II, Leo III, and Eudoxia, severely reprimanding them, and his exhortations were often followed. He converted thousands of the Saracens, and Arab and Persian princes came to him for advice. He died at Telamessa, near Antioch, in 459.[3] Simeon found many imitators. Alypius spent fifty (some say seventy) years on his pillars, and so late as 1180 Simeon Fulminatus was hurled from a pillar by a thunderbolt. The most heroic pillar-saint was Daniel, who carried out this mode of life for thirty-three years on the shore of the Bosporus, where he was often almost blown from his pillar by storms, and was for days together covered with snow and ice. The

THE PILLAR-SAINTS.

[1] Soz., H. E., iii, 14. [2] Soz., H. E., vi, 33; Evag., H. E., i, 21.
[3] Theod., H. E., xxvi; Antonius, in Acta Sanc., Jan., tom. i, p. 261.

emperor at last insisted on placing a covering over the top of the pillar. Daniel died in 494. Monasticism easily lent itself, therefore, to immorality on the one hand and the most frightful extravagances on the other. Nor can we be surprised at the lawlessness of the monks. At their doors lie two black crimes—the murder of Hypatia in Alexandria and of the patriarch Flavian at the Robber Synod of Ephesus. They worried Basil and assailed Chrysostom. They were the terror of the State, and their wild lawlessness forms a dark picture on the page of ecclesiastical history.

LITTLEDALE'S INDICTMENT OF MONASTICISM IN THE EAST.

Littledale states the case very moderately when he says: "Even when the healthier side of monachism as it appeared in Egypt and Syria is dwelt upon, and the fullest weight is allowed to the contemporary pictures drawn by great Christian writers of the monasteries as schools of a philosophy truer and purer than that of the Porch and of the Academy, as places where the equality and brotherhood, merely dreamed of as unrealizable fancies in the other world, could be seen in living action, where children deserted by their parents or otherwise orphaned were tenderly reared, where the sick were lovingly tended, where calmness, piety, and self-forgetfulness were the rule of all—it must be confessed that the complaint of the government, embodied in the hostile legislation of the emperor Valens in 373, subjecting monks to the conscription (which drew forth an indignant protest from Chrysostom), that monachism was injurious to society and to the healthy condition of civil life by draining off so large a fraction of the population into the backwater of the cloister, was perfectly well founded. And no small part of the overthrow of Christianity in Egypt and Syria by Islam is due to the practical withdrawal of all the devout from family and public life, leaving no spiritual energy to cope with the Koran in the towns and villages whither the conquering Arabs came to settle and proselytize."[1]

Eastern monasticism has ever remained that inane, fruitless thing it was in the days of Augustine and Jerome. It neither cultivated lands nor learning, nor preached the Gospel. The most precious literary treasures in the world it has stowed away in the garrets of its monasteries until some Tischendorf or Mrs. Lewis has ferreted them out. What it needed was an organizing spirit, to bring the crowds of idle, vicious, aimless monks into relation to some real work of the world. But in monachism, as in everything else, Rome, doctrinally more corrupt than Constantinople, has had the genius to bring into practical use the wild extravagances of the East, and has therefore conferred infinitely more benefits upon the world.

[1] Art. Monachism, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed.

LITERATURE: THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

I. GENERAL HISTORY.

1. Miræus, F. Regulæ et constitutiones clericorum in congregationibus viventium. Antv., 1638.
2. Holstenius, L. Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum. 6 vols. Roma, 1661. New ed., August. Vindel., 1759.
3. Henrion. Histoire des ordres religieux. Paris, 1835.
4. Moehler, J. A. Geschichte des Mönchthums in der Zeit ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbildung. In his Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze, edited by J. J. I. Döllinger, vol. ii, p. 165. Regensb, 1840.
5. Biedenfeld, F. L. K. Ursprung, Aufleben . . . und jetzige Zustände sämmtlicher Mönchs- und Klosterfrauen-Orden im Orient und Occident. 3 vols. Weimar, 1857.
6. Helyot, R. P. Histoire des ordres monastiques religieux et militaires. 8 vols. Paris, 1714–19; revised ed., 1888.
7. Fosbrooke, T. D. British Monachism; or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England. Lond., 1803; 3d ed., Lond., 1843.
8. Monastic Institutions. Lond., 1846.
9. Dugdale, W. Monasticon Anglicanum. 8 vols. New ed., Lond., 1849.
10. Ruffner, H. The Fathers of the Desert; or, An Account of the Origin and Practice of Monkery. 2 vols. N. Y., 1850.
11. Jameson, Anne. Legends of the Monastic Orders. Lond., 1850; new ed., Bost., 1880. Last ed., rev. and enl. by Miss Estelle M. Hurll, Bost., 1896.
12. Montalembert, Count de. Les moines de l'Occident. 6 vols. Paris, 1860–77. Engl. transl., The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard. 7 vols. Edinb., 1861–79. New ed., with introd. on Monastic Constitutions, by F. A. Gasquet. 7 vols. Lond., 1896.
13. Weingarten, H. Ueber den Ursprung des Mönchthums im nachconstantinischen Zeitalter. Gotha, 1877. Began a new era in the discussion of monasticism.
14. Bornemann, F. W. B. De investiganda Monachatus origine quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origenis. Gött., 1885.
15. Ebner, A. Klösterliche Gebets-Verbrüderungen bis zum Ausgange des karolingischen Zeitalters. Regensb., 1890.
16. Gasquet, F. A. Henry VIII and the English Monasteries. 2 vols. Lond., 1888–92; 5th ed., 1895. A thorough investigation from a Roman Catholic point of view.
17. Gruetzmacher, G. Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia und seiner Regel in der Geschichte des Mönchthums. Berl., 1892.
18. Harnack, A. Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte. Giessen, 1886; 4th ed., 1895. English translation, by Charles R. Gillett. N. Y., 1895.
19. Smith, I. G. Christian Monasticism from the fourth to the ninth century of the Christian era. Lond., 1892. The best general history in manageable compass.

20. Spreitzenhofer, E. Die Entwicklung des alten Mönchthums in Italien von seinen ersten Anfängen bis zum Auftreten des heiligen Benedikts. Wien, 1895.
21. Eckenstein, L. Woman under Monasticism, A. D. 500–1500. Lond., 1896.

II. SAINT BENEDICT.

1. Waitzmann, J. G. Leben und Wirken des heiligen Benedikt. Augsb., 1835.
2. Rule of our Most Holy Father Benedict. Lond., 1886.
3. Doyle, F. C. The Teaching of St. Benedict. Lond., 1887.
4. Benedicti Regula Monachorum. Lipsiæ, 1895.
5. Gruetzmacher, G. Die Bedeutung Benedikts, etc. See above.

III. BENEDICTINES.

1. Mabillon, Joh. Acta sanctorum Ordinis St. Benedicti (500–1100). 9 vols. Lutet. Paris., 1668–1701.
2. ——. Annales Ordinis St. Benedicti (ad annum 1157). 6 vols. Lutet. Paris., 1703–39.
3. Ziegelbaur and Legipont. Historia rei literariæ Ordinis St. Benedicti. 4 vols. Augsb., 1754.
4. Tassin, R. P. Histoire litteraire de la Congregation de Saint-Maur. Brux. and Paris, 1770. German translation, Frankf., 1773.
5. Stephen, Sir J. The French Benedictines. (In his Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.) 4th edition. Lond., 1860.

IV. CISTERCIANS, OR BERNARDINES.

1. Miræus, Aub. Chronicon Cisterciensis Ordinis. Cologne, 1614.
2. De Burgen, A. M. Annales Cistercienses. 4 vols. Lyons, 1642–59.
3. Sartorius, Augustinus. Cistercium. Prague, 1700.
4. Newman, J. H. (ed). The Cistercian saints of England. Lond., 1844.
5. Newman, J. H. History of the Cistercian Order. Lond., 1852.
6. Winter, Frz. Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands. 3 vols. Gotha, 1868–71.
7. Janauschek, L. Originum cisterciensium: Tom. i. . . . Vienna, 1877.

V. CLUNIANS.

1. Bibliotheca Cluniacensis. Paris, 1614.
2. D'Achery, L. Spicilegium. Paris, 1665. 2d edition by Barre, Tom. i, 1723.
3. Herrgott, M. Vetus disciplina Monastica. Paris, 1726.
4. Lorain. Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Clugny. Dijon, 1839.
5. Champly, H. Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny. 1866.
6. Cucherat, F. Cluny au onziéme siécle. 1875.
7. Duckett, G. F. Record evidence of Cluni. 1886.
8. Giseke, P. Ueber den Gegensatz der Cluniacenser und Cistercienser. Magdeb., 1886.
9. Charters and Records of Cluni. 1888.
10. Sackur, E. Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts. Vols. i–ii. Halle, 1892–94.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

THE intercourse of Athanasius with Italy and Gaul brought the news of the new monastic fervor to the West, and, once introduced, the impulse was resistless. One of the earliest of the Western monks was St. Martin of Tours, who before 360 lived as a hermit near Genoa, and then settled near Poictiers and founded the first French monastery, that at Ligugé. In 375 he was elected Bishop of Tours, and, although he performed the duties of his bishopric with energy, he lived as a monk, and founded on the bank of the Loire the famous monastery of Marmoutier. He did much for the extirpation of paganism, and thus became the type of those great monastic missionaries who are the glory of the mediæval Church. He died in 400.[1] When Augustine came to Milan in 385 he heard the name of St. Antony mentioned as a widely known and eminent saint,[2] and he adds, "And there was a monastery at Milan, full of good brethren, without the walls of the city, under the fostering care of Ambrose."[3] MARTIN OF TOURS.

Before 370 Rufinus had lived in a monastery at Aquileia, which is probably the first institution of the kind in the West. It was there that Jerome became imbued with the ascetic feeling, which led him to subject himself to all the torturing excesses of the anchorites in the Syrian Thebaid. He emerged from this wild asceticism by being made a presbyter in Antioch, where he studied the Greek theology. In 382 he returned to Rome, and placed his intellectual equipment at the service of the bishop, Damasus. He became acquainted with many ladies of rank, whom he tried to inflame with love for the ascetic ideal. At the funeral of Blesilla, whose death was supposed to have been hastened by her overstrictness of life, the cry was raised, "To the Tiber with the monks." Jerome returned to the East. But nothing could prevent the rising tide. Augustine says that he saw in Rome various cloisters under the guidance of men of learning and piety, their inmates leading a life

[1] The Confession attributed to him is, according to Weingarten, spurious. His life was written by his pupil, Sulpicius Severus, and will be found in Roberts's ed., Chr. Lit. Co., 1894, pp. 3–17.

[2] Conf., viii, 6.

[3] He refers to this also in De Mor. Eccl. Cath., § 70.

of love, glory, and freedom, and maintaining themselves by their own hands. He also "found many women, especially widows and maidens, living in a common life, occupied with spinning and weaving, instructed in Christian behavior and knowledge by their presidents (women), and, like men, performing extraordinary feats in fasting."[1] The islands west of Italy and south of Gaul became the home of innumerable monks.

PAULINUS OF NOLA.

One of the most eminent of the first Western monks was Paulinus of Nola (353–431). He came from one of the noblest of the old Roman families in Aquitaine, and was born in Bordeaux. He was the pupil of Ausonius, the poet and rhetorician, and was consul in 379. But he turned aside from all these worldly prospects, and, under the influence of Martin of Tours and Ambrose, became a clergyman, parted from his wife with her consent, was made presbyter of Barcelona in 393, moved to Nola, near Naples, in 394, and about 409 became bishop of that city. In vain Ausonius tried to retain his pupil amid the society and studies that had been so congenial to him. Out of his own means Paulinus built a hospital at Nola, churches at Nola and Faidi, and a great aqueduct at Nola, and bought the freedom of prisoners and relieved debtors. These wide charities brought a vast multitude of beggars, some of whom came from long distances. Paulinus was one of the best examples of that type of Western monks. He was a poet and scholar, interested in works of public improvement, and ever retained a cheerful and loving spirit amid all the squalor and selfishness of his time.[2]

JOHN CASSIAN.

John Cassian was thoroughly acquainted with Eastern monachism, founded a monastery in Gaul, and was the first to lay a literary basis for the institution.[3] His books are of great value in understanding the spirit of the early monasticism. His own monastery at Marseilles, and the other foundations of southern Gaul, were centers of spiritual life and light. The most important bishops, like Honoratus, Hilary, and Lupus, came from them. It was left, however, to Benedict of Nursia to be the first to bring the many monastic institutions under one Rule, and unite them for spiritual and missionary purposes.

Benedict was born in 480 at Nursia, in the duchy of Spoleto.

[1] De Mor. Eccl. Cath., 70, 71, A. D. 388; Möller, Ch. Hist., i, 366.

[2] His writings are in Migne, and his Life has been written by Buse, Regensb., 1856, and Lagrange, Paris, 1877, Germ. transl., 1882.

[3] See his works in Migne, and in Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. by Gibson, N. Y., 1894, with valuable Prolegomena. An excellent abstract in Möller, Ch. Hist., i, 368–371.

He was sent as a boy to be educated in Rome, but, shocked by the immorality he saw there, he fled to a cave near Subiaco, which is still pointed out to travelers, not far from the site of Nero's villa of Sublaqueum. Here he was wont, like St. Jerome, to subdue his passions by rolling his naked body among the thorns and rocks. The fame of his sanctity soon spread abroad, and his solitude was invaded. A neighboring convent of monks chose him for their head, but they could not endure his severities. They attempted to poison him, but the cup broke in his hands, and, after reproving their wickedness, he retired to his cave. Little companies of monks grew up around his retreat and placed themselves under his direction. He thus became, without wishing it, the spiritual director of multitudes. It was probably about 530 that he moved his disciples to Monte Cassino, in order to free himself from the machinations of a dissolute priest. On the top of this mountain was an ancient temple of Apollo, the center of worship by the ignorant peasants. Benedict converted them, destroyed the temple, cut down the grove, built a monastery, and thus "arose that great model republic, which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western monasticism."[1] On the summit of a mountain, still inaccessible to carriages, overlooking the peaceful Liris ("taciturnus amnis"),[2] and with the wild crags of Abruzzi as a background, he reared his foundation, and installed his monks within the very walls of the sun god's temple. Here for at least twelve years he presided over his followers and composed his famous Rule in the same year in which Justinian promulgated his Code. Here he confronted the ferocious Totila (542) at the head of his victorious Ostrogoths, and here he would console himself at rare intervals with interviews with his sister, Scholastica, herself a recluse near by. He died about 543.[3]

BENEDICT OF NURSIA.

[1] Milman, Lat. Christianity, ii, 80.

[2] Hor., Carm., i, 31, 8,

Non rura, quæ Liris quieta
Mordet aqua, taciturnus amnis.

[3] For the Life of Benedict see Gregory the Great, Dial. ii, in Migne, lxvi; Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum O. S. B., Sæc. i; Acta Sanct., Bolland., 21 Mar., iii; I. G. Smith, art. in Smith and Wace.

"Through mists of years behold him yet!
The garb severe, the aspect meek,
Serene yet firmly set,
And lips that seem to speak,
With power to draw heaven's lightning down,
And stay or raise the tempest's rain.
So kings doff robe or crown,
Won o'er to swell his train."

Benedict of Nursia is one of the central figures of mediæval history. With subtle insight into human nature, with mild firmness, and with large views, he humanized monasticism, and brought it into living relations with Christian progress and civilization. Compared with all other monastic rules the Benedictine is noted for its mildness and evangelical tone. His Rule abounds in Scripture, in one place alone quoting seventy passages. It insists on manual labor, and gives due honor to study. Thus it has been that of all the orders of monks the Benedictine has had the most honorable history, not chargeable with the bloodguiltiness of the Dominicans, the craft of the Jesuits, or the fanaticism of the Beggar Friars. Let us look at the three aspects of the order—piety, labor, study.

Parts of the Rule of Benedict might be read as a devotional practice. Of prayer he says: "We should supplicate with all devotion and purity God, who is Lord of all. And let us know that we are heard, not for much speaking, but for purity of heart and compunction of tears. And therefore prayer ought to be brief and pure, unless, perchance, it be prolonged by the influence of the inspiration of the divine grace. When assembled together, then, let the prayer be altogether brief; and, the sign being given by the prior, let all rise together."[1] The Psalms were a great favorite of Benedict, as of many of the mediæval saints. Every week they were to be said or sung throughout. After speaking of the order or arrangement of the Psalter, Benedict says: "If this distribution of psalms be not pleasing to anyone he shall arrange it otherwise if he think best, provided he sees to it under all circumstances that every week the entire Psalter, to the number of one hundred and fifty psalms, is said. And at Sunday at vigils it shall always begin anew. For those monks show a too scanty proof of their devotion who during the course of a week sing less than the Psalter with its customary canticles, inasmuch as we read that our holy Fathers in one day rigidly fulfilled that which we—lukewarm as we are—might perform in an entire week."[2]

RULE OF BENEDICT.

The psalms were to be read or sung antiphonally or in unison. "Books, moreover, of the Old and New Testament of divine authority shall be read at the vigils; but also expositions of them which have been made by the most celebrated orthodox teachers and Catholic Fathers."[3] The brothers must learn how to be silent,

[1] Rule of St. Benedict, § 20. This Rule is found in Migne, lxvi, cols. 215 ff. It is translated in Henderson's invaluable collection, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, Lond., 1892, pp. 274 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, § 18. [3] *Ibid.*, § 9.

and, of course, all "idle words and those exciting laughter we condemn in all places with a lasting prohibition; nor do we permit a disciple to open his mouth for such sayings."[1] Before others the monk must be with "head inclined, his looks fixed upon the ground, remembering every hour that he is guilty of his sins. Let him think that he is already being presented before the tremendous judgment of God, saying always to himself in his heart what that publican of the gospel, fixing his eyes on the earth, said, 'Lord, I am not worthy, I, a sinner, so much as to lift up mine eyes unto heaven.'"[2] We may well believe that Thomas Aquinas studied this Rule as a manual of morality. Holiness, love, Christ—these were exalted above all. "As there is an evil zeal of bitterness which separates from God and leads to hell, so there is a good zeal which separates from vice and leads to God and eternal life. Let the monks therefore exercise this zeal with the most fervent love; let them mutually surpass themselves in honor; let them not patiently tolerate their weakness, whether of body or character; let them vie with each other in showing obedience; let no one pursue what he thinks useful for himself, but rather what he thinks useful for another; let them love the brotherhood with a chaste love; let them fear God; let them love their abbot with a sincere and humble love; let them prefer nothing whatever to Christ who leads us alike to eternal life."[3]

LABOR AMONG THE BENEDICTINES.

Benedict believed thoroughly what Carlyle calls the "gospel of work." "Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore to fixed times the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor."[4] This wise regulation was the salvation of monasticism. This made the Benedictine order the pioneer of civilization. The Benedictines were the great road-makers of the Middle Ages. They cleared away the forests, drained, dyked, and filled in the swamps, and reclaimed to fertility valuable lands. They were also the pioneers of agriculture. Theodalf's plow and Dunstan's anvil were far holier relics than decayed rags and pieces of bone. The monks taught the German races how to lay aside the bow and the spear, and how to use the spade and the chisel. In a turbulent and warlike time they were the teachers of the dignity of labor and the fruitful arts of peace. The reclaiming of the river Thames to commerce and history is a notable instance of the triumph of the Benedictines. In barbaric times the Thames was, says Wood, a "mere tidal swamp bounded on either side by ranges of hills, to which the waves reached at high water, and shrinking at low water into a tortuous muddy ditch, with no particular bank, and having

[1] Rule of St. Benedict, § 6. [2] *Ibid.*, § 7. [3] *Ibid.*, § 72. [4] *Ibid.*, § 48.

on either side an expanse of pestilential mud."[1] This useless and harmful expanse was converted by some directing genius, who engineered one of the most herculean works of history into an artificial river. In doing this he changed the course of history and turned the commercial supremacy of the world into Anglo-Saxon hands. This work was done by the Benedictine monks. Of old their monasteries lined the banks of the Thames. They gave that river to civilization.

BENEDICT'S DEVOTION TO LEARNING.

But study went hand in hand with labor, the day being divided between these two duties. In the summer labor predominated, and study in the winter. In Lent the study hours were lengthened, and during Sunday all engaged in reading. All books taken from the library must be read entirely through.[2] Study hours were not to be disturbed by idle brothers wandering aimlessly about. This one rule filled the Benedictine order with artists and writers and scholars. In the scriptorium they copied the manuscripts of antiquity and preserved for us the pagan and Christian classics. Others revised the texts of such works as were held in highest esteem. Charles the Great committed to the Benedictine Alcuin the work of preparing a perfect codex of the Holy Scriptures. The works of Pliny, Sallust, Macrobius, and the Orations of Cicero against Verres have been preserved to us by discovery and copying. The Benedictine Cassiodorus gave rules for the guidance of his brethren in their studies. He had collected, and he enjoins them to read, the Greek and Latin Fathers, the Church historians, the geographers and grammarians whose works were then extant and in repute, with various medical books for the assistance of those monks to whom the care of the infirmary was confided. By this order were laid or preserved the foundations of all the eminent schools of learning of modern Europe.[3]

[1] In Good Words, 1879; Libr. Mag., ii, 512, ff. These artificial river banks extend from London Bridge seaward below Gravesend. They are nine or ten feet high and thirty wide. "Put all the pyramids together, and they could scarcely supply material for this vast embankment." [2] Rule, § 48.

[3] Stephen, The French Benedictines, in Essays in Eccl. Biography, p. 240. The Benedictines were the librarians and scholars of mediæval Europe. In fact, so strenuously did they devote themselves to learning that De Rancé, of the Trappist order, wrote a book in 1683 on the Monastic Life, in which he rebuked the devotion for study of the Benedictines, said that they went beyond the simple Rule of their founder in this, and that it was never the intention of St. Benedict that the brothers should cultivate learning as a chief object of pursuit. Mabillon, the great Benedictine scholar, replied to him in 1691, Traité des études Monastiques. He proved that there had been a succession of learned monks almost from the beginning of monasticism, and that on the general principles of religion and reason they were quite right in learning and teach-

The mild Rule of Benedict [1] won the day everywhere. It soon absorbed the Columban Rule, which had hitherto dominated in Europe. In 788 the council of Aix-la-Chapelle ordered the Benedictine Rule only to be observed in the empire of Carl and his son. In the tenth century it held almost universal sway in Europe, including England. Milman says: "In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, rose a Benedictine abbey, and usually the most convenient, fertile, and peaceful spot in any part of England will be found to have been the site of one of them." [2] Most of the cathedrals and many of the parish churches were in Benedictine hands. So strongly were they rooted in the soil that when they were suppressed at the Reformation they resolved to retain all the old titular dignities, in the hope of better days.[3] The mitered abbot of Westminster at this day silently contests the right of the Dean of Westminster to his office.

GROWTH OF THE BENEDICTINES.

In 1880 the Benedictine order celebrated throughout the world the fourteen hundredth anniversary of the birth of its founder. Monte Cassino was the chief center of attraction. The tragic history of that ancient monastery speaks eloquently of the instability of human things. It has been four times destroyed—in 589 by the Lombards, 884 by the Saracens, 1030 by the Normans, and in 1349 by an earthquake. The monastery was dissolved in 1866. A few monks still remain—the solitary tenants of their historic and beetling cliffs.

The legal position of monasticism now needs to be considered. The emperor Valens sought to counteract the monastic enthusiasm by forbidding those who had civil duties from taking the vows. Later the law recognized the monasteries as corporations. In 434 a right to inherit property left by the monks was conceded to the monasteries. In other respects the monks were subject to the civil law, remained in possession of their property and personal and family rights, so far as they had not renounced these, and were in all respects under the obligations of the law. Valentinian III forbade the admission of slaves and colonists to the cloister. At first the monks were not

THE LEGAL POSITION OF MONASTICISM.

ing as much as they could. But, after all, it is only by a liberal interpretation of the Rule that the learned Mabillon could find sanction for this, as it is evident that none of the monastic legislators ever contemplated the formation of academies of learning and science. Maitland, The Dark Ages, 6th ed., 1890, pp. 188–193.

[1] Comparatively speaking; of course there were foolish and arbitrary provisions in it.

[2] Hist. of Latin Christianity, ii, 87.

[3] Oxenham, Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography, p. 92.

bound by any ecclesiastical law to their mode of life, and could leave the cloister at any time. But at the council of Chalcedon this was forbidden. They were not to rove about in the cities—an ordinance often disobeyed—nor were they to leave the monastery to take secular offices. The Benedictines made the monastic vow perpetual. At first there was a sharp distinction between the monks and the clergy. It was considered a return to the world for a monk to assume the clerical office. But this soon passed away. Athanasius lent his influence to the change, and the monasteries soon became nurseries to the ministry. The emperor Arcadius (398) told the bishops to go to the monasteries when they wanted priests. The monks themselves were soon ordained, and stood under the jurisdiction of the bishops. Except in the internal affairs of the monastery, and matters coming naturally under the hand of the abbot, the authority of the bishop was supreme in his diocese.[1]

[1] Möller, Church Hist., i, pp. 376, 377.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE LATER ORDERS.

THE history of monasticism is the record of the perpetual round of corruption and reform. The sane and moderate counsels of Benedict of Nursia left loopholes where the depravity which loves to linger under the shadow of monastic walls might enter. In the latter part of the eighth century arose the "second founder" of monasticism in Europe, Benedict of Aniane. He was born in Languedoc, and his father was Count Aigulfus, cupbearer in the court of Pepin. Like Loyola he was brought up to arms and courtly exercises, and like him a crisis in his life—a narrow escape from drowning[1] while serving in the army of Charles the Great in Italy, in 774—awakened all the slumbering religious elements of his nature. He betook himself to the monastery of St. Seine, in the forest of Burgundy, where his austerities in what he considered the too easy lives of his brother monks made him unpopular. They derided his emaciation and dirty habits. However, his holy life made its impression, and on the death of the abbot the monks elected him as their head. But he declined, returned to his native district, and built a cell on the banks of the Aniane. This was the nucleus of one of the most influential monasteries of the Middle Ages. Monk after monk came around him. In 782 he erected a building to accommodate one thousand monks. To this central house were affiliated numerous cellæ or priories in the surrounding country. On the basis of the Rule of his namesake he began to organize thoroughly his monks, and to instruct them in the Rules. His pupils went forth to found new monasteries and revive decaying ones. Louis gave Benedict authority to regulate all the monasteries in his kingdom. When Louis became emperor he built the famous monasteries of Cornelius Münster, near Aix-la-Chapelle, where he installed Benedict, and where the great reformer continued on a larger scale the work begun at Aniane. There he died in 821.[2]

BENEDICT OF ANIANE.

Cardinal Newman says that if the badge of St. Dominic is Sci-

[1] In the river Ticino, in a successful attempt to save his brother's life.

[2] S. Benedicti Anianensis Vita, by Ardo or Smaragdus, one of his pupils, in Mabillon, A. A. O. S. B., Venet., 1733, sæc. iv, 1; I. G. Smith, in Smith and Wace, s. v.

ence, and that of St. Ignatius, Practical Sense, then the symbol or badge of the great founder, St. Benedict of Nursia, is Poetry; and in a fine passage he longs for a Vergil of the monastic life: "He who had so huge a dislike of cities and great houses, and high society, and sumptuous banquets, and the canvass for office, and the hard law, and the noisy lawyer, and the statesman's harangue, he who thought the country proprietor as even too blessed, did he but know his blessedness, and who loved the valley, winding stream, and wood, and the hidden life which they offer, and the deep lessons which they whisper, how could he have illustrated that wonderful union of prayer, penance, toil, and literary work, the true 'otium cum dignitate,' a fruitful leisure and a meek-hearted dignity, which is exemplified in the Benedictine. That ethereal fire which enabled the prince of Latin poets to take up the sibyl's strain, and to adumbrate the glories of a supernatural future, that serene philosophy which has strewn his poems with sentiments which come home to the heart, that intimate sympathy with the sorrows of human kind and with the action and passion of human nature—how well would they have served to illustrate the patriarchal history and office of the monks in the broad German countries, or the deeds, the words, and the visions of a St. Odilo or a St. Ælred."[1]

CARDINAL NEWMAN ON BENEDICT OF NURSIA.

But the comparatively simple-hearted, free, joyous life of the Nursian reformer was frozen into more minute and rigid regulations by him of Aniane. One historian of monasticism, I. Gregory Smith, compares the latter with Wesley: "In both there was the same methodical austerity, the same determination to regulate even the most trivial minutiæ. In all these features Benedict of Aniane is much nearer to John Wesley than to his great namesake, Benedict of Nursia. It is no wonder that at first Benedict was no favorite at court generally. The monks as a class resented his interference with their ease and laxity, the nobles his uncomplaining resistance to their encroachments on monastic property. But the single-mindedness of his aim bore down all opposition, and more than one of the Frankish nobility, attracted by Benedict's teaching and example, renounced the world for a monk's cell and became a munificent benefactor of the order."[2] There was this difference, however, between Benedict and Wesley: the latter emphasized the immediate relation of every soul to God, and his stern ethical requirements were taken as a matter of course

BENEDICT OF ANIANE COMPARED WITH WESLEY.

[1] Historical Sketches, ii, 405, also pp. 366–370.

[2] Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries, Lond., 1892, and in Smith and Wace, i, 306.

in souls who were filled by divine grace and strength. But Benedict's stiff and drastic regulations, though prescribed with the noblest motives of checking abuses in consequence of too great laxity or vagueness of rule, proved abortive to counteract the inherent evil of monasticism. The regulations rested on a false theory of the Christian life and on the mechanical theology of the Middle Ages. Therefore degeneracy followed reform.

The next restorer of the Benedictine paths was Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine. He founded a new monastery at Clugny, in Burgundy, in 910, and placed the Abbot of Beaume, Count Berno, at its head. The charter of this celebrated monastery is interesting reading. After speaking of his desire to provide for the salvation of his soul by a right use of worldly goods, Duke William says:

DUKE WILLIAM THE PIOUS OF AQUITAINE.

"Therefore be it known to all who live in the unity of the faith and who await the mercy of Christ, and to those who shall succeed them and who shall continue to exist until the end of the world, that for the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter and John, the possessions over which I hold sway, the town of Clugny, namely, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honor of St. Mary, the mother of God, and St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, together with all the things appertaining to it, the villas, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the meadows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, all in their entirety. . . . I give these things, moreover, with this understanding, that in Clugny a regular monastery shall be constructed in honor of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and that they shall possess, hold, have, and order these same things unto all time." Prayers and supplications should perpetually be made there, and works of mercy be performed toward the poor and strangers. Every five years the monks should pay ten shillings to the Church of the Apostles at Rome to supply them with lights. "Through God and all his saints, and by the awful day of judgment, I warn and adjure that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop whatever, not the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to anyone, or constitute any prelate over them against their will." He then adjures the apostles and the pope to "remove from participation in the holy Church and in eternal life" any in-

vaders or alienators of these possessions. He curses such a disturber with "eternal torture, and lest it seem to human eyes that he pass through the present world with impunity, let him experience in his own body the torments of future damnation, sharing the double disaster with Heliodorus and Antiochus, of whom one, being coerced with sharp blows, scarcely escaped alive; and the other, struck down by the divine will, his members putrefying and swarming with vermin, perished most miserably." "The validity of this deed of gift, endowed with all authority, shall always remain inviolate and unshaken, together with the stipulations subjoined. Done publicly in the city of Bourges. I, William, commanded this act to be made and drawn up and confirmed it with my hand."[1]

THE LATER PERIOD AT CLUGNY.

Berno (910–927) set out with vigorous hand to restore the Benedictine Rule to its full rights, and his successor, Odo (927–941), was a third Benedict in the masterly way in which he reformed the corrupt monasteries of France. The Cluniac rules were finally codified and formed a permanent new departure for the Benedictine monasteries.[2] At the beginning of the twelfth century there were four hundred and sixty monks in Clugny itself, and three hundred and fourteen monasteries subordinate to it. Three popes were of this order—Gregory VII, Urban II, and Paschal II. Under Majolus (948–994) and Odilo (994–1048) and later, the Cluniac order became an influential factor in the politico-ecclesiastical life of the time. The monks were advocates for papal privileges and for the supreme power of the Church. They stood boldly for ecclesiastical reform, but only in subordination to the pope. Their church at Clugny was one of the most magnificent built during the Middle Ages, ornamented with mural and glass pictures, embroidered tapestries, and abundant furniture of gold and bronze. This famous order steadily declined in discipline and moral tone, and, after a splendid yet troubled and checkered history, the Constituent Assembly of 1790 confiscated the property and sold the church and the buildings to the city. The church was broken down and the monastery was turned into a museum, now called the Hotel de Clugny. How are the mighty fallen! Clugny had been the asylum of kings and the nursery of popes. Its abbot took rank above all others, issued his own coinage, and was a power in politics as well as religion.

[1] Henderson, Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 329–333; see also p. 270; A. Bruel, Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny, Paris, 1876.

[2] These rules are called the Consuetudines Cluniacenses, were first collected in the beginning of the eleventh century, and may be found in D'Achery, Spicilegium, vol. i, and Petrus Venerabilis, Biblioth. Cluniacen., p. 1353.

There were two thousand Cluniac houses in Europe in the zenith of the order. The richest library in France was in the Clugny monastery, and for a time that little town on the Grosne contested with Rome the chief place in mediæval Christendom. A road now runs through the nave of its magnificent church. In England, which was a rich pasture for the monks, the Cluniac order had free course. The first monastery was founded at Lewes in 1077, and the connection of England with Clugny remained active and intimate until 1457, when the foreign supremacy was abolished.[1]

THE CISTERCIANS.

The Cistercians were another Benedictine revival. Prior Robert, of the monastery of St. Michel de Tonnerre, and afterward of Molesme in the diocese of Langres, felt the full tide of the ascetic enthusiasm. He desired to reform the monks on stricter principles and bring in the old passion for poverty and Christlikeness. Finally, two years before the opening of the twelfth century, he obtained permission of the papal legate to retire to Citeaux, near Dijon, where he organized twenty hermits under the strictest observance of the rules of St. Benedict. But no sooner did Citeaux lift up its head than the Bishop of Langres became jealous and obtained an order from the pope for Robert to return to Molesme, where he died in 1108. His successor, Alberic, determined to make his monastery independent of Molesme. In 1100 Pope Paschalis II placed the monastery of Citeaux directly under papal authority. Then Alberic issued the Statuta Monachorum Cistertiensium, a republication of the rules of St. Benedict intensified and made stricter, and the order at once took its place as the reformed and only true Benedictine order. His successor, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, ruled in the same spirit and stamped upon the order his own austere character. This austerity attracted St. Bernard. Vogel says: "When he and his thirteen friends determined to renounce the world, and devote their lives to the service of God, they entered Citeaux, and not Clugny. But in St. Bernard asceticism was represented, not as a penance, but as an enthusiasm, not as a cross, but as a glory; and the influence produced by this extraordinary phenomenon was at once instantaneous and overwhelming. Such a number of monks crowded to Citeaux that within two years after the admission of St. Bernard (in 1113) Abbot Stephen had to found four new monasteries, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond."[2]

[1] Sir G. F. Duckett has brought to light many interesting facts about the English houses. Record Evidence of Cluni, 1886, and Charters and Records of Cluni, 1888.

[2] In Herzog-Plitt, *s. v.*

GROWTH AND WORK OF THE CISTERCIANS.

The order increased rapidly, especially in France, Spain, and England. By the middle of the thirteenth century it possessed eighteen hundred houses. The members were distinguished from the Cluniacs by their severe rule and more rigid asceticism. They would have no grand churches, no gold or silver crosses. Every kind of display was banished. They also carried on the work of evangelism and agriculture, especially in northeastern Germany. They were harsh churchmen, crushing the heretics, preaching the second crusade, and calling into life the military orders. Their iron entered into the souls of the Cathari, Abelard and Arnold of Brescia.

DECAY OF THE ORDER.

But with riches and fame and power the grand order of Citeaux entered upon its inevitable path to decay. By 1250 it had seen its best days. It became corrupt, like all the others, and lost its historical mission. Martin de Vargas in Spain led a reform movement in 1426, which developed into a separate organization in 1469, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries separate congregations arose, like the Feuillans and the Trappists. The French Revolution drove them out of France, whence the last remnant was expelled in 1880. The order was killed by the spirit of selfishness which lies at the root of monasticism. Riches, indolence, vice, secularism, while seeming at first far away, came on in due time. They were all the logical result of the monastic principle.[1]

[1] There are full materials for a complete history of this remarkable order. Manriquez, Annales Cistercienses, 4 vols., Lyons, 1642; P. de Nain, Essai sur l'hist. de Ordre de Citeaux, 9 vols., Paris, 1696; Sartorius, Cistertium, Prague, 1709; Newman, The Cistercian Saints of England, Lond., 1844; Hist. of the Cistercian Order, Lond., 1852; Winter, Die Cisterzienser des nordöstl. Deutschlands, 3 vols., Gotha, 1868; Sharpe, The Architecture of the Cistercians, 1874 (the Order were promoters of Gothic architecture); Janauschek, Origines Cisterciensium, Vienna, 1877; Gisecke, Ueber d. Gegensatz der Cluniac. u. Cistercienser, Magd., 1886.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LESSER ORDERS.

A STRICT and earnest order was that of the Camaldolites. Its founder was Romuald, born at Ravenna in 950. In his twentieth year he entered the monastery of Classe, near Ravenna. THE CAMALDOLITES. This did not satisfy his hunger for holiness, and he withdrew into solitude. But monks gathered around him, whom he grouped into associations of hermits, and then left them to themselves. In 1018 he formed an establishment at Campus Maldoli—Camaldoli—a lofty place amid the inaccessible heights of the Apennines, near Arezzo. This became the center of this hermit movement, which was an intensification of the Benedictine principle, or rather so nearly a return to the original anchorite idea as could be realized in a monastery. The members lived in separate huts, where they ate and slept. Their common diet was bread and water. After the death of the holy Romuald in 1027 Peter Damiani impressed his strong personality on the order. It spread into other countries, but ran the usual stages of relaxation and decay. In 1782 it was abolished in Austria, and afterward in France and Italy. In 1822 it was restored in Naples. Gregory XVI was a Camaldolite.

Similar was the order of Vallombrosa, founded by John Gualbert in 1038, situated in the romantic valley of the Apennines, fifteen miles from Florence, and celebrated by Ariosto[1] and Milton.[2] ORDER OF VALLOMBROSA. This order introduced the important change of having a grade of lay brothers to perform the menial work about the house, to secure more time for meditation, prayer, and study on the

[1] Orlando Furioso, cant. 22, st. 36:

"Vallombrosa, così fù nominata una Badia
Ricca e bella nè men religiosa
E cortese a chiun que vi venia."

"To Vallombrosa's fane, an abbey gray,
Rich, fair, nor less religious, and besides
Courteous to whosoever passed that way."
—Transl. of Wm. Stewart Rose, Lond., 1825.

[2] "Thick as the autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades,
High overarched, embower."—Paradise Lost, book i.

part of the monks. The present magnificent buildings were erected in 1673. The order was suppressed in 1869. Another Benedictine offshoot was founded at Hirschau, in the diocese of Spires, in 830. Internal dissensions, the avarice of the counts of Calw, and the plague ruined the institution. For half a century the buildings stood empty, until Leo IX in 1049 compelled the counts of Calw to repair the buildings and institute the monks again. Then the great abbot, William Hirschau (1069–91), took hold of the institution, raised it to great renown, and extended the Rule, Constitutiones Hirsaugienses, over other German monasteries. The Hirschau monks were strict disciplinarians, stern and fierce Romanists, and supporters of the pope in the war of investitures.[1] During the Reformation their monastery was turned into a theological seminary, and in 1692 it was destroyed by the French.[2]

THE HIRSCHAU MONKS.

The order of Grammont has recently been made the subject of a fascinating study from the original documents.[3] It was founded by Stephen of Tigerno, son of a count of Auvergne. A number of ascetics gathered around him at his home, whom he formed into a society in 1076, first at Muret, near Limoges, and then at Grammont in Flanders. They acknowledged only the Gospel rule—poverty, humility, and endurance without dispute. They were to possess no lands or churches, receive no money, and were to beg only after fasting several days. The monasteries of the order exercised considerable influence during the Middle Ages, especially the house of Grammont, where the princes of Europe often came together to arbitrate their cause and enjoy the privilege of sanctuary. The order degenerated, disputes often arose on minor questions between the lay and clerical members, and the popes were compelled to interfere in the regulation of its affairs.[4]

THE ORDER OF GRAMMONT.

The Order of Fontévraud is of especial interest on account of the large scope it gave to the activities of women. Robert of Arbrisell, in Brittany, in the diocese of Rennes, a priest zealous of good works and of reforming zeal, whom Urban II utilized as a preacher

[1] Giesecke, Die Hirschauer während des Investiturstreites, Gotha, 1888.

[2] The old annals of Hirschau were printed at Basle in 1559, and at St. Gall in 1690. The life of the abbot, William, by Kerker, Tüb., 1863, and Helmsdorfer, Gött., 1874.

[3] Griffin (late U. S. Consul at Limoges, France), Grandmont: Stories of an Old Monastery, N. Y., 1895. This book gives an excellent insight into mediæval ways.

[4] Gerard, Vita S. Steph. in Martene and Durrand, Ampliss. Collectio, vi, 1050; Hist. Priorum Grandimontens., in *ibid.*, pp. 117 ff., 126 ff.

of a crusade, had lived as a hermit as early as 1094. About this time he founded a community of regular canons, out of which grew the abbey De la Roc. His great power as an itinerant preacher, and the overwhelming impression he made especially on women, led to the foundation of the great monastery at Fontévraud, near Saumur, in Upper Poitou, about 1100. It comprised a male and a female division. The latter was divided into three parts. The first was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and contained three hundred virgins and widows; the second was dedicated to St. Lazarus, containing a hundred and twenty lepers; a third to Magdalene, containing a number of penitents. The whole institution was under the abbess. The separation between the sexes was carefully guarded, and the rules of silence and abstinence from flesh and wine were strict. The order could not receive any parish churches or tithes. At the death of Robert in 1117 it numbered three thousand nuns. This beautiful order of Fontévraud, with its compassionateness and ministries to the outcast, was suppressed by the French Revolution. The buildings were transformed into a jail, and the last abbess, Charlotte de Pardaillan, died in poverty in Paris, 1799.[1] An illustration of the sagacity of the founder of Fontévraud is the fact that he provided that every new abbess should be taken from women in the world, as possessing more practical sense and administrative ability than those trained in the cloister.

THE ORDER OF FONTÉVRAUD.

One of the worthiest of the lesser orders was the Carthusians, in whose school in London the boy John Wesley was educated. Bruno of Cologne became a famous teacher and chancellor of the chapter of Rheims. Becoming disgusted at the vicious life of his archbishop, despairing both of the Church and learning as means of salvation, he retired to a wild cavern near Grenoble. In 1096 he and a few like-minded followers withdrew to Chartreuse, about ten or twelve miles from Grenoble, one of the wildest spots in the whole region, shut in by precipitous rocks and surrounded by sterile mountains. Here they built their huts around an oratory, it being the intention of Bruno to combine anchoritism with cenobitism. In these cells the monks were to dwell together two by two in unbroken silence. In an interesting passage Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, a contemporary witness, describes the life of the first Carthusians:

THE CARTHUSIANS.

"Warned by the negligence and lukewarmness of many of the older monks, they adopted for themselves and their followers

[1] Règles et constit. de l'Ordre de Fontévr., Paris, 1648; Niquet, Hist. de l'Ordre de Fontévr., Paris, 1648; Pressel, in Herzog-Plitt, s. v.; Möller, ii, 349.

greater precaution against the artifices of the evil one. As a remedy against pride and vainglory they chose a dress more poor and contemptible than that of any other religious body, so that it is horrible to look upon these garments, so short, scanty, coarse, and dirty are they. In order to cut up avarice by the roots they inclosed around their cells a certain quantity of land, more or less, according to the fertility of the district, and they would not accept a foot of ground beyond that limit if you were to offer them the whole world. For the same motive they limit the quantity of their cattle, oxen, asses, sheep, and goats. And in order that they might have no motive for augmenting their possessions, either of land or animals, they ordained that in every one of their monasteries there should be no more than twelve monks, with their prior, the thirteenth, eighteen lay brothers, and a few paid servants. To mortify the flesh they always wear shirts of the severest kind, and their fasting is well-nigh continuous. They always eat bread of unbolted meal, and take so much water with their wine that it has hardly any flavor of wine left. They never eat meat, whether in health or ill. They never buy fish, but they accept if given to them for charity. They may eat cheese and eggs only on Sundays and Thursdays. On Tuesdays and Saturdays they eat cooked vegetables. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they eat only bread and water. They eat once a day only, save on the day of the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany, and one or two other solemnities. They live in separate little houses, like the ancient monks of Egypt, and they occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the labor of their hands, especially the writing of books. They recite the prayers for minor canonical hours in their own dwellings, when warned by the bell of the church, but they all assemble in church for matins and vespers. On feast days they eat twice, and sing all the office in the church, and eat in the refectory. They do not say mass save on festivals and Sundays. They boil the vegetables served out to them in their own dwellings, and never drink wine save with their food."

The rigor of this rule, especially as to dress, has been modified. Their Rule was composed by Guigo, fifth prior, about forty-five years after the foundation of the first house of the order at Chartreuse. The monks were to be shaven six times a year and be bled five times. They were not to receive any charities from usurers and excommunicated persons. They were not to receive money for saying masses, inasmuch as "we have heard that the majority of priests are very ready to say masses, and to make splendid banquets whenever anyone goes to pay them for praying for the dead—all

which destroys abstinence and renders prayers venal, making it depend on the will of whoso gives dinners." The monks were not to wander forth to beg.

THE LATER CARTHUSIANS.

The early simplicity could not last. By the middle of the thirteenth century we find a regulation that no Charterhouse should have more than twelve hundred sheep or goats, sixty cows, five fattened oxen, and sixteen stallions. The Carthusians built splendid monasteries and churches. But on the whole the Carthusian monks distinguished themselves by their strict living and beneficence. They still make the boast that they are the only order which has never been reformed. They once possessed one hundred and seventy-two monasteries, of which seventy-five were in France. The latter disappeared during the Revolution, and few have been restored. They had numerous houses in England, of which the chief was near Smithfield, London. This was established in 1371, and abolished by Henry VIII. In 1611 Thomas Sutton purchased the site and what buildings remained, liberally endowed them, and made the place a home for "poor brethren" (bachelor members of the Church of England), a school, and a religious institution. Barrow, Blackstone, Addison, Steele, Wesley, and Thackeray were educated here. In his "Newcomes" the great novelist has immortalized this ancient foundation. In 1872 the Charterhouse school was transferred to Godalming, in Surrey.[1] In 1816 the Carthusian monks were allowed to return to their old home buildings. They swell their income by making various druggists' preparations, and maintain various schools, churches, and hospitals in the neighborhood.[2]

THE CARMELITES.

The Carmelites first came upon the field of history in the account left by Phocas, a Greek monk of Patmos, who visited the Holy Land in 1185. He relates that a monk came to Mount Carmel in obedience to a vision given him by Elijah, and established a monastery there at the so-called Cave of Elijah. The monk was from Calabria, his name was Berthold, and at the time that Phocas wrote he had ten companions. In 1209 these monks received a brief, simple rule of sixteen articles from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The monks were enjoined to labor much with their hands and to practice silence. At first they dwelt in separate

[1] For full information see Haig Brown, Charterhouse, Past and Present, Lond., 1879.

[2] On the Carthusians see Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, Paris, 1714–19; Trollope, in Enc. Brit., s. v. For their rule or custom, see Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Bened., sæc. vi, p. ii.

little houses, the church being in the center. When the Saracens conquered Palestine they moved to Cyprus, and thence spread into various parts of western Europe. They entered England in 1240. In 1247 they changed into a mendicant order. Thence their descent was sure. Their chief work was the invention of the scapulary. In 1287 Simon Stock, an English Carmelite, received, as he said, from the Virgin, two stripes of gray cloth to be worn on the breast and back connected with each other on the shoulder (scapula). The Virgin promised Stock to go to purgatory on Saturday evenings and relieve all those who wore it. The scapulary cult proved immediately one of the most popular of the many superstitions of the Roman Catholic Church. It spread far beyond the Carmelite order. Confraternities were formed of people who, under their ordinary dress, wore the gray stripes and devoted themselves to various prayers and ascetic practices in honor of the Virgin Mary.

The device of the scapulary was a happy event for the Carmelites. They leaped into position as one of the most influential of all the orders. Then they made lofty claims. They said they were the oldest order, that they could show an uninterrupted succession of abbots since Elijah, who was their first abbot. The Virgin herself belonged to the order!

GROWTH AND DECAY OF THE CARMELITES.

These pretentious fables enraged the Jesuits, who, with many faults, have never been lacking in common sense. Their great scholar, Daniel Papebroeck (1628–1714), one of the Bollandists, set himself to work to pull to pieces the Carmelite legends. The controversy became so bitter that in 1698 the pope ordered both parties to keep silence. Schisms at length rent the order. The congregation of Mantua was formed by Thomas Connecte, who in 1433 was burned in Rome for heresy. That remarkable saint, Teresa, formed the Discalceati, or Barefooted Carmelites, about 1562. At one time there were four independent Carmelite generals. In 1880 the Carmelites, one hundred and seventy-six in number, were expelled from France.[1]

THE AUGUSTINIANS.

The Augustinian monks played an important part in the Middle Ages. A few men of spiritual minds gathered around Augustine at Tagaste in 388, and formed themselves into a loose monastic brotherhood under the instruction of the great theologian. In the Middle Ages many brotherhoods like the John-Bonites, the Hermits of Tuscany, and the Brittinians, formed themselves on the Augustinian model; that is, they took the rules

[1] Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, 8 vols., Paris, 1714–19; Vogel, in Herzog-Plitt.

as laid down in Augustine's Letter to the nuns,[1] adapted them to their own needs, and modified them by suggestions from the Rule of St. Benedict. These communities were united by a bull of Pope Innocent IV, January 17, 1244, and in 1254 the organization was formally sanctioned. The order spread rapidly. In the beginning of the fifteenth century it numbered forty-two provinces, two thousand monasteries, and thirty thousand monks, and extended even to India. The order became corrupt, and various reforming offshoots sprang up. Luther himself was an Augustinian, and his pious superior, John Staupitz, had a remarkably evangelical conception of the Christian life. Historically, the Augustinians appear under two forms, the Augustinian canons, who were governed loosely, and the Augustinian hermits, who had a more strict rule. The latter came to be one of the mendicant orders, and, with them, proved itself one of the scourges of Europe. In some European countries the order was suppressed after the French Revolution. Although it has been revived it is nevertheless in its dotage. The golden age of monasticism is in the past.[2] The most important of all the great ascetic movements of the Roman Catholic Church were the Franciscan and Dominican orders.

[1] Ep. 211: in Schaff, ed. Works, i, 563, ff. They also took the precepts of Augustine in his sermon on the morals of the priests.

[2] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, vi; Helyot, rev. ed., iii; Nicol. Crusenius, Monasticon Augustinianum, Monai, 1623; Torelli, Secoli Agostiniani ovvero Hist. generale del s. Ord. Eremitano di san Agostino, Bol., 1659, 8 vols.; Migne, Dict. des Ordres Religieux, Paris, 1859, tom. iv.

LITERATURE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL AUTOCRACY.

1. Gosselin, Jean E. Auguste. The Power of the Popes during the Middle Ages. An historical inquiry into the origin of the temporal power of the Holy See. Translated by Matthew Kelley. 2 vols. Lond., 1853.
2. Baxmann, Rudolph. Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I bis auf Gregor VII. 2 vols. Elberfeld, 1868–69. A careful study of the development of papal policy.
3. Lea, Henry Charles. Studies in Church History. (Rise of the temporal power, etc.) Philadelphia, 1869; 2d ed., revised, 1883.
4. Legge, A. O. Growth of the Temporal Power of the Papacy. Lond., 1860.
5. Reichel, Oswald J. The See of Rome in the Middle Ages. Lond., 1870.
6. Geffcken, Heinr. Church and State: their Relations Historically Developed. Translated by Edward F. Taylor. 2 vols. Lond., 1877.
7. Niehues, B. Geschichte des Verhältnisses zwischen Kaiserthum und Papstthum im Mittelalter. 2 vols., 2d ed., Münster, 1877–87.
8. Racquain, Felix. La Papauté au moyen âge. Paris, 1881.
9. Murphy, John Nicolas. The Chair of Peter; or, The Papacy Considered in its Institution, Development, and Organization. Lond. and N. Y., 1883.
10. Langen, J. Geschichte der römischen Kirche von Nikolaus I bis Gregor VII. Bonn, 1892. From the standpoint of the Old Catholic party.
11. Milman, H. H. Latin Christianity. (See above.)
12. Schuerer, Gustav. Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates. Köln, 1894.
13. Greenwood, T. Cathedra Petri: a Political History of the Great Latin Patriarch. 6 vols. Lond., 1856–72,

For literature on the mediæval papacy see also Art. Popedom, by Mullinger, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., at end; Schaff, iv, 208; Emerton, Mediæval Europe, pp. 41, 42, 89, 115; Hurst, Literature of Theology, pp. 241–243.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL AUTOCRACY.

A most interesting and important historical development is that of the papal government from the vague and tentative claims of the early bishops of Rome to the absolute monarchy of the eleventh century, when the pope claimed to be the vicegerent of God on earth, by whom kings ruled and princes decreed justice. From the brotherly expostulation of Clement's letter to the Corinthians to the temporal and spiritual sovereignty of the mediæval popes is a far journey. Let us trace the various steps by which the ponderous superstructure of the mediæval papacy was reared on the slender foundation of early times.

LITTLEDALE'S ANALYSIS OF PETER IN ROME.

Of the causes of this development we must first recognize the influence of the legend of Peter. From his alleged death in Rome, a fact but sufficiently attested, there came the legend of his bishopric there. There is not one ante-Nicene authority of weight which alleges that Peter exercised a bishopric in Rome, although several speak of his connection with that city. Littledale has made of the whole ante-Nicene testimony concerning Peter and Rome a careful analysis. There are nineteen passages; six mention only Peter's martyrdom at Rome; three name the legend of his contest with Simon Magus as the only fact of his Roman sojourn; five speak of Paul in terms of absolute equality with Peter in their relation to Rome but do not define that relation further, while one of these five makes Linus, the first pope, Paul's nominee; one mentions Peter as having been a worker in miracles and preacher in Rome; one describes Rome as his place (*locus Petri*); three say that he ordained Clement as bishop; "while there is only one of these three which plainly states in express terms his having been himself bishop there, and as having appointed Clement as his heir and successor, clothed with all his own authority. But that one is the apocryphal Clementine Homilies, condemned by Pope Gelasius in the Roman council of 496, and ever since rejected by the Roman Church as the forgery of heretics. And even it is preceded only a few lines earlier by the dedication professing to be from Pope Clement to the apostle James: 'Clement to James, the lord and bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the

holy Church of the Hebrews, and the Churches everywhere excellently founded by the providence of God, with the elders and deacons, and the rest of the brethren, peace be always;' so that if the authority of the document were satisfactorily proved it would follow that the pope, albeit the successor of St. Peter, was subordinate to the apostle St. James as the head of the Church of the Circumcision, and, in right of his see in Jerusalem, head also of all other Churches throughout the world."[1] But, while this is true, Peter's relation to Rome dominated the imagination of the early Church and prefaced the way for the final usurpation.

ROME THE UNIVERSAL CENTER.

Another element in this growth was the influence of Rome itself. For centuries it had been the eye of the world. It represented absolute rule. It was the Eternal City. As the capital of the Roman republic and of the Roman empire it stood in the thought of men as the center of the world's gravity, the emporium of nations, the distributing point of all political, intellectual, and religious influences. We cannot understand history unless we remember that, as accounting for historic forces, the imagination has been a mighty cause. There Rome stood on her seven hills—the symbol of eternity and divinity. It was inevitable that the Christian see, established there, would at length take its place as the most prominent of all the Churches. In fact, it was a recognized principle that the ecclesiastical position of cities depended upon their civil position. This comes out clearly in the twenty-eighth canon of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon, 451:

CHALCEDON AND ANTIOCH AGAINST ROMAN PRIMACY.

"In all respects following the definitions of the holy Fathers and acknowledging the canon of the one hundred and fifty God-beloved bishops which has just been read, we likewise make the same definition and decree concerning the precedency of the most holy Church of Constantinople or new Rome. For the Fathers with good reason bestowed precedency on the chair of Old Rome, because it was the imperial city (*διὰ το βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*), and the one hundred and fifty God-beloved bishops, moved by the same view, conferred equal precedence on the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the city honored with the empire and the senate should enjoy the same precedence as Rome, the old seat of empire, and should be magnified as it was, in ecclesiastical matters also, being second after it."

[1] The Petrine Claims at the Bar of History, in Church Quar. Rev., April, 1879 (vol. viii), p. 31, reprinted with other articles in Petrine Claims, Lond., 1889. The ablest recent investigation of the historical aspects of the Roman question. See also Bright, The Roman See in the Early Church, Lond. and N. Y., 1896.

The Roman legates refused to sanction this canon, and demanded another session to abrogate it, alleging a forged version of the sixth canon of Nicæa, "The Roman see hath always had the primacy."[1] But the conciliar judges decided that the alleged sentence from Nicæa was an interpolation, and that their canon must stand.

The same principle was recognized in the council of Antioch in 341:

"It is fit that the bishops in every province should know that the bishop presiding in the chief city (metropolis) is to have superintendence of the whole province because all people who have business come together from all quarters to the chief city; for which reason it has seemed good that he should have precedence in honor also, and that the other bishops should do nothing important without him, but only such things as concern each one's diocese and its dependencies, adhering to the ancient rule of our fathers" (canon ix).[2]

This makes it easy for us to understand the celebrated words of Irenæus, which are made a great deal of by Roman historians. The words exist only in a Latin translation, the Greek original having been lost: "For it is necessary that every Church should come together to this (Roman) Church because of its preferable (or, more powerful) principality."[3]

The political supremacy of Rome, as the capital of the empire, made it the center of all commerce, the chief resort of travelers from every land, and the most convenient point of departure for all great missionary laborers.[4] Jerusalem, though consecrated to a world-wide primacy by its sacred memories, was of quite insignificant rank. It had no political standing, especially after Hadrian, and was under the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, himself under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire, ranked second to Rome ecclesiastically, until displaced by the new capital, Constantinople.[5] Antioch, the third city of the empire,[6] was the third see in importance. The fact that it was the mother Church of Asia and Europe, and where Peter himself lived for some time, never could bring it out of the subordinate rank in which it was held by its civil position. Ephesus

[1] This forged sentence was a frequent weapon of the popes in the Middle Ages.

[2] Comp. Cyprian: "Rome ought to precede Carthage on account of its size." Ep. xlix ad Cornel. Pap.

[3] "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potiorem (al., potentiorem) principalitatem necesse et omnem convenire ecclesiam."—Adv. Hær., III, iii, 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. ii. [5] See Council of Nicæa, canon vi.

[6] Josephus, Bell. Jud., iii, 2, 4.

likewise, though honored by the residence of both John and Paul, never rose to high rank.[1] But when both ecclesiastical and civil honors continued to set Rome apart on a pinnacle by itself—the only apostolic see in the West, and the capital of the Roman world—is it any wonder that by slow and steady steps the Roman Church should have attained its almost universal sway?

Besides all this there were also the steadiness and loyalty of the Roman Church under persecution, her benevolent care for the poorer Christians, the executive wisdom, moderation, and, on the whole, though with lamentable exceptions, her catholic orthodox instinct.[2]

Let us look now at some of the steps of the growth of this religious Cæsarism, which, professing to emulate the example of the lowly Nazarene, whose kingdom is not of this world, rose higher and higher, and reached farther, until it held all Europe in its iron grasp. The Roman bishop Clement (d. 102) addressed a brotherly admonition, not in his own name, but in the name of the Roman Church, to the Church in Corinth. It is a beautiful expostulation, written in fine spirit, exhorting the Corinthians to peace and unity. And yet there is a consciousness of authority arising either from the writer's position in Rome or the conviction of the justice of his cause. This comes out especially in the portions discovered in the library of the Holy Sepulcher at Fanari, in Constantinople, and published by Bryennios in 1875: "If any disobey the word spoken by God through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no small danger, but we shall be clear from this sin."[3] The epistle, however, gives evidence that the Roman Church was governed, not by a bishop, but by a college of presbyters.[4] In his epistle to the Romans Ignatius writes to the Church, and not to the bishop, and knows nothing of any official preeminence of Rome over the universal Church.

LETTER OF CLEMENT OF ROME.

A conference was held in Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus (157–168)[5] over the Easter question. Polycarp of Smyrna tried to persuade Anicetus to adopt the Eastern method, and Anicetus

[1] Littledale, *ibid.*, p. 9.

[2] Schaff, rev. ed., ii, 156.

[3] Clem. Rom., Ep. ad Cor., chs. 59, 62, 63. See Lightfoot, Appendix to S. Clement of Rome, Lond., 1877, p. 252; Schaff, ii, 158; Salmon, in Smith and Wace, i, 558.

[4] Langen, Geschichte d. römischen Kirche bis zum Pontificate Leo's I, Bonn, 1881, p. 81.

[5] These are Eusebius's dates. Pearson fixes the dates of Anicetus 142–161, Dodwell, 142–153. See Moberly, in Smith and Wace, i, 116.

labored with Polycarp to bring him to the Western computation. While neither succeeded they both parted the best of friends. Anicetus never alleged any superior authority to decide the matter, but gave to Polycarp the distinction of celebrating the eucharist.[1]

But the peaceful spirit of Anicetus by no means dwelt in Victor, Bishop of Rome (189–198, 199).[2] He had the harsh intolerance of his African blood, and was determined that the Eastern Churches should give way to him, and indicated as much in a letter on Easter observance. Thereupon the Eastern bishops, led by the Bishop of Ephesus, sent him a letter alleging the unbroken apostolic tradition for the quartodeciman celebration, and declaring that they could not change. This enraged the haughty spirit of Victor, and he immediately, as Eusebius says, tried to cut off from the common unity the parishes of Asia as heterodox, and wrote letters declaring the brethren there excommunicated.[3] On what he based this command is not known. At all events the East paid no attention to him. On the contrary, several bishops even in the West, including Irenæus, wrote him, sharply rebuking him for his assumption and for his narrowness in making a test of fellowship a matter of practice which had never before been deemed of great importance.

INTOLERANCE OF VICTOR OF ROME.

Under Pope Zephyrinus (199–217) much commotion existed of which the pope was the center, but there was no enlargement of papal power. On the contrary, Tertullian fiercely declaimed against Zephyrinus's relaxation of the disciplinary rules in receiving to the communion penitent adulterers. He also accused him (or Victor) of favoring the Montanist heresy and that of Praxeas.[4] The powerful Bishop Hippolytus, saint and martyr, accuses Zephyrinus and Callistus, his successor, of high misdemeanors in both the matter of heresy and moral conduct, and reveals a state of moral disorganization and doctrinal laxity in the Roman Church which we could never believe were it not for these writers.[5] No doubt we must make allowance for the exaggeration of the intensely conservative Hippolytus. Nevertheless, the incident of Hippolytus and Callistus abundantly proves that in the middle of the third century it was entirely safe to disregard the wishes of the Roman see and take it to task for perversion of doctrine and morals.

A remarkable instance of an extension of the Roman claims and

[1] Eusebius, H. E., v, 24.

[2] These are the dates of Lipsius, Chron. der röm. Bischöfe. Pagi says, 185–197; others say, 200, 198–202. The chronology of the early popes is involved in impenetrable obscurity.

[3] Eusebius, H. E., iv, 24.

[4] Ter., De Pudicitia, i, xxi; Adv. Praxeam, i.

[5] Hip., Phil., *passim*.

of their being thwarted from an influential quarter is the case of Stephen (254–257). It arose over the rebaptism of heretics, which the whole African and Asiatic Church insisted on, but which the Roman Church, here with a larger view, forbade. So strenuous did Pope Stephen feel on this that he excommunicated all the African bishops who held with Cyprian, and alleges his own place as the successor of Peter as making obedience to him obligatory on all. He was the first pope to do this. What was the attitude of the African Church? Cyprian was zealous in excessively lauding the Roman Church, spoke of it as the chair of Peter and the root of the Catholic Church. But this tropical rhetoric deceived no one. Beneath it all was the principle of the ancient Church, to which Cyprian held tenaciously, that bishops held equal rank and honor under Christ. His principle he laid down at the council of Carthage: "For not one of us sets himself up as a bishop of bishops, or forces his colleagues to compliance by tyrannical threats; since every bishop has his own liberty and power of action, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge." It was this council, consisting of eighty-seven bishops, with many presbyters and deacons, in 256, which utterly refused to take notice of Stephen's excommunication or respect his decrees. In his letter to Pompeius (Ep. 74) Cyprian speaks of the pope's error, his complicity with heretics, his adoption of lies, and his betrayal of truth and faith. So also Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in a letter to Cyprian denounces Stephen with many hard words as a virtual apostate and heretic.[1]

EXTREME CLAIM OF POPE STEPHEN.

The Bishop of Rome at the time of the conversion of Constantine, Miltiades (310–314), was made by Constantius one of the four bishops to adjudicate the case of the Donatists. But he did not make nor publish the decision himself, and it depended for its sanction on the emperor, and not on the pope.[2] In fact, the emperor was often called upon to settle disputes which on the Roman theory belonged solely to the pope.

[1] Cypr., Epp. 68–75. The Ep. of Firmilian was so little to the taste of the partisans of Rome that it was omitted in the ed. of Cyprian, printed by Paul Manutius in Rome in 1563, though it was printed the following year by Morelli in Paris, who, however, was bitterly censured for it. Roman editors were wont thus to deal capriciously with their authorities. Manutius inserted two interpolations of highly colored Roman passages in Cyprian's works, and left out this indisputable letter. See Barmby, in Smith and Wace, iv, 727–730; Littledale, Lack of Prescription for Petrine Claims, in Church Quar. Rev., Jan., 1880, 488–495 (Cyprian).

[2] Eusebius, H. E., x, 5.

We now come to what might have been an interesting stretch of the papal prerogative—the calling of the council of Nicæa and the presidency over it. This was an excellent opportunity to prove the divine authority of the pope to rule the Church. But Sylvester did not claim primal authority. The council was convened at the command of Constantine alone. None of the early authorities mention the participation of Sylvester. No doubt he, with the bishops, and especially Hosius of Cordova, Constantine's special adviser, was consulted, although Rufinus says that the emperor summoned the council "at the advice of the priests."[1] Second, Constantine opened the council, and was acting president until he voluntarily gave way to the clergy. Third, the actual presidency was held by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova. Hefele, on the strength of the testimony of Gelasius of Cyzicus,[2] claims that Hosius acted in this capacity as legate of the pope.[3] Gelasius, however, is a very inaccurate writer, Hefele himself frequently rejecting him; and, in the most authentic list of the signatures of the council, that discovered by Zoega in an ancient Coptic manuscript, the first signature is: "From Spain, Hosius, of the city of Cordova; I believe this as written above." The second is: "Vito and Innocentius, priests. We have signed for our bishop, who is Bishop of Rome; he believes thus as written above." This proves that Hosius signed for himself, and for no one else, and accords with Eusebius, who says, "The prelate of the imperial city was absent through old age, but his presbyters were present, and filled his place."[4] Further, the official confirmation of the acts of the council was not sought from the pope, but from the emperor. All conciliar decisions were, indeed, sent to the absent bishops for their ratification, for only thus did these decisions become of practical effect throughout the Church. In this, however, the Roman bishop stood on the same platform with others,

COUNCIL OF NICÆA NOT ORGANIZED BY ROME.

[1] H. E., i, 1.

[2] Commentarius actorum Concilii Nicæni (Greek and Latin in Mansi ii, 759, ff.).

[3] Conciliengeschichte, II, ii, 28.

[4] Vita Const., iii, 7. See an excellent discussion in Littledale as above, pp. 504–509, who also remarks that the fact that the legates of the pope were presbyters, and not bishops, shows that he was not a pope in the modern sense, or he would have sent bishops. This he could not do, for "all bishops, however obscure their sees or their persons," are "for synodal purposes his colleagues and equals in power, though inferior in rank of precedence and general influence, just as the premier duke and the junior baron are each other's peers in the English House of Lords, whatever dissimilarity may exist in their social consideration."

except for the additional weight of his name as the head of the great Latin patriarchate.[1]

Pope Julius (337–352) has a special interest in this history. A synod of ninety-seven Eastern bishops which met in Antioch in 341 was equally fierce against Athanasius and Julius. These prelates sent an epistle to Rome, saying that they were fully equal to the Roman Church in all necessary elements of importance, and that Julius must either receive their decrees or they would have nothing more to do with him.[2] Over against this, however, was the remarkable action of the council of Sardica, now Sofia, in Bulgaria, in 343. This was a Western synod, and appeared to be under the influence of Julius. The Eastern prelates withdrew, at the beginning, and held a counter-council at Philippopolis. This council enacted that a deposed bishop might refer his case to Julius, who could hear the matter himself, or put it into the hands of neighboring bishops, or send delegates. This was a wide extension of power, and completely upset the plans of previous ecumenical councils. However, the canons were permissive and not mandatory; they were never received by the East, and were purely personal.[3] Julius was himself named; the canons referred to bishops who had been deposed by brother bishops; the initiative was taken by them and not by the popes; and they were in the nature of a concession, and not of a divine obligation. So much being said, we must add that some scholars consider these canons spurious.[4]

POPE JULIUS.

PRIMACY OF ROME NOT HELD BEFORE MIDDLE OF FOURTH CENTURY.

The treatment of Pope Liberius (352–366) by one of the most honored saints of the ancient Church, Hilary of Poitiers, proves that so late as the middle of the fourth century the pope had not succeeded in protecting himself with that divinity which ought to hedge around the vicar of Christ. Liberius had signed the Arian

[1] Littledale gives an instance, that of the sixth General Council (681), where the reception in Spain of the canons waited upon their ratification by the Spanish synods, even after the pope, Leo II, had given his confirmation. Ch. Quar. Rev., viii, 16; ix, 508, 509. Barmby has a fine article on Sylvester in Smith and Wace, iv, 673–677.

[2] See this interesting letter in Sozomen, H. E., iii, 8.

[3] This is allowed even by Catholic writers like Du Pin and Febronius. See Schaff, iii, 310–315; Littledale, Ch. Quar. Rev., viii, 8, 4.

[4] Ffoulkes proved their spuriousness in a lengthy paper, and his conclusions were reinforced by Vincenzi. See note by Ffoulkes to Barmby, art. Julius, in Smith and Wace, iii, 530. Prof. Vincenzi's book is entitled De Hebræorum et Christianorum sacra Monarchia, Rome, 1875. In part ii, c. vii, he elaborately disproves the genuineness of the Sardican canon.

Creed of the second council of Sirmium (358), and anathematized Athanasius. For this Hilary so attacks him, calling him perfidious, a renegade, an apostate—"I say Anathema to thee, Liberius, and to thy accomplices."[1] Even the Duc de Broglie cannot deny the substantial genuineness of this celebrated impeachment, though he thinks the letters of Hilary have been interpolated.[2]

Under Damasus (366–384) we have the first of a series of secular grants to the papacy, which have fortunately come in to reinforce the religious claims. On account of the riot and murder by which he acquired the papal chair he desired to be made secure from the partisans of Ursicinus. On being appealed to by a synod the emperor Gratian issued an edict requiring all who had been condemned by the pope or by a synod, and who would not submit, to appear in Rome, or to be tried by judges whom the pope would appoint. This seems, however, to have been a temporary expedient, prompted by the disturbed state of the Roman Church, and was not intended to confer permanent privileges on the pope. Later emperors confirmed the old law which forbade appeals to the pope, and Pope Siricius (392), when appealed to against the decision of a synod of Capua, declared himself incompetent to review the matter already decided by competent judges. But there is grave doubt of the genuineness of this supposed Gratian edict. It is not mentioned by any contemporary writer, it never came to light until it was found among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, and was printed for the first time by Baronius, in 1590.[3]

But the slowly growing autocracy of Rome received a setback in the official career of this same bishop. The second general council was held in 381. This great council, which is of the

[1] Hil., Op. Hist. Frag., vi. The authenticity of the letters of Hilary was not denied until the modern discussion of papal infallibility made them embarrassing to the Ultramontane party. Since then Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, bk. v, § 81, Stilting, Acta SS. Sept., vol. vi, and two or three writers in Rome have tried, though unsuccessfully, to impugn them. On the other hand, Roman scholars like Ceillier, Montfaucon, Constant, Möhler, Döllinger, and Newman unhesitatingly accept them, as did even Baronius. See Barmby, Liberius, in Smith and Wace, iii, 721; La Page Renouf, The Condemnation of Pope Honorius, Lond., 1868; Cheetham, Ch. Hist., Early Period, Lond., 1894, p. 269; and above, pp. 435, 436.

[2] L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV^e^ Siècle, vol. iii, ch. 4, note.

[3] Ep. ad Bonoso Episcopo, in Hardouin, i, 859; Cheetham, Ch. Hist., p. 188. The question cannot be decided positively, but the balance of probability seems against genuineness. See Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. i, pp. 239–242, esp. note c. For the documents see appendix to vol. vi of Godefroy, Cod. Theod.; Baronius, Annals, sub anno 381, § i, 2; Tillemont, Damase, 10, 11. Hefele does not even mention these documents.

utmost importance in the history of Christian doctrine, was summoned by the emperor Theodosius alone, and neither was the pope consulted nor the Western bishops invited. To crown all, one whom Rome had excommunicated in favor of a rival bishop was chosen as president of the council, namely, Meletius, Patriarch of Antioch. Besides, this council deposed Alexandria as second in rank among the sees of Christendom, and put Constantinople in its place, and that purely on civil grounds. The acts of the council were confirmed by Theodosius alone. Leo the Great refused to recognize them, and Felix III omitted this council from the list of general councils. Gelasius I also rejected it. "Every one of the marks of authenticity on modern Roman principles is thus wanting to the Constantinopolitan Synod, and yet it is neither rejected, like the councils of Sirmium and Ariminum, nor just allowed to slide into, as it were, and mingle with the general mass of authoritative conciliar matters, like those of Laodicea and Gangra, but it is reckoned now by both East and West as a true ecumenical council, and was confessed as such by Popes Vigilius (537–555), Pelagius II (578–590), and Gregory the Great (590–604)," the last as to the dogmatic, but not the disciplinary canons. The papal rule, therefore, although it rejected this council for nearly two centuries, was not sufficient to hinder it from forcing its way into the highest ranks as a part of the universal heritage of the Roman Catholic Church.[1] The council also enacted that bishops should not go beyond their own borders, and that the synod of each province should administer the affairs of the province. It thus disallowed appeals to Rome. In this it followed the council of Antioch (341), which forbade appeals to be carried further[2] than the provincial synod assembled under the metropolitan.

SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

A most interesting case of the extension of papal influence, but which met a sudden counteracting force, was that under Popes Zosimus (417, 418), Boniface I (418–422), and Celestine (422–432). Apiarius was a priest of Mauritania, who had been deposed by his bishop, Arbanus of Sicca, for immorality. The priest appealed to Rome, and Zosimus reinstated him. The pope claimed that he had a right to interfere, on the strength of a Nicene canon. A council of the whole African Church at Carthage (419) answered that the genuine canons of Nicæa knew of no such provision, said they would verify this, and in the meantime enacted a canon forbidding any appeals beyond the sea. Apiarius again appealed to Celestine, who rehabilitated him. Then a council at

[1] Littledale, in Ch. Quar. Rev., ix, 515, 516. [2] περαιτέρω.

Carthage, 424, made this peremptory answer: "Apiarius was rightly deposed for his crimes, as he has himself at last acknowledged. The pope must not hear complainants who come from Africa to Rome, nor restore those whom we have excommunicated, as the Nicene canon (can. 5) has ordained. The assumption of an appeal to Rome is a trespass on the rights of the African Church, and what has been brought forward, by Zosimus and his legates, as a Nicene ordinance is not Nicene at all, and is not to be found in the genuine copies of the Nicene acts, which have been received from Constantinople and Alexandria. No one can believe that God will inspire a single individual with justice and deny it to a large number of bishops sitting in council. Do not, then, send any more judges to Africa, lest we should seem to be introducing into Christ's Church the smoky pride of this world." [1]

APIARIUS.

This was plain language, but Augustine signed the paper, and it reflected the unanimous thought of the ancient African Church. The mistake of the pope, not necessarily willful, was in taking one of the Sardican canons as Nicene. The Sardican rules continued to be quoted thus by later popes, and the fact that they were appended to the Nicene in the copy at Rome made the mistake easy.[2]

[1] Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr., ad fin., Gallandi, Boll. Patr., ix, 289; Mansi, iii, 829; Gieseler, § 94, vol. i, pp. 393, 394 (Smith); Schaff, iii, 294, 295, 312; Greenwood, i, 299–310; Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, ii, 107, ff., 120, 123, f.; Smith and Wace, i, 548; iv, 1224; Littledale, as above, viii, 5, 6.

[2] Gieseler says that later canons were often cited as Nicene, and gives reference, i, 393, note 60.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ROMAN AUTOCRACY COMPLETE UNDER INNOCENT AND LEO.

INNOCENT I AND ROME'S UNIVERSAL PRIMACY.

INNOCENT I (402–417) was the first pope to grasp the idea of a universal Christendom united under the Roman see. He was a man of daring energy and ceaseless aggressiveness. Besides, circumstances favored him and his successors. The African Church was broken by the Vandal invasion. The Goths were in Spain and Gaul. The barbarian incursions were emphasizing the need of a center of unity and a rallying point for the disturbed and troubled forces of the Church. The Western empire was on the wane. In 402 it removed its capital to Ravenna, and in 476 it passed away, leaving the mighty traditions of Rome to the popes, the only individuals who seemed worthy to inherit them. With weak men in the empire and strong men in the Church the evolution of the papacy was a necessity.

Innocent replied to a question for further light on some points on discipline from some bishops of Illyria in this stern fashion: "I had previously taken your doubts into consideration, and now I adjudge it to be an insult to the apostolic see that any hesitation should have occurred in a matter referred to and decided by that see, which is the head of all Churches."[1] In writing to the Bishop of Toulouse he says that in all cases of difficulty it is the duty of all Churches to abide by the decision of Rome as the fountain head of genuine tradition. To the Bishop of Gubbio he manufactured the fictitious tradition that Peter and his successors alone founded Churches in all the Gauls, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the neighboring islands; and said, whatever Rome does, that let Gubbio do. When the African Church sent him the decrees of some of their councils condemning Pelagius they wrote to the pope asking that he, as the representative of the apostolic see, confirm their decision. This request was in accordance with the universal custom by which conciliar decisions were sent around to the great bishops, whose assent was asked, not as validating their acts, but as giving universal effect to them. But the pope dexterously turned the request into an opportunity for asserting the largest claim for his see: "You have not thought fit to trample under foot those institutions of the

[1] Hardouin, i, 1015.

Fathers which you, with your priestly office, decreed by them were not of human but of divine will, and that whatever may be done in provinces, however separate and remote, they should not account concluded till it had come to the knowledge of this see, that every righteous finding might be established by its whole authority, and that all other Churches might thence take what they should teach, just as all waters issue from their native fountain."[1]

FALSITY AND AUDACITY OF INNOCENT'S CLAIM.

The audacity of this unheard-of claim only equals its falsity. These same Churches had by a unanimous vote rejected the decree of Stephen of Rome on a question of doctrine and discipline.[2] Innocent thus appears as the real founder of papal monarchy, basing the divine right of Rome to rule all Christendom on St. Peter. He did not dare as yet to assert this claim over the East, because when Chrysostom wrote to him, as a friend and not as a judge, concerning his troubles, the pope made no claim to adjudicate himself, nor did he speak of any universal sway, but recommended an impartial council as the best resort of the persecuted saint.[3] Of the African canons of 418 it will be remembered that they met the lofty talk of Innocent with a flat negative. It forbade the carrying of all appeals out of Africa.

Under Celestine (422–432) the third general council was held at Ephesus, in 431. It was called by the emperor Theodosius II, and was presided over by Cyril of Alexandria, whom, later, Celestine appointed as his legate, though he had already sent as his representatives Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, a priest. In Cyril's absence the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and not the Roman legates, presided. It is a significant fact that before these arrived the council had condemned Nestorius. After they arrived the council received with joy the news of the event that the year before Celestine and a Roman synod had likewise condemned him: "One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith of the council, one faith of the world." In their letter to the pope the council says that "we commanded that the sentence which your holiness pronounced should remain firm." This necessarily implied their right to decree otherwise. The legate Philip tried to prove before the council that it was simply con-

[1] Aug., Epp. 181, 182 (al., 90–95); Innocent, Epp. 181–183 (Gallandi).

[2] See Littledale, The Dawn of the Papal Monarchy, in Church Quar. Rev., xii, 182–184; Barmby, in Smith and Wace, iii, 245, 246.

[3] For Chrysostom and Innocent, see Littledale, xii, 179–189; Barmby, iii, 247, 248; Stephens, St. John Chrysostom, 334–352. This author also says, p. 335: "The interference of Innocent is courted, a certain primacy is accorded him, but at the same time he is not addressed as a supreme arbitrator; assistance and sympathy are solicited from him as from an elder brother, and two or three prelates of Italy are joint recipients with him of the appeal."

firming the dicta of St. Peter, "exarch and head of the apostles, pillar and foundation of the Church Catholic, who even in the present time lives and exercises these judicial powers in his successors." But the council, though glad to confirm Celestine's judgment, was evidently not governed by it.[1]

After Innocent I, Leo the Great must be considered the founder of the papacy. He was the first great teacher to fill the Roman chair. Before him the world looked to Alexandria, Antioch, or Constantinople for the theologians who should formulate its thought. As a rule the popes were echoes, not leaders and theological teachers. When they did speak they sometimes needed correction. The development of theology had as yet but little help from Rome. But Leo was a clear-headed theologian, a man of great force of character and of an abounding ambition for his see. With him began the new era. He followed Innocent I in placing the divine right of Rome to rule the Church on St. Peter. He lays thus a dogmatic basis for the loftiest pretension. The modern Roman theory can almost lay claim to Leo as its first clear exponent.[2] He soon carried out his theory. Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, deposed Celidonius, the Bishop of Besançon, for violation of the canons in marrying a widow and in taking part in a trial before his ordination, which ended in a sentence of death, thus having in a sense blood on his hands. Celidonius appealed to Leo, who reversed the decision, and, when Hilary refused to submit, abused him heartily. Unwilling to rest in his divine prerogatives, Leo obtained from the weak and criminal emperor, Valentinian III, an edict to Ætius, commander in chief in Gaul, dictated, it is likely, by Leo himself, in 445, which, after saying that the whole world must acknowledge the authority of the Roman see as ruler, continues:

LEO THE GREAT.

"We decree by this perpetual edict that it shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul or of other provinces, contrary to ancient

[1] See Mansi, iv; Labbe, iii; Bright, Hist. of the Church, A. D. 313–451, p. 336; and art. Cœlestinus I, in Smith and Wace; Littledale, in Church Quar. Rev., viii, 6; xii, 190–193. Bellarmine and the modern Roman theory deny that the whole government of the Church resides in the entire body of the episcopate. But even Celestine in his letter to the council distinctly recognised the parity of all bishops as teachers and governors of the Church, and their duty to exercise such rights, though claiming himself as first, sitting in the seat of Peter. See his letter in Mansi, iv, 1283; Allies, The Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism, 2d ed., Lond., 1848, p. 244, where a full discussion of the ecumenical council of Ephesus in reference to the Roman question is given (pp. 231–248).

[2] It is not necessary here to give quotations. See his Epp. x, xi, xii, 13; xiv, 12; civ–cvi.

custom, to do aught without the authority of the venerable pope of the Eternal City; and whatsoever the authority of the apostolic see has enacted or may hereafter enact shall be the law for all."[1]

This was a most nefarious usurpation, overriding the canons, as Du Pin has shown,[2] of six or seven councils. But councils did not count with Leo, who stood on his Petrine privilege as a solid rock. Nevertheless it was in virtue of the power conferred by this edict that the popes began to exercise their power in the West. It must be said, however, that, in spite of his lifelong refusal to accept the pope's disposition of the Celidonius case, Hilary died in honor and glory as a saint and bishop of Christ, and as such was acknowledged by the Roman see.

However, Leo's success was only partial. After the Robber Synod of Ephesus (449) he tried to induce the Eastern emperor to summon a council to be held in Italy, which should be presided over by the pope, and under the forms prescribed by him. This was refused. Marcian called for a general council to meet September 1, 451, although the pope had expressed his opposition to it. Not to be outdone, Leo wrote to the council "to account that I am presiding over the synod in the persons of these brethren, Paschasinus and Lucentius, bishops, and Boniface and Basil, priests, who have been commissioned by the apostolic see."[3] When the fourth general council met at Chalcedon the imperial commissioners took the first place, the Roman legates the second, and the Patriarch of Constantinople the third. The legates won an important point, and they lost an important one. The council allowed Paschasinus to word their condemnation of Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was chiefly accountable for the crime of the Robber Synod, in these words:

FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

"Therefore, Leo, the most holy Archbishop of Rome, doth by our mouths, now in behalf of the most holy synod here present, and in union with the thrice blessed apostle Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Church universal and the basis of the orthodox faith, declare that [Dioscurus] is deprived of the episcopal dignity and degraded from all sacerdotal rank and office."[4]

Then the legates tried to secure the acceptance of Leo's Tome on

[1] For text see Baronius, Ann., 445, ix, x; for trans. see Littledale, Church Quar. Rev., xii, 198, 199. On this edict compare the words of the Gallican historian Tillemont: "In the eyes of those who have any love for the Church's liberty or any knowledge of her discipline it will bring as little honor to him whom it praises as of injury to him whom it condemns." Mémoires Eccles., tom. xv, art. xx, p. 83.

[2] Antiq. Discip. Eccl. Diss., ii, p. 209. [3] Ep. xxii. [4] Ep. xxxi.

the ground of its being issued by the chair of St. Peter. But this the council resolutely refused. On the other hand, it compared the Tome with the decisions of previous councils, with the opinions of eminent theologians especially of Cyril of Alexandria, the most influential theologian of the East; and it was only because they found it in agreement therewith that they gave their decision. Thus Anatolius, in giving his vote on the Tome, says, and he was followed substantially by all the delegates: "The letter of the holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the Nicene Creed, with that of Constantinople, and with what was done at the council of Ephesus by the holy Cyril, when Nestorius was deposed. That is why I have assented to it, and I have willingly subscribed it." In fact, many of the legates would not subscribe the Tome until they had exacted minute explanations from the legates concerning certain expressions in it, and had satisfied themselves, after several days' examination, that it accorded with the writings of Cyril. This examination and withholding of assent prove conclusively that the council did not consider itself the mouthpiece of Rome, but rather that it had the right to sit in judgment on the latter's decisions.

We have already seen how this council, in the twenty-eigth canon, placed the precedence of Rome on secular grounds, and ranked Constantinople next after it. This ordinance was passed voluntarily by a unanimous vote, the Roman legates alone dissenting. Leo refused to accept this, but the canon was indorsed by the eighth ecumenical council, in 859.

LITTLEDALE ON LEO THE GREAT.

"The distinguished personal character of Leo the Great," says Littledale, "his fearless orthodoxy, the eminent patriotic services he had twice done to the city of Rome, by averting the attack of Alaric and mitigating that of Genseric, and the absence of any self-seeking, even in his all-embracing and otherwise unscrupulous ambition on behalf of his see and office, all tended to make the system, of which he was in large measure the creator, durable in the West, and transmissible in his successors. And it may fairly be doubted, entirely as his claims cover logically the largest demands made subsequently by a Hildebrand or an Innocent III, whether he really saw the full meaning of his own statement and policy or how readily the office of supreme guardian and interpreter of the Church's faith, laws, and ordinances, which he arrogated to himself, might glide, as it did glide, into an imperial autocracy, refusing to be bound by the laws it imposed on all others, ceasing to be the first servant of the law and claiming to be its master, in the terms of those words of Innocent III,

embodied in the Canon Law: 'Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.'"[1]

Felix III tried to enforce the universal rule of the pope advocated by Leo. On an appeal to the pope by a claimant to the see of Alexandria Felix summoned (484) Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to stand his trial, in virtue of the power to bind and loose conferred on the apostle Peter and his successors. It seemed as if the dreams of the Roman bishops for centuries were about to be realized. But the East had been the guardians of the primitive traditions, and, although honoring Rome as the great apostolic see of the West, and chief of all the churches, it could not respect her while usurping authority which belonged only to a general council. Acacius did not obey the summons. Each excommunicated the other, and the pope thus precipitated the first great schism which divided the East and West for thirty-five years.[2]

Gelasius I (492–496) strove with Constantinople, yet without success. He held to the monarchical claims of his predecessors. Some of the propositions in his epistle to the bishop in Illyricum leave the papacy at the close of the fifth century occupying exactly the ground taken by Gregory VII and Innocent III. The later mediæval development simply records the struggle to make the papal theory a practical governing force in all the affairs of the West. Gelasius says that the Roman primacy is divine, antecedent to councils and legislation, and rests on the word of Christ to Peter; that, therefore, the pope has a right to try all cases of heresy himself, to reverse, if necessary, all ecclesiastical sentences, and sit in final judgment on all Churches; that councils can only give publicity to decisions which rest on papal authority alone; that no power on earth can give rank to a Church unless such as is acknowledged by the pope; and that the pope may use any means necessary to suppress assumptions in derogation of the Holy See.[3] Yet Gelasius fell short of the mediæval ideal. The absolutist popes made the secular realm dependent upon the spiritual, and the popes and their representatives were supreme over both. But Gelasius I distinguishes the two realms in a clear and satisfactory manner, each being ruled by the proper authorities without dictation from either.

[1] The Dawn of the Papal Monarchy, in Church Quar. Rev., Jan., 1882, p. 366. See also Perthel, P. Leo's I Leben und Lehren, Jena, 1843, pp. 226, ff.; Gore, Leo the Great, Lond., 1880, pp. 98–129; Schaff, iii, 317, ff.

[2] For full particulars see the Church Histories of Evagrius and Scholasticus: Barmby, in Smith and Wace, ii, 482–485; Littledale, as above, xiii, 369–373; Milman, i, 324–331; Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. ii, pp. 1–63, who gives a full, clear, and impartial account of the development of the papal power.

[3] Hardouin, ii, 905–916; Littledale, xiii, 375; Barmby, ii, 618, 619.

LITERATURE: GREGORY THE GREAT.

I. SOURCES.

1. Gregorii M. Opera, ed. Benedic., Paris, 1705, 4 vols., fol.; reprinted, Venice, 1768–76, 17 vols., and Migne, tom. 75–79 (1849). The first four books of the Epa., admirably edited by Paul Ewald, Berlin, 1887. The Pastoral Rule, translated, with text, by H. R. Bramley, Oxf. and Lond., 1874, and the Rule and two hundred and seventy-four of the eight hundred and fifty letters, by Barmby for the Schaff-Wace ed. of the Post-Nicene Fathers. N. Y. and Lond., 1895. The Anglo-Saxon version of the Rule was edited, with an English tr., by Henry Sweet for the early English Text Society, Lond., 1871. Biographies of Gregory in Liber Pontificalis, by Paulus Diaconus (d. 797), by Johannes Diaconus (9th century), and one selected from his writings, all prefixed to Migne' sed. of Gregory's works. See also the historians, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and others.

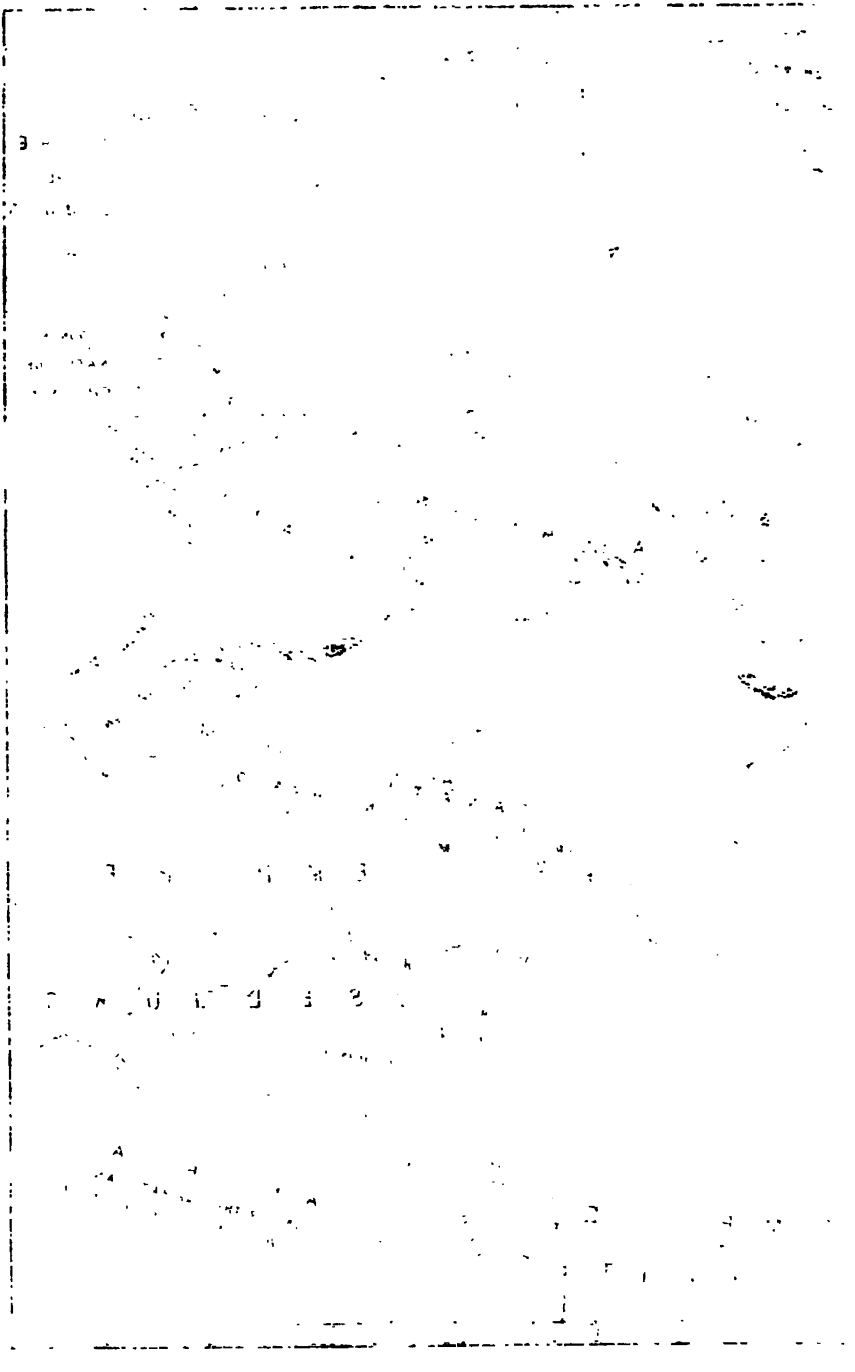
II. MODERN WORKS.

1. Lau, G. Gregor I, nach seinem Leben und nach seiner Lehre. Leips., 1845.
2. Pfahler, G. Gregor der Grosse und seine Zeit. Frankf. a. M., 1852.
3. Baxmann, N. Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I bis Gregor VII. Elberf., 1867.
4. Barmby, J. Gregory the Great. Lond., 1879. Art. Gregorius I, in Smith and Wace, ii (1880).
5. Langen, J. (Old Cath.) Geschichte der römischen Kirche. 2 vols. Bonn, 1885.
6. Littledale, R. F. The Gregorian Papacy, in Church Quar. Rev., xvii (Jan., 1884), 379, ff.
7. Church, R. W. The Epistles of Gregory the Great, in the same, April, 1881, and in Miscellaneous Essays. Lond. and N. Y., 1888; New ed., 1891.
8. Kellett, F. W. Gregory the Great and his Relation with Gaul. Cambr. and Lond., 1889. App. II contains a full bibliography of Gregory's Epistles (pp. 110–116).
9. Snow, A. (R. C.) Life and Times of Gregory the Great. Lond., 1894.

A full treatment is found in Milman, bk. iii, chap. vii; Greenwood, bk. iii, chaps. vi and vii; Montalembert, Monks of West, ii, 69, ff.; Zöpffel, in Herzog-Plitt; and Newman, Hist. Sketches, iii, 142, ff.


EUROPE
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CRUSADES
1095 A.D.
THE WESTERN EMPIRE
THE EASTERN EMPIRE
OF THE
ALMORAVIDES
(MORABITES)
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
FRIESLAND
SAXONY
SAXON DUCHY
MARCH LANDS
POMERANIA
FLANDERS
LOWER LOTHARINGIA
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
MAINE
ANJOU
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
BURGUNDY
SWABIA
AQUITAINE
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
LOMBARDY
MARCH LANDS OF VERONA
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
CROATIA
DALMATIA
CASTILE
LEON
PORTUGAL
EMIRATE OF SARAGOSSA
MARK OF BARCELONA
BALEARIC ISLES
SARDINIA
TWO SICILIES
NORMAN
SICILY
EMPIRE
Paris
Orleans
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marseille
Barcelona
Valencia
Cordova
Granada
Cartagena
Malaga
Lisbon
Oporto
Toledo
Burgos
Leon
Tudela
Arles
Nice
Genoa
Pisa
Corsica
Sardinia
Naples
Bari
Otranto
Palermo
Messina
Bizerta
Tunis
Telemsen
Constance
Besançon
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Frankfurt
Prague
Strassburg
Aix-la-Chapelle
Liege
Cologne
Treves
Metz
Rheims
Tours
Nantes
Bruges
Ghent
Utrecht
Hamburg
Bremen
Magdeburg
Posen
Calmar
Lund
Upsal
Stockholm
Trondhjem
Edinburgh
York
Chester
London
Bristol
Dublin


LEVANTINE COUNTRIES AT THE TERMINATION OF THE FIRST CRUSADE
RUSSIA
CUMANIANS
ALANI
CHAZARS
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Kiev
Cherson
Bulgaria
Philippopolis
Constantinople
Thrace
Macedonia
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
SULTANATE OF THE DANISHMAND
ROUM EMPIRE
Armenia
Iberia or Georgia
Trebizond
Sinope
Amasia
Iconium
Cilicia
Armenia
Antioch
Tripolis
Damascus
Acre
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Damietta
Cairo
Baghdad
Euphrates
Tigris
Edessa
Amida
Mosul
SELJUKS
ARABIA
(UNDER THE CARMATHIANS)
Subsequently split up into a number of small states
EMPIRE OF THE FATIMITES
LITHUANIANS
Smolensk
RUSSIANS
20
25
30
35
40
45



CHAPTER XXXVI.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

FOUR really great men have sat in the papal chair—Leo I, Gregory I, Gregory VII, and Innocent III. Of these Gregory the Great was not surpassed by any in the ethical quality of his life, the loftiness of his aim, and the sincerity of his devotion to what he considered the best interests of mankind. That in his hands the papacy received new strength may well be accounted for by the chaotic condition of Europe, the breaking up of all the old national landmarks by the barbaric irruptions, and the removal of the seat of the empire to Constantinople, which left the pope in the popular mind the real ruler of the West. The historical conditions of the time made the papal power a necessity and, in view of the environment, an advantage. A close observer of mediæval times has remarked that the virtues of Gregory, the "disorders of the times, when the old powers of the world were failing and the new had not yet come, made such an authority as his, if it was to be had, like a heaven-sent compensation for all that had perished in the wreck of the empire. Why should we doubt that it was a heaven-sent compensation; that it was ordered by God's providence, in mercy to men, in times of confusion and change? The power which Gregory had and left grew naturally out of the necessities of the times. But when power has been grandly and beneficently used men are apt to think it has established a title to continuance. And so it passed in time, strengthened by his example, and increasing its demands as it was worse used, to the nominees of the counts of Tusculum and to the popes of Avignon and the Great Schism. It was held to warrant the victory of Canossa, the humiliation of John of England, and the Bulls of Indulgences. It grew up as is the way of institutions to grow up; it served its time as we see in the case of other institutions. The use which Gregory made of it and the conditions of his time more than justified all that it was then. His own use of it, his own example, and the changed conditions of later centuries, to say nothing of its intervening history, are amply sufficient to justify us in believing that its use has passed away."[1]

THE PAPAL POWER A NECESSITY.

[1] R. W. Church, The Letters of Pope Gregory I, in Miscellaneous Essays, p. 278.

Gregory's early life trained him at once as the statesman and the saint of the papacy. He came of an old wealthy senatorial family of Rome, and all the ancient traditions of the city of the seven hills were born again in him. In 574, while still young, he was made prefect of the city, the highest civil office in Rome. From his mother he had inherited a profound religious temperament, and through her influence he gave up his civil position and changed his father's palace into a monastery. But a man of his practical ability could not be allowed to waste his life in monastic seclusion. He was made deacon by Pope Pelagius II, and in 579 was sent to Constantinople as the pope's ambassador. His six years here gave him a rich training in diplomacy. On his return he reentered his monastery, where his strict asceticism, his talents, and his fame as a preacher gained him wide renown. In February, 590, the plague carried off Pelagius, and senate, clergy, and people elected Gregory without a dissenting voice. His sense of unfitness made him flee from Rome. But he was brought back and ordained in September, 590. His epistles reveal the unfeigned reluctance with which he assumed the office and his longing for the quiet of the monastery: "I have fallen into fears and tremors, since, even though I have no fears for myself, I am greatly afraid for those who have been committed to me. On every side I am tossed by the waves of business and sunk by storms, so that I may truly say, 'I am come into the depth of the sea, and the storm hath overwhelmed me.' I have longed to sit at the feet of the Lord with Mary, to take in the word of his mouth; and, lo, I am compelled to serve with Martha in external things, to be careful and troubled about many things."[1] "With tears I remember how I have lost the placid shore of my rest, and with sighs I behold the land which still, with the winds of affairs blowing against me, I cannot reach."[2]

GREGORY'S TRAINING FOR THE PAPACY.

In regard to the papacy two aspects of Gregory's testimony are to be noticed: first, his censure of the Patriarch of Constantinople for assuming the title of Universal Bishop. Gregory raves thus: "To consent to that abominable word is to lose the faith."[3] "Far from all Christian hearts be that blasphemous name [Universal], whereby the honor of all priests is taken away, when madly claimed as his by one only."[4] He calls on the emperor to compel the patriarch to give up the title. In writing to the patriarch himself he says: "Who is your pattern in the use of this perverse word save he who saith, 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my

[1] Ep. i, 5.
[2] Ep. v, 19.
[3] Ep. i, 43. Comp. i, 31; vii, 4, *et al.*
[4] Ep. v, 20.

throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the side of the North; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High?'"[1] He rejects the title as earnestly for himself, for in writing to the Patriarch of Alexandria he says: "In the preface of your letter which you sent to me, the very man who uttered the prohibition, you took pains to use that word of haughty style, calling me Universal Pope, which I beg your holiness, my very dear friend, not to do any more. I account that no honor in which I perceive that my brethren lose their honor. My honor is the honor of the Church universal. My honor is the unimpaired position (*solidus vigor*) of my brethren. I am then truly honored when their rightful honor is not withheld from any of them."[2] In fact, Gregory places the other two Petrine sees as standing on a level with his own. The three make one see: "For whereas there are many apostles, yet in respect to the primacy only the see of the prince of the apostles, which is his simply in three places, has prevailed as authoritative. For he dignified that see [Rome] in which he was pleased also to rest and to end his life. He adorned the see [Alexandria] to which he sent his disciple the evangelist [St. Mark]. He established the see [Antioch] wherein he sat seven years, though about to quit it. Seeing then that the see in which three bishops now preside by divine authority is one and belongs to one, whatever good I hear of you I count as my own."[3]

CENSURE OF UNIVERSAL EPISCOPACY.

Nevertheless, there is a second aspect of Gregory's testimony. He was not the man to abate one jot of the papal claims. In writing to John of Syracuse he defends himself from the charge of adopting Greek ways in the mass: "With regard to the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is subject to the apostolic see?"[4] To the same prelate he says again: "As for his [the Bishop of Byzacene, in North Africa] saying that he is subject to the apostolic see, I know not what bishop is not subject to it, if there be any faultiness in bishops. Where faultiness does not raise the question, all are equal, in accordance with the rule of humility."[5] "The apostolic see is the head of all Churches."[6]

The person of Gregory himself tended to a consolidation of papal power. After Leo he was the first theologian in the papal chair. Through their ignorance of theology the popes had often embroiled themselves in great difficulties. But Gregory was the strongest man of his age. The deference due to his official

[1] Ep. v, 18. [2] Ep. viii, 30. [3] Ep. viii, 40.
[4] Ep. ix, 12. [5] Ep. ix, 59. [6] Ep. xiii, 45.

position enabled him to rehabilitate the papacy in popular esteem, and to make it practically far more powerful than it had been even under his predecessors. He said comparatively little about his own rights, while dispatching promptly, and on the whole wisely and justly, the enormous mass of cases spontaneously referred from all parts of the West to his decision. He thus established a vast number of precedents, nearly all due to voluntary consent of the parties concerned, and scarcely any extorted by pressure from Rome. In this way no resistance or protest was aroused, and accordingly it appeared to the next generation and to many later ones that the authority which was really due to Gregory's personal character was a privilege immemorial and divinely annexed to the great office which he held.[1]

GREGORY'S PERSON TENDING TOWARD AUTOCRACY.

Gregory had great respect to the civil authority. Certain Istrian bishops had laid themselves open to his interference. They referred their case to the emperor, who wrote to the pope: "We command your holiness to give no further trouble to these bishops." Gregory obeyed. He also interfered in the case of Maximus, who was consecrated to the see of Salona, in Dalmatia, and was forbidden by the pope to take his office on account of alleged simony. Maximus treated the pope's inhibition with contempt, was confirmed in his see by the emperor, and at the order of the latter Gregory withdrew his demand that Maximus should be tried in Rome, Maximus having shown that it was contrary to the canons to take appeals to Rome.[2] Another interesting incident reveals the great distance between the spirit of Gregory and Hildebrand, even if in substance their claims were identical. Maurice put forth an edict forbidding soldiers to adopt the monastic life until their terms of military service had expired. He also directed the pope to publish it throughout the West. This touched Gregory keenly. But he thus humbly wrote to the emperor, beseeching him to modify the force of the law: "He is guilty before Almighty God who is not pure of offense toward our most serene lord in all he does and says." "I, indeed, being subject to your command, have caused the law to be transmitted through various parts of the world; and inasmuch as the law itself is by no means agreeable to Almighty God, so I have declared this to my most serene lord. On both sides, then, I have discharged my duty, having both yielded obedience to the emperor and not kept silence as to what I feel in behalf of God."[3] Even here he says that it seems "exceedingly hard that the emperor

GREGORY'S RESPECT FOR CIVIL AUTHORITY.

[1] Littledale, The Gregorian Papacy, in Church Quar. Rev., Jan., 1884, pp. 389, 390. [2] Greg., Ep. iv, 10. [3] Ep. iii, 65.

should debar his soldiers from the service of Him who both gave him all and granted him to rule not only over soldiers but even over priests."[1]

We are still a long way from Hildebrand. Perhaps it was these reminders of his supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs that so incensed Gregory against Maurice that, in spite of his effusive protestations of loyalty and love to him when living, he sent to his successor, the murderer Phocas, a blasphemous and indecent letter of congratulation, vilifying the dead, and praising the deformed and vulgar upstart who had not only slain Maurice but his whole family—a wife, six sons, and three daughters. Gibbon speaks modestly when he says that "the joyful applause with which the pope saluted the fortune of the assassin has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint."[2] By the side of the sanguinary reign of Phocas that of Maurice had been liberal and just. A similar dark blot was Gregory's fulsome adulation of Brunehilde of Austrasia, a second Jezebel,[3] whom a recent scholar calls "perhaps the worst queen that ever lived."[4] But Gregory was a statesman as well as a priest, and he was not loath to use political methods to advance the interests of the Church and religion.

Gregory's zeal in establishing missions, his continual correspondence with the Churches of Gaul in attempting to heal their abuses and bring order to their chaos,[5] and his ardent patronage of monachism, as well as his theological and pastoral activity, served to bring the Roman Church to the head and front of Christendom. In 601 he exempted the monks from episcopal jurisdiction, and the Curia had ever after no more zealous advocates. But it was not until 607 that Boniface III procured from the usurper, Phocas, the decree that the "see of Rome and of the apostolic Church should be the head of all Churches, whereas the Church of Constantinople had been wont to style itself first of all Churches."[6]

His work for the Church was manifold. He revived preaching; organized the public worship; protected Rome against the Lombards; administered the estates of the pope, already immense, including territory or properties in Calabria, Sardinia, Sicily, Dal-

[1] Ep. xiii, 31. [2] Decline and Fall, ed. Smith, iv, 598 (ch. 46).
[3] Fredegar, Chron., xxxvi, 612 (in Migne, tom. 71).
[4] Kellett, Pope Gregory the Great and his Relation to Gaul, p. 41.
[5] Kellett, in his Pope Gregory, has given an admirable and thorough investigation of this phase of Gregory's activity. The Appendix continues the account of the relation of the papacy to the Franks down to the coronation of Charles the Great. [6] Paul. Diac., De Gest. Longobard., iv, 7.

matia, and even in Gaul and Africa. He advised missionaries, sending the pallium to metropolitans in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; deposed bishops for simony and other sins; exhorted the clergy to a faithful and holy life; corresponded with princes in both East and West, and kept an eye on all the events of the time. Besides all this he found time to write books. His Magna Moralia is an elaborate exposition of the Book of Job according to its historic, its allegorical, and its moral significance. His only qualification as an expositor was his spiritual insight and moral strenuousness. While he knew neither Hebrew nor Greek nor oriental customs, his twenty-two Homilies on Ezekiel and his forty Homilies on the Gospels abound in useful reflections and are full of contemporary allusions. His Dialogues reveal a childish credulity and superstition, for he relates wild and impossible stories of St. Benedict of Nursia and other Italian saints. They are the fountain of many a mediæval myth. His Pastoral Rule is his most important religious book and one of the most precious remains of the Middle Ages. For it is one of the best works on pastoral theology, and can be read with profit even to this day. "It was held in the highest esteem in the Middle Ages, translated into Greek by order of the emperor Maurice, and into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, and given to the bishops of France at their ordination, together with a book of canons as a guide in the discharge of their duties." It is full of golden thoughts and sage advice. Like Leo, Gregory was a voluminous letter writer, and his epistles are a mirror of the age. They are a priceless historical source. He revised the Sacramentary, made a collection of antiphons for mass, wrote some hymns, founded a school of singers, and brought in a more simple mode of chanting instead of the artistic Ambrosian chant.

GREGORY'S VARIED WRITINGS.

Take him for all in all and abating much, Gregory was one of the greatest men of the Middle Ages, and his fruitful life in a stormy, rude, and barbarous age reflects great glory on the Church of his times. "As Luther in his last will calls himself an advocate of God, whose name was well known in heaven and on earth and in hell, the epitaph says of Gregory I that he ruled as the *consul Dei*."[1] He was the second founder of the papacy, "because he gave as a foundation to the increasing grandeur of the Holy See the renown of his virtue, the candor of his innocence, and the humble and inexhaustible tenderness of his heart."[2]

[1] Baxmann, Politik der Päpste, i, 44.

[2] Montalembert, The Monks of the West, ii, 175. For a collection of estimates of Gregory see Schaff, iv, 216–218.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PAPACY AND THE NIGHT OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE Middle Ages may be summed up in one word, Rome. All the currents of mediæval history flow from Rome and lead back again to Rome. Gregorovius calls her the lofty watchtower from which we can survey the movements of the mediæval world, and adds that this marvelous historical evolution of Rome is one of the mysteries of history. "Christianity," he continues, "which sprang up within the narrow confines of Jewish nationality, though cosmopolitan in its essence, was drawn to Rome, the capital of the world, as to a seat already prepared for it by history, where, from out the ruins of a political monarchy, it was destined to raise up a moral monarchy in the giant form of the Church."[1] When the Roman empire passed to the Germans the Roman Church was the mediator of the gift, and she herself in a sense passed over with it to become the ruler of the new age. The Germans "retained the deepest reverence for the Roman Church as well as for the Roman ideal of the State, their traditions having become the political dogma of the world. The Church itself, in its essence the guardian of the unity of thought, or of the Christian republic, inculcated these Latin ideas, and sought to Romanize mankind. The religious creed of the Germans, their hierarchy, the language of their religion, their festivals, their apostles, their saints, were all Roman, or derived from a Roman source. Thus eventually it came to pass that the Germans, the rulers of the Latin race, with which they became intermingled on a classic soil, restored the empire which they had previously destroyed. But this restoration was essentially the work of the Roman Church, which required the reestablishment of her prototype as a necessary element of her international character and a guarantee of the universal religion."[2] Freeman declares that Rome is the determining center of history, the center of our studies and the goal of our thoughts. He thus impatiently flings aside the thought that the year 476 saw the end of Rome's magic sway! "He who ends his work in 476, and he who begins his work in 476, can neither of them

GREGOROVIUS ON ROME.

FREEMAN ON ROME.

[1] Hist. of Rome in the Middle Ages, i, 5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

understand in its fullness the abiding life of Rome; neither can fully grasp the depth and power of that truest of proverbial sayings which speaks of Rome as the Eternal City." He says that the most notable historic feature of our present age is the Romeless feature of it, and that the most natural division of European history is that into three great and marked periods, the old Romeless Europe, Europe under the lead of Rome, and the modern Romeless Europe.[1] The historical problems symbolized by the phrase, the "Eternal City," reappear to-day in the "Eternal Eastern Question"—the conflict between civilization and barbarism, between Christianity and heathenism.[2]

The greatest mediæval ecclesiastical force after Gregory the Great is Hildebrand. Five hundred years intervene between them.

BONIFACE III.

Under Boniface III (606–607) the title of Universal Bishop, which Gregory had repudiated, was given by the emperor Phocas to the pope. Boniface had been employed by his predecessor in some official capacity at Constantinople, and had succeeded in ingratiating himself with the emperor, who also wished to punish the patriarch of that city for his humanity in protecting the wife and daughters of Maurice from his murderous hands. Under Boniface also a salutary law was passed providing that no one should form a party for the succession to a bishopric; three days were to elapse before the election, and all bribery and simoniacal bargaining were strictly forbidden. The election must be made by the clergy and people, and ratified by the prince.

Visitors to Rome find at once the most ancient church when they go to the Pantheon, which, on account of its beauty, sanctity, and antiquity is esteemed the most precious ornament of Rome. It was built by Vipsanius Agrippa, the liberal-minded general and son-in-law to Augustus, B. C. 27, and for six centuries had withstood the inundations of the Tiber and the rains of the winter. Boniface IV, in 608, received the permission of Phocas to take possession of this temple, which he did with his chanting priests, sprinkling its walls with holy water, and dedicating it to the "new tutelar deities," the Virgin Mary and the martyrs. Few popes have left so honorable a ground for remembrance. This finest architectural monument of ancient Rome owes its preservation to this transformation.[3]

[1] Chief Periods of European History, pp. 8, 4.

[2] Freeman's well-known views reappear here. It were well if European politicians would study them. The exterminating massacres of 1895 in Armenia, the second cradle of the world, have no counterpart in the age of Augustus.

[3] Gregorovius, Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, ii, 105–113.

Pope Honorius (625–638) was a great builder. He gained permission of the emperor Heraclius to spoil one of the finest monuments of antiquity, Hadrian's Temple, and transferred its gilt bronze tiles to the Church of St. Peter's. He erected a basilica within the walls of the ancient curia or senate, where under Gothic rule a semblance of parliament had been held. Many of the historic structures of pagan Rome were thus in part, or in outline, preserved by being turned to Christian uses.[1] HONORIUS.

The successors of Honorius bravely compensated for his leaning toward the one-will doctrine. Martin I (649–655) became a martyr to the orthodox idea. The emperor Constans (641–668) had attempted to pacify the contending parties by publishing the Type, which assumed a noncommittal attitude on the main question, and prohibited by severe penalties the use of the phrase of either "the single or double will or energy in Christ." Such a compromise would not satisfy the valiant Martin, who summoned a council in the Lateran in 649, which pronounced the Type impious, and excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople. The subsequent arrest of the pope, his transfer to the imperial city, his cruel imprisonment there, and his banishment to the inhospitable Chersonesus, where he died, constitute a romantic history of the first and the only time when the despotic Byzantinism which ruled and ruined the Eastern Church for a thousand years stretched out its hand to pull the Roman bishop from his throne. It is instructive, however, in showing how little at this time the East was affected by the growing pretensions of Rome. But Martin's heroic conduct and pious spirit shed unwonted light on a gloomy epoch.[2] No doubt it was the memory of this outrage which made the popes look the more eagerly toward the North for political alliance. In 663 Constans visited Rome, was received with every token of respect, so different from the attitude assumed by the popes in later times, and repaid the hospitality by robbing the churches of their bronze ornaments. These, however, fell into the hands of the Saracens, and Constans himself was murdered in his bath in Syracuse by his slave.

In the sixth general council, which met in the Trullus or Hall of the Cupola, in the imperial palace, Constantinople, November 7, 680—September 16, 681, the legates of the pope, Agatho (678–682), were the most influential factors in determining the theological result, and this not through any reverence THE TRULLAN COUNCIL.

[1] Gregorovius, ii, 118–188.

[2] See Mansi, Con. Coll., x, 790, 1170; Muratori, Rev. Ital. Script., iii, pt. i; Milman, ii, 276–281; Barmby, in Smith and Wace, ii, 848–857; Gregorovius, ii, 144–149; Greenwood, ii, 426–433.

for an alleged Petrine infallibility, but solely through the weightier arguments advanced by them. This appears in the speech of George, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the determining voice in the council, who, in the seventh session, arose and declared that having carefully examined the passage from the Fathers cited on the one hand by the Western bishops (two wills) and on the other by Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, the great champion of the one will, he had become convinced of the righteousness of the Roman contention, and "to them accordingly," he said, "I offer my adhesion, theirs is my confession and belief." His example was followed by the bishops of the great Eastern sees.

A dramatic incident at this council reveals the spirit of the age. Polychronius, a fanatical Monothelite monk, challenged the council to put the truthfulness of his opinion to the test of a miracle. He promised to lay his creed on a dead body; the dead would arise, as a supernatural sign of the orthodoxy of the one will. A body was procured and in the presence of the whole assembly the test was made.[1] For hours the council awaited the issue, Polychronius sitting at the head of the corpse whispering in its ear, the paper containing his creed lying on its breast. But God refused to interfere. A unanimous anathema condemned Polychronius as a deceiver, and he was degraded from all his functions.[2]

Pope Leo II (682–683) accepted the decision of this council, including its formal anathema of his predecessor Honorius as a heretic in these memorable words: "After due examination we pronounce this sixth general council of the Church to be in strict conformity with the five preceding councils. We also received with pleasure the [confirmatory] edict of your majesty [he is writing to the emperor]; because in conjunction with the decree of the council we are thus put in possession of a two-edged sword for the extirpation of all manner of heresy. We therefore give an entire consent to the definitions of this holy sixth general council, and receive it as of equal authority with the five preceding councils of the universal Church, and we do hereby anathematize the inventors of the new heresy, to wit, Theodore of Pharan, . . . and lastly Honorius, who, instead of maintaining the bright purity of the apostolic see, did conspire and make common cause with heretics for the overthrow of the true faith."[3]

A rising sense of Italian nationality seems to be indicated in

[1] Hardouin, Concilia, iii, 1068–1644. Abridged details in Baronius, Ann., 679, 680, 681, as Fleury, ix, 25–65.

[2] Baronius, Ann., 681, § 36.

[3] *Idem.*, 683, §§ xiii–xv; Greenwood, ii, 437–442.

the abortive attempt of the emperor to punish the pope for his refusal to accept the canons of the Quinisextan synod.[1] This synod (691)[2] attempted to supplement the last two general councils on the disciplinary side. Although strict in enforcing abstinence from marriage on the part of the clergy, it did not forbid the ordination of men previously married. For this lack of thoroughness in its ascetic requirements Pope Sergius (687–701) denounced it. For this the emperor Justinian II tried to repeat the act of Martin I by ordering the arrest and transportation of the pope to Constantinople. But the soldiers in Italy interfered, and the pope was saved. Pope Constantine (708–716) went to Constantinople at the request of Justinian, but was received with great honor, returning within a year. Whether he ratified the Quinisextan decrees does not appear.

QUINISEXTAN SYNOD.

With Gregory II (712–731) a new era arose in the history of the world. The West assumed a new attitude toward the East. Imperial Rome lived once more, and her voice was heard again. When the Eastern emperor entered upon his iconoclastic crusade he received a peremptory refusal from the Roman bishop, and in a tone not too respectful. His successor, Gregory III (731–741), was equally free in his rebuke of the East and decided in his refusal to heed the emperor's edict against images.[3] Yet the pope did not assume political independence. What with the Lombards threatening on the North and the Church patrimonies in the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces at the mercy of the emperor, it was obviously to the pope's advantage to keep up a nominal connection with the East. But the middle of this century saw the looming up of a great power which came just in time to save the papacy, and thus mediæval civilization. By the end of the century that power was firmly installed on the ruins of the Eastern empire in the West, and the holy Roman empire succeeded to the traditions which had been a living force since 476,[4] and Charles the Great became the Romulus of the Church.

NEW ERA UNDER GREGORY II.

It was the intention of Thomas Arnold to carry on his great History of Rome to the coronation of Charles the Great. That proved

[1] So called because it was convened to fill up the gaps left by the fifth and sixth general councils in matters of discipline; sometimes also called the Trullan, from the room in the imperial palace where it was held.

[2] Date uncertain.

[3] See Gregory's letter to Leo, in Greenwood, ii, 476–479.

[4] Freeman insists that after all it is only a fiction which represents the Roman empire as ceasing when the boy Romulus Augustulus was sent to end his days among the gardens and fish ponds of Lucullus's villa near Naples.

the philosophic insight of the great historian. In a real sense the coronation of Charles was the beginning of modern history. It was a turning point in the history of the world, of far more importance than the so-called end of the Roman empire in 476. In outward form it "restored Old Rome," as Freeman says, "to her old position. She again became, if not the dwelling place, at least the crowning place, of emperors. For a thousand years longer the titles of her empire went on; for seven hundred years longer they could be won only before the altar of the Vatican basilica. For full five hundred years longer the Roman empire of the West was, as such, a living thing, a thing that influenced the minds and acts of men, a mighty fact, a still mightier theory. But in the West the emperor of the Romans had less and less to do with Old Rome. To his imperial capital he gradually became a stranger, and his capital became a city of strangers to him. In short, the Roman power in the West altogether passed away, not only from the Roman city, but from the artificial Roman nation. When Rome again asserted her right to choose her sovereign, she chose—she could not fail to choose—a man who was not a Roman, even by adoption. She chose the Frankish king. Pepin had been a patrician; so had Ricimer; so had Odoacer. But the son of Pepin bore a loftier style. The long-abiding tradition had broken through; a barbarian received a diadem; the Roman pontiff spoke the words, and the Roman people echoed them—'Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum Imperatori, vita et victoria.' The German was the last Augustus. No greater witness could there be to the moral conquest which each race had won over the other. The empire now in form received its greatest territorial enlargement. Gaul was won back and Germany was added. Wherever the Frankish king had ruled before as king he now ruled as emperor. Terminus advanced to the Elbe and the Eider; he was ready to advance to the Oder and the Vistula, or, if need should be, to the world's end. All unreal, all nominal, some objector will cry; an advance, not of Rome, but of Germany; an advance, not of the Roman Augustus, but of the Frankish king. And truly the empire of Charles, much more the empire of the Henrys and the Fredericks, was unreal in this, that it was assuredly a very different thing from the empire of Trajan or of Diocletian. It was assuredly not Roman in the sense in which the empire even of Theodosius was Roman. But here lies the greatest proof of the influence of Rome, of her magic power over the minds of men, that a power which had practically ceased to be Roman should still be Roman in men's eyes, and, as Roman,

FREEMAN ON THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

should command a reverence, a devotion, a bowing down, as it were, of the whole soul, which could be called forth by no other name. A name may have lost its first meaning; but as long as men will fight and die for the name the name is a fact indeed."[1]

The greatest pope of this half of a millennium was Nicholas I (858–867). He asserted the papal prerogative to the utmost, and had the Forged Decretals to help him. His first opportunity was the case of Photius. In that he held these high words:

"We, by the power committed to us by our Lord through St. Peter, restore our brother Ignatius to his former station, to his see [Constantinople], to his dignity as patriarch, and to all the honors of his office. Whoever after the promulgation of this decree shall presume to disturb him in the exercise of his office, separate from his communion, or dare to judge him anew, without the consent of the apostolic see, if a clerk, shall have the eternal punishment of the traitor Judas; if a layman, he has incurred the malediction of Canaan: he is excommunicate, and will suffer the same fearful sentence from the eternal Judge." NICHOLAS I.

When the Emperor of the East demanded the surrender of the monk, Theognetus, the messenger of Ignatius, the pope replied: "Many thousands come to Rome every year and place themselves devoutly under the protection of St. Peter. We have the power of summoning monks, and even clergy, from every part of the world; you, O emperor, have no such power. You have nothing to do with monks, but humbly to entreat their prayers."[2]

He also humbled the great Archbishop of Ravenna. Robbed of residence in the imperial city, he desired to emancipate himself from the papal jurisdiction. But his pride and harshness took from him the support of his own city, and after humiliating him the pope received him back into communion on these terms: that he should present himself yearly at Rome; that he should consecrate no bishop except by the sanction of the pope; to allow appeals to Rome; and to surrender all contested property. "So ended this opposition to the papal supremacy in Italy."[3]

Nicholas entered with undaunted nerve into a battle with Lothaire II, King of Lorraine, over his divorce from his wife, and this involved him in conflicts with the strongest bishops of Gaul. The result was, the papal power was raised higher than ever. Over both kings and bishops Nicholas came off victorious. He joined issue with the great Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, whom he also humbled, and first used that powerful agency for papal aggression,

[1] Chief Periods of European History, Lond., 1886, pp. 104–108.
[2] Baronius, Ann., 863. [3] See Milman, iii, 38–40.

the sending out of the legates, which virtually makes the pope ubiquitous. Of him could an old chronicler say: "Since the days of Gregory I to our time sat no high priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicholas. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign. To holy bishops and clergy he was mild and gentle; to the wicked and unconverted a terror; so that we might truly say a new Elias arose in him."[1]

So far no popes, though possessing a certain temporal dominion themselves, had ever dared to interfere with the temporal affairs of others, or dictate as to kingdoms and thrones. Their keeping to their spiritual claims had given them an immense vantage ground. But this could not last. If God had given into the hands of one man supreme spiritual jurisdiction, that must eventually include secular things, as the greater includes the less. The popes must in time press forward to this logical position, as the churchmen of the apostolic succession must eventually accept the logic of Newman. They did press forward to it, and against it they perished.

The first who interfered in the temporal arena was Pope Adrian (Hadrian) II (867–872). In a territorial dispute between Charles the Bald and the emperor Louis II, Adrian took the side of the emperor. It was really a question of the independence of France from Italy. Hincmar of Rheims, still undaunted in spite of his temporary defeat by Nicholas I, thus expressed the rising sentiment of French nationality in an appeal of Charles and his nobles to the French bishops: "You contribute your prayers only against the Normans and other invaders; if you would have the support of our army as we of your prayers, demand of the apostolic Father that as he cannot be both king and bishop, and as his predecessors ruled the Church, which is their own, not the State, which is the king's, he impose not on us a distant king, who cannot defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagans, nor command us Franks to be slaves. His ancestors laid not their yoke on our ancestors, nor will we bear it, for it is written in the Scriptures that we should fight for our liberty and our inheritance to the death."[2] But in this and other quarrels over French affairs the pope was foiled in each instance, and the new rôle of his Holiness in awarding crowns was deferred to a more convenient season.

ADRIAN II.

Between Leo IV and Benedict III (855) comes the famous story

[1] See an excellent account in Milman, iii, 21–66.

[2] Hincmar, Opera, ii, 695; Milman, iii, 72.

of the female pope Joanna. We give it in the words of Platina:[1] "John, of English extraction, but born at Mentz, is said to have arrived at the popedom by evil arts. For disguising herself like a man, whereas she was a woman, she went when young with her paramour, a learned man, to Athens, and made such progress in learning under the professors there that, coming to Rome, she met with few that could equal, much less go beyond her, even in the knowledge of Scriptures; and by her learned and ingenious readings and disputations she acquired so great respect and authority that upon the death of Leo (as Martin says),[2] by common consent, she was chosen pope in his room. As she was going to the Lateran Church between the Colossean theater (so-called from Nero's Colossus) and St. Clement's, her travail came upon her, and she died upon the place, having sat two years, one month, and four days, and was buried there without any pomp. This story is vulgarly told, but by very uncertain and obscure authors, and therefore I have related it barely and in short, lest I should seem obstinate and pertinacious if I had omitted what is so generally talked. I had better mistake, with the rest of the world, though it is certain that what I have related may be thought not altogether incredible."[3] THE POPE JOANNA.

This remarkable story had wide vogue, like many a mediæval legend. It was almost universally believed until the learned Protestant, David Blondel, in 1647, subjecting it to a critical examination, proved it to be without basis. For this, however, he was much censured by his Protestant contemporaries.[4] It arose from the play of the imagination about such circumstances as the singular circuit made in papal processions in which a street in which stood a statue representing a woman and a child was avoided; a peculiar inscription on this statue, "Papa pater patrum peperit papissa papellum;" and the use of a pierced seat to enthrone the pope. The following facts discredit the legend: 1. It is not mentioned until four hundred years after the supposed occurrence. Why are the mediæval chroniclers before Stephen de Bourbon (d. 1261) entirely silent? 2. The promulgation of the myth is chiefly due to the historical hornbook of the later Middle Ages,

[1] History of the Popes, pub. in Vienna, 1479.

[2] He alludes to Martinus Polanus (d. 1278), whose Chronicle was one of the great text-books in the Middle Ages. It is a "dry, mechanical, and utterly uncritical collection of biographical notes," and is "stuffed with fables." See Döllinger, Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages, ed. H. B. Smith, p. 16.

[3] Platina, sub John VIII (ed. Benham, Lond., n. d., p. 224).

[4] Blondel, Familier eclaircissement de la question si une femme a été assisé au siége papal de Rome, Amsterdam, 1647–49.

the Chronicle of Martinus Polanus, a Roman penitentiary, in which it is inserted, not in the earlier but in the later editions between 1278 and 1312. 3. The legends differ. 4. Its insertion in the Liber Pontificalis, which misled very many, is the later addition. 5. It is indisputably proved by contemporary testimony of the clearest nature that Benedict III immediately succeeded Leo IV. 6. None of the Easterns in their fierce disputes with Rome ever bring forth the scandal.[1]

We cannot go into the details of the dark history from John VIII (872) to Hildebrand (1073). It is the night of the papacy.

CORRUPTION OF THE CHURCH.

The Carolingian line had passed away, and the empire was frequently transferred from one dynasty to another. Then the dukes and counts of Italy arose and reduced the popes to the position of slaves of contending factions. The popes were the footballs of the dukes of Tusculum on the one hand and the barons of Rome on the other. They were elected, deposed, imprisoned, murdered. The times were turbulent, and, instead of the head of the Church arising out of the turmoil and moral wreckage like a beacon light to guide men to the peace and holiness of Christ, he himself descended to the level of the times. He was as "fierce and licentious as the petty princes who surrounded him, out of whose stock he sprang, and whose habits he did not break off when raised to the papal throne."[2] At times adulteresses ruled the Church, and the papal palace was like the old pagan imperial palace, the center of debauchery, lying, intrigue, and murder. The brilliant young Roman Catholic, Möhler, called Sergius III, John X, John XI, and John XII "horrible popes," and says that crimes alone secured the papal dignity.[3] Abandoned women, such as Marozia and Theodora, filled the papal chair, the

CRIMES OF THE POPES.

seat of the vicar of Christ, with their paramours and bastards.[4] A synod charged against one of these popes, John XII (955–963), that he always appeared armed, that he neglected prayers and all religious observances, that he was fond of hunting, that he had made a boy of ten a bishop, ordained bishops in a stable, mutilated a priest, violated virgins and widows high and low, lived with his father's mistress, converted the pontifical palace into a brothel, drank to the health of the devil, and invoked at the gambling table the help of Jupiter and Venus and other

[1] See Döllinger, Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages, pp. 8–74, 427–437; the Church Histories of Schroeckh, xxii, 75–110; J. E. C. Schmidt, iv, 274–295; Kurtz, 10th ed., § 82, 6; Alzog, tr., ii, 266–269; Bower, Lives of the Popes, iv, 246–260; Gieseler, ii, 30, 31 (Smith).

[2] Milman, iii, 61.

[3] Kirchengesch., ed. Gams., ii, 183.

[4] Luitprand, in Migne, tom. 136

heathen deities. A fitting climax of such a life was his murder by the husband of one of his paramours while in the act of adultery.[1]

It is interesting to hear a voice from that age rebuking the iniquity, and questioning whether men were to reverence an institution which had sold itself to antichrist. In a Gallican synod (991) Arnulf, Bishop of Orleans, inspired perhaps by Gerbert, the secretary of the council and afterward Pope Sylvester II, reviews some contemporary matters in this trenchant language:

"Looking at the actual state of the papacy what do we behold? John [XII], called Octavian, wallowing in a sty of filthy concupiscence, conspiring against the sovereign whom he had himself recently crowned; then Leo [VIII], the neophyte,[2] chased from the city by this Octavian; and that monster himself, after the commission of many murders and cruelties, dying by the hand of an assassin. Next we see the deacon, Benedict, though freely elected by the Romans, carried away captive into the wilds of Germany by the new Cæsar [Otho I] and his Pope Leo. Then a second Cæsar [Otho II], greater in arts and arms than the first, succeeds; and in his absence Boniface, a very monster of iniquity, reeking with the blood of his predecessor, mounts the throne of Peter. True, he is expelled and condemned, but only to return again and redden his hands with the holy bishop [John XIV]. Are there any indeed bold enough to maintain that the priests of the Lord over all the world are to take their law from monsters of guilt like these—men branded with ignominy, illiterate men, and ignorant alike of things human and divine? If, holy fathers, we be bound to weigh in the balance the lives, the morals, the attainments of the meanest candidate for the sacerdotal office, how much more ought we to look to the fitness of him who aspires to be the lord and master of all priests? Yet how would it fare with us if it should happen that the man the most deficient in all these virtues, one so abject as to fill the lowest place among the priesthood, should be chosen to fill the highest place of all? What would you say of such an one when you beheld him sitting upon the throne glittering in purple and gold? Must he not be the 'Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as God?' Verily, such an one lacketh both wisdom and charity; he standeth in the temple as an image, as an idol, from which as from dead marble you would seek counsel."

ARNULF ON THE GUILT OF THE CHURCH.

[1] Luitprand, in Migne, tom. 136, 898–910.

[2] So called because he was a layman when elected pope, and was hurried through the various ministerial orders.

A word like this from out of the very heart of the Church of the time is of infinite value. It proves that even then there were thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and that the infamies of the papacy were weakening its hold on mankind. There must come a Hildebrand to drive the guilty out of the house of God. For in this same speech the best conscience of the Gallican Church speaks again:

"But the Church of God is not subject to a wicked pope, nor even absolutely, on all occasions, to a good one. Let us rather in our difficulties resort to our brethren of Belgium and Germany than to that city, where all things are venal, where judgment and justice are bartered for gold. Let us imitate the great Church of Africa, which, in reply to the pretensions of the Roman pontiff, deemed it inconceivable that the Lord should have invested any one person with his own plenary prerogative of judicature and yet have denied it to the great congregation of his priests assembled in council in different parts of the world. If it be true, as we are informed by common report, that there is in Rome scarcely a man acquainted with letters—without which, as it is written, one may scarcely be a doorkeeper in the house of God—with what face may he who hath himself learnt nothing set himself up for a teacher of others? In the simple priest ignorance is bad enough; but in the high priest of Rome, in him to whom it is given to pass in review the faith, the lives, the morals, the discipline of the whole body of the priesthood, yea, of the universal Church, ignorance is in nowise to be tolerated. Why should he not be subject in judgment to those who, though lowest in place, are his superiors in virtue and wisdom? Yea, not even he, the prince of apostles, declined the rebuke of Paul, through him inferior in place; and saith the great Pope Gregory, 'If a bishop be in fault, I know not any such who is not subject to the holy see; but if faultless, let everyone understand that he is the equal of the Roman pontiff himself, and as well qualified as he to give judgment in any matter.'" He refers to Rome having lost her prestige—the "mistress of Churches and nations deserted by God and man." The East has fallen away from her, and even the "people of inner Spain take no heed to her decrees." "By all this it is manifest that the power of Rome is shaken; religion hath taken flight from her, and the name of God is dishonored and insulted with impunity. For a supreme pontiff [John XII] hath openly defied God and deserted his worship. Who then shall adhere to Rome when Rome deserts herself—when she will neither accept counsel nor impart it to others?"[1]

[1] Mansi, Conc., xix, 107; Pertz, Mon. Ger., v, 658; Schaff, iv, 290–292; Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, iii, 540–546.

We must remember that it was a visit to Rome which disenchanted Martin Luther. But God had yet more work for Rome.

A phase of this disreputable history has been pressed home against Rome by Littledale. He quotes the canon law concerning simony, force, and other crimes as invalidating ecclesiastical relations, and he draws the conclusion that during the terrible years of the Pornocracy not one pope was rightly constituted, not one of their acts was canonical, and that the whole Petrine succession and privilege, if they ever existed, lapsed. There is not the least doubt that on Roman Catholic principles his contention is perfectly sound. Popes were murdered by one faction, and others were intruded into their places, often at the bidding of a set of unscrupulous courtesans. Baronius himself declares that a whole series of these popes down to 963, when the emperor Otho I interfered to save the Church, were false pontiffs, and a canonist must draw the conclusion that at the end of this sixty years' anarchy not a single clerical elector in Rome was qualified to vote. Another series of intruded popes were those who reigned from 1012 to 1046. In 1046 Gregory VI was deposed for simony by the council of Sutri. The Germans charged the local Roman clergy as being almost to a man either illiterate, or simoniac, or immoral. In 1059 a great change was introduced in the mode of election, the right of voting being transferred to a college of cardinals. In 1179 it was enacted that two thirds were sufficient for an election, although it was not until 1181 that the new regulation was carried out.[1] The Catholics reply to Littledale that the Church is greater than the canon law, and that she lives not in virtue of her obedience to the canons, but in virtue of her divine life and calling. But until the rise of Hildebrand it seemed as if St. Peter had abandoned the ship, and that the pirates were in full charge.

[1] Legal Flaws in the Later Papacy, in Ch. Quar. Rev., July, 1884, 453–457.

LITERATURE: HILDEBRAND.

Gregory VII's Epistles. Paris, 1877. The early biographies by Benno, Bruno, and others will be found in the Monumenta Germanica. See Andrews, Institutes of General Hist., p. 158.

1. Voigt, J. Hildebrand als Papst Gregor VII und sein Zeitalter. 1815, 2d ed. rev., 1846. Transl. into French, with Introd. and notes by Jäger, 1834; 4th ed., 1854.
2. Bowden, J. W. The Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII. Lond., 1840. Founded on Voigt. On Bowden, see Newman, Essays, ii, 318, 319.
3. Söltl, J. M. Gregor der Siebente. Leipz., 1847.
4. Stephen, Sir James. Hildebrand, in Essays in Eccl. Biography. Lond., 1849; 2d ed., 1850; 4th ed., 1860; 5th ed., 1891.
5. Floto, H. Kaiser Heinrich der Vierte und sein Zeitalter. 2 vols., 1855–56.
6. Helfenstein, Jac. Gregors VII Bestrebungen nach den Streitschriften seiner Zeit. Frankf., 1856.
7. Gfrörer, A. F. Papst Gregor VII und sein Zeitalter. 7 vols. Schaffh., 1859–61.
8. Greenwood, T. Cathedra Petri, vol. iv, pp. 139–609. Lond., 1861.
9. Baxmann, R. Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I auf Gregor VII. Elberf., 1868–9.
10. Newman, J. H. The Reformation of the Seventh Century, in Essays, Critical and Hist., vol. ii, pp. 249–335. 2 vols. Lond., 1871; 8th ed., 1888. Founded on Bowden, originally written in 1841.
11. Villemain, A. F. Hist. de Grégoire VII. Paris, 1873; transl. by J. B. Brockley, Lond., 1874, 2 vols.
12. Langeron, Edouard. Grégoire VII et les origines de la politique ultramontane. 1874.
13. Meltzer, O. Gregor VII und die Bischofswahlen. Dresden, 1876.
14. Giesebrecht, W. Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit. 4th ed., Braunschw., 1876 (vol. iii).
15. Martens, W. Die Besetzung des päpstlichen Stuhls unter den Kaisern Heinrich III und Heinrich IV. Freiburg i. B., 1887.
16. Stephens, W. R. W. Hildebrand and his Times. Lond. and N. Y., 1888. See Starbuck, in Andover Rev., Dec., 1889, p. 673.
17. Mirbt, C. Die Wahl Gregors VII. Marburg, 1892. Also other valuable monographs by Mirbt: Die Absetzung Heinrich IV durch Gregor VII, in der Publicistik der gregorianischen Kirchenstreits. Leipz., 1888.
18. Langen, J. Gesch. der römischen Kirche von Gregor VII bis Innocenz III. Bonn, 1893.
19. Vincent, M. R. The Age of Hildebrand. N. Y., 1896. See J. W. Thompson in the Dial, May 16, 1896, p. 309. This latest and admirable history gives a full bibliography, pp. xv–xxii.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

HILDEBRAND.

To cleanse the Augean stables of the Church needed a reformer of heroic mold. He was provided in Hildebrand. But he had forerunners. One of these was Leo IX, who ruled from 1049 to 1054. When offered the papacy by the emperor Henry III he declined to receive the honor, except on the condition of his election by the Roman people.[1] When Bruno of Toul was on his way to Rome he visited the monastery of Clugny, and took with him from there the monk Hildebrand, who became his right-hand man in all his struggles. Leo sought to fill up the ideal of Nicholas I and restore the Church to its pure foundations. He first called for a synod at Rheims, where he boldly attacked the crime of simony, and tried to bring the French clergy to some realization of their duties. He then passed over into Germany, and at Mainz summoned the German bishops, to be chastised for their immoralities. Italy came next. The reforming zeal of Leo was making him immensely popular with the people and the Cluniac monks. It was the monastery of Clugny that furnished the source for all the regenerating influences which visited the Roman Church at that dark time. Emerton says: "Already we discern traces of that alliance of the papacy with great popular movements which is the clew to its policy for centuries. Its enemies were kings and secular prelates, its friends were the struggling masses of the cities now first beginning to feel themselves aroused to a sense of political unity and a consciousness of undeveloped strength."[2]

LEO IX AS REFORMER.

Leo was a pope of great energy. He traveled widely, convening synods, rebuking vice, and awakening in the people an interest in all the movements of the Church. At one time he thought of deposing every priest and bishop who had obtained his benefice by simony. But this he had to abandon, as it would have struck more than two thirds of the officers of the Church. His last days were troubled. The Normans had taken possession of Benevento,

[1] The tradition that Leo declined to receive the papacy except his election was confirmed by the clergy and people of Rome has been called in question by Martens, Die Besetzung des päpstlichen Stuhles unter den Kaisern Heinrich III und IV. Freiburg in B., 1887. [2] Mediæval Europe, pp. 208, 209.

and, as the emperor refused to march against them, this brave pope, daunted at nothing, raised an army and tried to drive them out. But he was defeated, taken prisoner, and held captive at Benevento, from June 23, 1053, to March 12, 1054. On his death a few days after his release the people desired to elect his great deacon, Hildebrand, but this the latter declined.

THE POWERFUL HILDEBRAND.

During the reigns of the successors of Leo the most powerful man in Rome was Hildebrand. But it was not until 1073 that the people succeeded in getting him elected, and then only at the tumultuous demand of the mob. Gregory VII, the son of a carpenter, was born at Siena, about 1015. He was educated in monasteries at Rome and Clugny. After leaving Clugny he became the leading spirit in ecclesiastical affairs, going on important embassies, securing the election of popes whom he favored, and stimulating the whole life of the Church. His own election was canonically invalid. This was recognized by many even at the time. The emperor charged him with being an invader of the Church; the bishops accused him of having seized the government of the Church against law and order; and Egilbert, in 1080, denied the pope's authority on the ground that he invaded the apostolic chair. Later writers expanded and defined these charges. In 1892 Mirbt sifted all the evidence and reached the following conclusions:[1] 1. On the charges of corruption, intimidation, and unscrupulous ambition Gregory must be acquitted. And if the assent of the emperor was wanting before the election, it was given before the consecration. 2. The electoral law of 1059, however, was disregarded; the cardinals were excluded, and the proceedings were tumultuous. The election, therefore, was illegal and void. But if Gregory was not by law a pope, no one was in fact more pope than he. Providence does not care for legal technicalities.

Gregory bent himself to effect two things—the moral reformation of the clergy and the independence of the Church. There was, first, the determination to enforce and enlarge the law respecting clerical celibacy. As early as the fourth century the popes had tried to bring the three higher orders of clergy under the rules of celibacy, but always with poor success. Even when legal marriages were no longer allowed, the clergy kept women in their houses, as do Italian priests to-day. A tax called *colligium* was really a license to keep concubines. By the laws of France and Castile the sons of priests were empowered to inherit. In Milan, in the middle of the eleventh century, all priests and deacons were married. Hadrian II

[1] Die Wahl Gregors VII, Marburg, 1892. See C. A. Scott, in Crit. Rev., iv, 305.

was married before he became pope, and Benedict IX resigned the papal chair in order to marry.[1] Rutherius, an Italian bishop in 966, said that all his clergy were married, and that if he were to enforce the law only boys would be left in the Church, and even they would be ejected under the rule that bastards were ineligible to sacred offices.[2] Gregory determined so far as possible to purify the priesthood from adultery as well as to make it independent of all earthly ties. In this no doubt he was led by the loftiest motives. To him it seemed necessary for the very salvation of the Church. The legalizing of marriage would bring in the hereditary transmission of benefices, and that would transform the Church into a close corporation, a separate caste of individual proprietors. Hence there could be no fresh infusion of life and vigor from the ranks of the common people, whence he himself sprang. The Church was the only career open to the peasant. The clergy must be kept close to the Church and separate from the world. Lea says: "It is easy to see how the churchman could have selected matrimonial alliances of the most politic and aggrandizing character; and as possession of property and hereditary transmission of benefices would have necessarily followed in the permission to marry, an ecclesiastical caste, combining temporal and spiritual power in the most dangerous excess, would have repeated in Europe the distinctions between the Brahman and Sudra of India. The perpetual admission of self-made men into the hierarchy, which distinguished the Church even in times of the most aristocratic feudalism, was for ages the only practical recognition of the equality of man, and was one of the most powerful causes at work during the Middle Ages to render national liberty eventually possible with advancing civilization. Looking therefore upon the Church as an instrumentality to effect certain beneficent results in the cause of human improvement, we may regard celibacy as a necessary element of sacerdotalism, the abolition of which would have required the entire destruction of the papal system and the fundamental reconstruction of ecclesiastical institutions."[3]

GREGORY ENFORCING CELIBACY.

In March, 1074, Gregory held his first synod, which ordered that henceforth no one should be admitted to orders without a vow of celibacy, and renewed the legislation of Nicholas II that people must not attend the ministrations of those whose lives were a violation of this rule. The only difference here between Gregory

[1] Vincent, The Age of Hildebrand, N. Y., 1896, pp. 25, 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[3] Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church, 2d ed., rev. and enl., p. 226.

and previous popes was his determination that these laws should no longer remain a dead letter. He sent the canons to all the bishops of Europe, with instructions to see that they were obeyed, and he dispatched legates in every direction to see that the rules were carried out. Infinite suffering, confusion, and hardship were the result. Many of the clergy utterly refused to comply. Then Gregory called on the princes and laymen to expel the clergy from their positions and to yield them no obedience. Many of the princes were only too glad to obey this decree to the letter. Contemporary writers describe the scene of anguish that followed. Society seemed dissolved; friend betrayed friend; faith and truth were despised; of the married priests some wandered off in hopeless exile; others were mutilated, and were carried around to exhibit their shame and misery; others were murdered. Meanwhile the offices of religion were neglected, and the land was virtually under the horrors of an interdict.[1] The princes and laymen were glad to escape the jurisdiction of their priests, and to seize their property. Sometimes the conflict raged with bloodshed and murder, complicated as it was with the internal dissensions of the empire and the revolt of the princes against the emperor. With this war against concubinage was waged also one against simony. The clergy were guilty of both, and it must be confessed that although Hildebrand did not entirely succeed in his moral reforms he accomplished large results in enforcing celibacy as a universal law and in checking some outrageous abuses. At any rate the whole machinery of the Church was turned with relentless moral earnestness upon the real or imaginary sins of the clergy.

SIMONY PUNISHED.

Gregory's next work was to free the Church from all bondage to the State, or rather to bring the State into bondage to the Church. The great law promulgated by Christ, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," in which for the first time in history spiritual things are relegated to the spiritual society and temporal things to the State, each to do its own work in mutual friendliness but in entire independence, was unknown in the Middle Ages. Church and State were one in the Roman empire, and in the Christian Roman empire the same condition of things largely prevailed. It came to pass that bishops were feudal lords ruling over men and territories of their own, and the State could not entirely lose its hold upon them. So large were the temporal possessions of the clergy that one fifth of France and one third of Germany were in their hands. They had become

[1] Martene et Durand, Thesaur., i, 230, 231; Sigebert, Gemblac., ann. 1074; Lea, pp. 234, 235.

invested with the rights of duke and count, and, subject only to the kings, were suzerains over the people dwelling on their lands.[1] One of the symbols of their loyalty to the king was the receiving from him on their installation into their spiritual office a pastoral staff or crosier and a ring placed upon the finger. This, called investiture, occasioned bitter controversy in the Middle Ages. The suzerains claimed that in this they did not grant any spiritual powers, but simply possession of the temporalities of the office, and, since the clergy were often temporal lords, it would not be fair or safe to leave them without responsibility to the State. But Gregory was determined to do away with this custom, as interfering with the independence and spirituality of the Church, and also as often leading to simony. In 1075 he held a synod in Rome which determined that any ecclesiastic who should accept office from the hands of a layman incurred the penalty of deposition, while the layman should be excommunicated.

INVESTITURE.

Now began that celebrated contest between the emperor and the pope which forms one of the most thrilling incidents of history. It was inevitable that between the two absolutisms a conflict should arise. In fact, it is not yet ended. The Syllabus of 1864 is a document after Hildebrand's own heart. The divine right of kings is a chimera of yesterday, and the secular governments have long since adopted, though unwillingly, popular representation and constitutional safeguards. But the divine right of the pope is a living tradition, and the supremacy of the Church over all human governments is a fundamental principle of Roman Catholicism. This supremacy found its germ in Augustine's City of God, and was unfolded and expanded to their hearts' content by the popes and canonists of the Middle Ages. Innocent III, who ruled from 1198 to 1216, sums up this magnificent conception in these words: "The Creator has fixed in the firmament of the Church universal two dignities. The greater, the papacy, governs souls as the sun by day. The less, the empire, governs bodies as the moon by night." Gregory himself had a true democratic contempt of kings.

CONTEST BETWEEN GREGORY AND HENRY IV.

"Who can deny," says Gregory, "that kings and dukes came into existence because that, knowing not God, by robberies and perfidy and murder, in a word, by the commission of every crime under the inspiration of the devil, the prince of this world, they dared, in their blind passion and intolerable pride, to set up as masters over men who were created their equals? And when they seek to make the priests of God bow down to them, to whom can

[1] See Andrews, Institutes of General History, p. 159.

they better be compared than to the devil himself, the father of all the children of pride, who, when he tried to tempt the Sovereign Pontiff, the Chief of all priests, the Son of God himself, said, when he showed him all the kingdoms of the earth, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me?' Can there be any doubt that the priests of Jesus Christ are the fathers and masters of kings and princes and of all the faithful? Shall not a dignity created by men, in an age when they knew not God, be under submission to that which the providence of Almighty God himself has created for his glory and bestowed on the world in his mercy? His Son, whom we believe with undoubting faith to be God and man, who is also the Sovereign Priest, the head of all priests, seated at the right hand of his Father, ever making intercession for us, despised that worldly royalty on account of which those of our day are so puffed up, and took upon him of his own will the priesthood of the cross!"[1]

Hildebrand entered upon this controversy with the prestige of his long association with popes, having been secretary of state to five different popes. He had behind him the glorious memories of Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Nicholas I, as well as the new life brought to the papacy by the German popes under the emperor, Henry III. Besides, Italy hated the empire, and the pope was favored by the Norman and Tuscan principalities, and Henry had to face disunion and rebellion among his own princes. But, more important still, Hildebrand was upheld by zeal, ignorant though it was, for Christ and his Church, and he appealed to great universal principles, which met a response in the conscience of the most devout and learned spirits of his time.[2] On the other hand, Henry had with him the anti-reform party among the clergy, including many of the great bishops of Germany and many of the powerful nobles of Rome and Lombardy. "The same great Roman families who had cursed Henry III allied themselves ardently with his son to annihilate Hildebrand."

The initiative was taken by Gregory. When Henry IV appointed a bishop to a vacant see of Milan in 1071–3 Gregory appointed another. In 1075 the pope sent his decree concerning investitures to Henry, in which also he excommunicated some of Henry's supposed simoniac bishops. The emperor paid no attention to this. Then Gregory summoned Henry to answer before him in a synod to be held at Rome February 22, 1076, for his crimes and misdemeanors. The king answered this with a counter synod at

[1] Quoted by Villemain, Gregory VII, ii, 64.

[2] Andrews, Institutes, p. 157.

Worms, January 24, 1076, which solemnly deposed the pope: "Let another ascend the chair of St. Peter, who will not cloak violence with religion, for I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops, say unto you, Get down, get down." The dauntless pope paid the king in his own coin. He simply placed Henry under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance until he should repent: "Trusting to this [the mediatorship, or binding and loosing power intrusted to him by God], I, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, interdict to King Henry, son of Emperor Henry, the government of the entire German and Italian realm. Because with unheard-of pride he hath lifted himself against the Church, I absolve all Christians from the bond of their oath to him, and forbid them to serve him any longer as king."[1] Unfortunately for Henry, some of the chief princes of his realm were in conflict with him, and they at once withdrew their allegiance, and told Henry he must await the decision of the diet of Augsburg, February 2, 1077, to which the whole matter was referred. They did not wait for this, but at the diet of Tribur, October, 1076, they suspended him from all kingly functions and told him that he would be deposed by February 25 unless he had previously been absolved by the pope. This stunned Henry for the moment. He feared to trust himself to a diet of the empire, and resolved to go to the pope personally and, with his wife and young son, to throw himself on his mercy. He passed Mount Cenis in a most terrible winter. The queen and her lady companions and the children were placed in skins, and so drawn down the mountain by the guides.[2] He found the pope the guest of Princess Mathilde at her castle of Canossa. There he waited in penitent's garb for three days, January 25–27, 1077,[3] when he was received and given a conditional absolution, all the points contended for by the pope being conceded.

HENRY A PENITENT AT CANOSSA.

Concerning this celebrated humiliation at Canossa the common representation gives a picture of a half-naked man "standing in the snow, fasting and shivering in the icy wind until evening," and this for three days, a "spectacle to move all hearts save that of the representative of Jesus Christ."[4] "The rising sun," says

[1] See anathema in full in Andrews, p. 162. Many of the documents in this famous controversy, and in similar contests later, are translated in full in Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 351–437.

[2] Vincent, The Age of Hildebrand, p. 93.

[3] In January, 1877, the Protestant press throughout the world made fitting reference to this incident.

[4] Vincent, p. 95. See Duruy, p. 242; Milman, iii, 456; Bryce, p. 159.

Stephen, "found him there fasting; and there the setting sun left him stiff and cold, faint and hungry, and drowned with shame and ill-suppressed resentment."[1] This lasted three days. Villemain, who writes in a spirit friendly to Gregory, and with large quotations from contemporary documents, gives a similar picture.[2] But these brutal accessories are chiefly the creations of a vivid imagination. The real facts are that Henry did not wait three days and nights, but for a few hours each day, not in the snow, but under cover, not shivering, but warmly clad under his penitent's garb, which was simply thrown over his clothing, and that the pope's reluctance to absolve Henry was due to the fact that the matter had been referred to the diet of Augsburg. As to the penance, that was not unusual with kings, as, for instance, Otho I, Henry II, Otho III. Henry III, and St. Louis were publicly flogged.[3] But whatever the path, the end reached was the same—Henry's humiliation was complete. In his letter to the German princes, 1077, the pope himself gives the following account, which may have been unconsciously exaggerated in order to show the completeness of his triumph:

THE POPE'S DECLARATION ON HENRY'S HUMILIATION.

"The king also before entering Italy sent on to us suppliant legates, offering in all things to render satisfaction to God, to St. Peter, and to us. And he renewed his promise that, besides amending his life, he would observe all obedience if only he might merit to obtain from us the favor of absolution and the apostolic benediction. When, after long deferring this and holding frequent consultations, we had, through all the envoys who passed, severally taken him to task for his excesses, he came at length of his own accord with a few followers, showing nothing of hostility or boldness, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, having laid aside all belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. Nor did he desist from imploring with many tears the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy until he had moved all of those who were present there, and whom the report of it reached, to such pity and depth of compassion that interceding for him with many prayers and tears all wondered indeed at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart, while some actually cried out that we were exercising, not the gravity of apostolic severity, but the cruelty, as it were, of a tyrannical ferocity."

So far Gregory was victor, and this substantially he remained,

[1] Essays in Eccl. Biography, p. 40. [2] Gregory VII, ii, 112.

[3] Hefele, in Tübinger Quartalschrift, 1861; Andrews, Institutes, p. 163; J. W. Thompson, in the Dial (Chicago), May 16, 1896, p. 309.

as did his successors, until a new age readjusted the relation of Church and State. Henry came out of this experience a new man, sober and resolute. The German nobles had elected Rudolph in his stead. Henry defeated them. Gregory again put him under a ban. Henry again came into Italy, not as a penitent, but as a warrior, besieged Rome four years in succession, and established Guibert of Ravenna on the pontifical throne (1080).[1] On the approach of Robért Guiscard, the Norman Duke of Apulia, Henry returned to Germany. Gregory had fled to Salerno, where he died, May 25, 1085, with the confession of the utter sincerity of his life, moved unselfishly by profound convictions of right: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

In a fine passage Sir James Stephen expresses the aim, if not in all cases the actual result, of Hildebrand's life:

"He found the papacy dependent on the empire; he sustained her by alliances almost commensurate with the Italian peninsula. He found the papacy electoral by the Roman people and clergy; he left it electoral by a college of papal nomination. He found the emperor the virtual patron of the holy see; he wrested that power from his hand. He found the secular clergy the allies and dependents of the secular power; he converted them into the inalienable auxiliaries of his own. He found the higher ecclesiastics in servitude to the temporal sovereigns; he delivered them from their yoke to subjugate them to the Roman tiara. He found the patronage of the Church the mere desecrated spoil and merchandise of princes; he reduced it within the dominion of the supreme pontiff. He is celebrated as a reformer of the impure and profane abuses of his age; he is more justly entitled to the praise of having left the impress of his gigantic character on the history of all the ages which have succeeded him."[2]

STEPHEN'S PICTURE OF GREGORY.

While we cannot refuse the meed of our admiration to Gregory's stern moral enthusiasm, we must remember at the same time that he was fighting against Providence and against the divine order of society. Both his ideal and that of Henry were far from the Christian thought, and the means by which each sought to com-

[1] This Guibert has been made the subject of an exhaustive study by Köhncke, Wibert of Ravenna, Leipz., 1888. He maintained his part of the fight with indomitable vigor and perseverance. He kept up his contention under the popes who succeeded Gregory VII; and sometimes he was successful in holding his place in Rome against them. He died in 1100, and miracles were claimed to be wrought at his tomb. These inconvenient manifestations of Heaven's favor to an antipope were arrested by Paschal II, who dug up his body and threw it into the Tiber.

[2] Essays in Eccl. Biography, pp. 56, 57.

pass his object were selfish, tyrannical, and cruel. Gregory was right in insisting on the holiness of priests, though wrong in his ascetic conceptions of what that holiness meant. Henry was right in insisting on the civil allegiance of the clergy and of their rendering to him homage for their estates. Both were wrong in anathematizing and deposing each other and fighting each other with carnal weapons. Henry's absolutism was tempered by fear of the German princes and of the diet of the empire, and so was less dangerous to mankind than that of the pope, which, resting on an alleged divine revelation and checked by no human restraints, would have brought the world under the paralyzing fear of a perpetual reign of terror, glimpses of which we have actually seen in the sufferings of the French and German clergy and their families on the publication of Gregory's edict concerning celibacy.[1]

[1] See some excellent remarks on both aspects of the papal theocracy, in Milman, iii, 497–499.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA–FREDERICK II–INNOCENT III–LATER CONFLICTS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

THE controversy over investiture reached the usual end of a compromise. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 made the following provisions: The emperor to give up investiture with the ring and pastoral staff, to grant to the clergy the right of free elections, and to restore all the possessions of the Church of Rome which had been seized by himself or his father; on the other hand, the elections should be held in the presence of the emperor or his representative, investiture as to temporal rights might be given by the emperor by the touch of the scepter, and the bishops and other Church dignitaries should faithfully discharge all the feudal duties belonging to their place.

THE STIRRUP IN HISTORY.

The conflict between Church and State was continued through the Hohenstaufen emperors. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor 1152–90, one of the greatest names of the Middle Ages, carried on a long and fruitless conflict with Alexander III, pope from 1159 to 1181. He was also in controversy at times with Hadrian IV, an energetic and able pope (1154–59). In this connection occurred the incident of the stirrup. To show their reverence for the apostolic see it had been customary for princes when visiting Rome to act as squires to the pope. Frederick refused this service to Hadrian. This enraged the pope, who refused him the kiss of peace after the emperor had prostrated himself and kissed his foot. "Thou hast deprived me of the homage which, out of reverence for the apostles, thy predecessors paid to mine up to our days, nor will I bestow on thee the kiss of peace until thou hast satisfied me." For two days the dispute continued. But Frederick did not wish to put any unnecessary obstacles in the way of his coronation by the pope, whose firmness carried the day. When they met again the king in the presence of the whole army led the pope's horse a little way, and then held his stirrup when he dismounted.[1] This picturesque though menial homage rendered by the holy Roman emperor to the pope—a characteristic act of the Middle Ages—no doubt meant much to the pope. But, after all,

[1] Balzani, The Pope and the Hohenstaufen, pp. 35, 36.

Frederick was not inclined to yield everything. When the pope in one of his letters to him referred to his "conferring upon him the distinction of the imperial crown" and receiving "benefices" from the pope's hand—as though the crown was a feudal gift—the emperor replied in brave Teutonic style, in 1157: "The kingdom and the empire are ours by the election of the princes from God alone, who by the passion of his Son Christ subjected the world to the rule of the two necessary swords [the spiritual and the temporal]; and since the apostle Peter informed the world with his teaching, 'Fear God, honor the king,' whoever shall say that we received the imperial crown as a benefice from the lord pope contradicts the divine institutions and teaching of Peter, and shall be guilty of a lie." Rather than have such an imputation cast upon him he "would rather incur danger of death."[1] The pope hastened to assure the emperor that the offensive words, "benefice" and "we confer," were by no means to be taken in any feudal sense, but simply as implying a good deed performed on the emperor by the pope.

THE POPE YIELDING FOR THE MOMENT.

The conflict between Frederick and Alexander lasted from 1160 to 1177, and was the longest war ever waged between an emperor and a pope. Frederick espoused the cause of Victor IV, the antipope, but his contest was complicated by his enforcement of the imperial claims in Italy over against the new nationalities, republics, and municipalities which were now beginning to arise. In this conflict with the Italian cities he was beaten in the great battle of Legnano, May 29, 1176. He had to make his peace with the pope, who, as we may well suppose, was victor in the struggle.[2]

We come now to Innocent III, one of the greatest popes who has occupied the pontifical chair. In him the Hildebrandine theory reached its perfect embodiment and complete fulfillment. He, however, only carried out the work of Gregory VII, and built on his foundations. He was born at Anagni in 1160, with princely blood on both sides. His father belonged to the great family of Conti, which has given nine popes to the Roman Church. He was educated in Rome, Paris, and

CULMINATION OF HILDEBRAND'S POLICY.

[1] Henderson, Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 411–414.

[2] Freeman has thoroughly discussed the Italian wars of Frederick, and has shown how different they were from the Italian wars of Louis Napoleon and Austria. This historian calls Barbarossa the "greatest German who ever set foot on Italian soil" since Charles the Great, and says that, German as he was, he "was the elected, crowned, and anointed [by the pope] King of Italy and Emperor of the Romans, a king whose sovereignty was acknowledged in theory by all Italy, and was zealously asserted in act by a large portion of the Italian nation." Frederick the First, King of Italy, in Essays, first series, p. 257, ff.

Bologna. His promotion was rapid, though under the ascendency of the house of Orsini he was kept in the background. It was during this interval of retirement that he wrote his De Contemptu Mundi, a classic of that age, full of learning, breathing profound piety and the spirit of gloom and severity. On the death of the Orsini pope, Celestine III, he was at once and unanimously elected pope, February 22, 1198. He immediately began to make his hand felt throughout every State in Europe. He established his own power in Rome by lessening that of the prefect, who, nominated by the emperor, had represented good government, and thus the pope became the temporal ruler of Rome. Various German princes were driven from Italian soil. As guardian of the young emperor Frederick II he became the real ruler of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He interfered with the succession to the imperial crown, though his dealings with the emperor were not his most successful undertakings. He compelled the licentious Philip Augustus of France to take back his lawful wife, Ingeburga, though to do this he had to lay the country under an interdict for nine months.

In Spain and other countries Innocent interfered with equal success. He sent out the fifth Crusade, which took Constantinople, and so brought the eternal dream of a universal papal dominion perilously near to a waking reality. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was reestablished, and the Eastern rivals of his claims were reduced for a time to a nullity. He sent his soldiers against the Albigenses, and so on all hands the ground was cleared for the universal dominion of holy Church. In England it seemed as if this dominion was to become a terrible reality. At the time of a dispute over the succession to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Innocent had Stephen Langton elected—an English cardinal at Rome of great piety and learning. John would not receive him. Innocent placed the kingdom under an interdict[1] in 1208. The next year the king was excommunicated, and in 1212 the pope went to the daring length of issuing a bull deposing him from the kingdom, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and calling upon Philip to see that these fearful sentences were carried into effect. In 1213 John resigned his crown to the pope's envoy at Dover, and agreed to hold the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland as fiefs of the pope, to whom he promised to pay a thousand marks yearly:

[1] A word must be said concerning this horrible weapon of papal warfare. All the public services of religion were forbidden. The sacraments could be administered only privately and in cases of extreme necessity. The dead were thrown into ditches or buried in the field. To a superstitious age it was the last effort of ecclesiastical terrorism.

"We do offer and fully concede to God and his holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and to our mother, the holy Roman Church, and to our lord Pope Innocent and to his Catholic successors the whole kingdom of England and the whole kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the remission of our own sins and of those of our whole race, as well for the living as for the dead; and now receiving and holding them as it were a vassal from God and the Roman Church."[1]

KING JOHN OF ENGLAND AT THE POPE'S FEET.

The papacy stood at the pinnacle of its power. Professing boundless allegiance to Christ, it seemed also to have shared Satan's promise of all the kingdoms of the world. At the same time Innocent exerted his immense authority as the "guardian of public and private morality—a steady protector of the weak, and zealous in the repression of simony and the abuses of the time. He prohibited the arbitrary multiplication of the religious orders, but lent all the force of his power and influence to the remarkable spiritual movement in which the two great orders, the Franciscan and Dominican, had their origin." Milman refers to him as a "high and blameless, and in some respects wise and gentle, character, who seems to approach more nearly than any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops to the ideal light of a supreme pontiff, and in whom, if ever, may seem to be realized the churchman's highest conception of a vicar of Christ."[2]

Innocent died in July, 1216. His success, after all, was largely on the surface. There were deep undercurrents modifying and nullifying his acts. The Middle Age was far along, although, as Sabatier says, he insisted on "treating it as if it were only fifteen years old." In some matters, however, Innocent's efforts were entirely unsuccessful. This is proven by the supreme indifference to papal censures on the part of his pupil, Frederick II.

THE VERSATILE FREDERICK II.

Frederick II, emperor 1196–1250, was the marvel of his age, an enigma of history. He was the most enlightened, progressive, and liberal man of his times, tolerating Jews and Mohammedans, emancipating commerce, anticipating in this the modern principle of free trade, establishing representative government, advancing learning—himself an accomplished linguist

[1] See this interesting document in full in Stubbs, Select Charters, p. 284, and Henderson, Hist. Documents, p. 430.

[2] Hist. of Latin Christianity, v. 275. Milman devotes nearly a volume to Innocent, and he has been made the subject of elaborate monographs, as those of Hurter, 4 vols., 1834–1842; Jorry, 1853; Deutsch, 1876; Schoemer, 1882; Brischar, 1883.

and philosopher—endowing medical schools, introducing Aristotle and other Greek and Arabic philosophers into Latin literature, fostering sculpture and painting, encouraging letters, himself a pioneer in Italian poetry, forming an immense collection of animals, and himself writing a scientific treatise on falconry. He was a legislator, a connoisseur, a poet, a warrior. The popes quarreled with him. They excommunicated him. They excommunicated him because he did not go on a crusade. They excommunicated him when he did go. When he was successful and returned they excommunicated him again. But their fulminations did not make him move from his course. In one of his replies to these curses he says that the pope's temporal pretensions menace the whole of Christendom with an "unheard-of tyranny," and that instead of rolling in wealth and aspiring to secular dominion the popes ought to cultivate the simplicity and self-denial of the early Christians. His quarrels with the papacy were forced upon him by the popes, whose unerring instinct told them that he represented ideas irreconcilably opposed to theirs. Unfortunately, reverses to his arms and civil war broke his strength, already undermined by the excesses of the harem which he had established in the south of Italy, and premature death took him away before the result of his struggle with the popes was determined.[1]

[1] M. Huillard-Breholles published a magnificent collection of sources for Frederick II, 12 vols., Paris, 1852–61. Freeman has an interesting essay, The Emperor Frederick II, in Hist. Essays, 1st series, p. 29, ff. He gives a discussion of his religious position and a fine general estimate.

LITERATURE: BONIFACE VIII.

1. Rubeus, Joan. Bonifacius VIII . . . opus in duas partes divisum, altera vitam et res ab eo gestas illustrat, altera defendit. Roma, 1651. Praises Boniface as an ideal pope.
2. Baillet, Adrien. Histoire des démêlés du pape Boniface VIII avec Philippe le Bel, roi de France. Paris, 1717–18; 2d ed., 1718.
3. Hoefler, Const. Rückblicke auf Papst Bonifacius VIII und die Litteratur seiner Geschichte. In Abhandlungen der bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften. München, 1843.
4. Tosti, Luigi. Storia di Bonifazio VIII e de suoi tempi. 2 vols. Monte Casino, 1846. A glorification of Boniface.
5. Jorry, Abbé. Histoire du pape Boniface VIII (1217–1303). Plancy, 1850.
6. Drumann, Wilh. Geschichte Bonifacius VIII. 2 vols. Königsburg, 1852. Critical; from anti-Roman standpoint.
7. Christophe, J. B. Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XIVe siècle. 3 vols. Paris, 1853. Translated into German the same year.
8. Gregorovius, Ferd. Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter: vom V bis zum XVI Jahrhundert. 8 vols. 1859–72; 4th ed., 4 vols., Leipz., 1886–92. English translation, History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, by Annie Hamilton, 3 vols., Lond., 1894–96. Not yet complete.
9. Bontaric, Edg. La France sous Philippe le Bel. Paris, 1861. Important.
10. Chantrel, J. Boniface VIII et son temps. Paris, 1862; 2d ed., 1866.
11. Hergenroether, J. Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat. 2d ed., Freiburg i. B., 1873. Abtheilung ii, p. 319, ff. An apology for Boniface's treatment of Philip IV.
12. Digard, G. Faucon, G. and Thomas. Les Registres de Boniface VIII aprés des manuscrits originaux. Paris, 1884.
13. Campbell, A. D. Causes of the Failure of the Papal Assumptions of Boniface VIII. In Presbyterian and Reformed Review, July, 1893, pp. 429, ff.
14. On the bull Unam Sanctam, see Berchtold, Die Bulle Unam Sanctam, München, 1887, and Funk, in Theol. Quartalschrift, xxii, 640, ff.

EUROPE


EUROPE
AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
HOUSE OF ANJOU
HOUSE OF ARAGON
HOUSE OF HABSBURG
HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG
THE HEAVY RED LINE SHOWS THE BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE
THE ELECTORATES OF THE EMPIRE ARE UNDERLINED THUS
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF BOSNIA
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
BURGUNDY
DUCHY OF MILAN
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
STATES OF THE CHURCH
CATALONIA
BALEARIC ISLES
SARDINIA
CORSICA
GRANADA
SULTANATE OF FEZ AND MOROCCO
SULTANATE OF TELEMSEN
SULTANATE OF TUNIS


SWEDEN
PRINCIPALITY AND REPUBLIC OF NOVGOROD
GRAND DUCHY OF MOSCOW
VIATKA
LIVONIA
WHITE RUSSIA
BLACK RUSSIA
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE
DOMINIONS OF POLAND
MOLDAVIA
CRIMEA
CIRCASSIANS
KINGDOM OF GEORGIA
WALACHIA
TURKISH OR OSMANLI EMPIRE
EMPIRE OF TAMERLANE
DUCHY OF NAXOS
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
MAMELUKES
EMPIRE OF THE CIRCASSIAN MAMELUKES

CHAPTER XL

BONIFACE VIII—THE LAST GREAT POPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE COLLAPSE OF HIS COLOSSAL SCHEME.

THE chief feature of the history of the papacy from the death of Innocent III, 1216, to the succession of Boniface VIII, 1294, was the breaking of the power of the empire. The great Frederick went down, says Creighton, before the inflexible determination and consummate political ability of Gregory IX and Innocent IV. The spiritual ideal was lost. The popes emulated the rôle of kings, and strained every nerve to become arbiters in matters secular. To break the empire they introduced Charles of Anjou as King of Sicily. But sweet are the revenges of history. The "Angevin influence became superior to that of the papacy, and French popes were elected that they might carry out the wishes of the Sicilian king."[1] The end was the enslavement of the Roman Church to France. Then the taxation necessary to keep up the papal court, the remorseless abandonment of popular rights, of the rights of the clergy, of the rights of the cities, anything in order to keep up this rôle of universal sway, alienated both the clergy and the people from the papal government, and all tended toward that loosening the bonds of the old order which is characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which was the prelude to the new birth of the Church at the Reformation.

The abdication of poor Celestine V, 1294, was the symbol of the complete passing of the religious idea of the papacy. Henceforth the papacy must take its place as a political institution. Celestine was an aged monk of Abruzzi, who had finally been chosen to conciliate the factions. But it was soon evident that piety was a poor substitute for statecraft in those seething waters. Good Peter of Murrone, therefore, was induced to abdicate, and Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni (Boniface VIII), an able, astute, cruel, and ambitious politician, arose in his place. He signalized his accession by two needless acts of oppression—the imprisonment of the late pope, which soon caused his death, and the destruction, so far as he could accomplish it, of the powerful family of the Colonnas. This was done with a cruelty

WANE OF RELIGIOUS IDEA OF THE PAPACY.

[1] History of the Papacy during the Reformation, 1, 25.

and lack of good faith characteristic of a man thoroughly bent on accomplishing his own purposes. But the last act rebounded to his hurt.

Boniface mounted at once to the full conception of the Hildebrandine papacy. With all his astuteness he could not see the drift of the times, but with a boundless self-confidence he threw himself against the tide. He had the boldness to attempt to carry out thoroughly the mediæval Roman Catholic doctrine of Church and State as defined by St. Thomas Aquinas.[1] There was nothing peculiar in Boniface's notions. He stood squarely on the platform of the best theologians of his time.[2] They all made the State subordinate to the Church, over both of which the pope ruled as God's vicegerent on earth, and to whom the obedience of every living soul was due. Boniface had the courage to make the Hildebrandine ideal a living force in the national and international complications of his time. He first interfered in the war between Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, two of the most rapacious, ambitious, and unscrupulous sovereigns in all history. He commanded a truce. The kings paid no attention to him. The financial necessities created by this and other wars made increased taxation necessary. Both kings levied on the vast clerical wealth of their kingdoms. This sacrilegious infraction of the wealth of God's treasury, as Boniface deemed it, could not be tolerated. He therefore issued his bull, *Clericis laicos*, February 25, 1296, in which he decreed that whoever should levy a tax of any kind on clerical persons, or whoever of the clergy should pay a tax, would be excommunicated.[3] To this declaration Edward made answer, "No taxation, no protection." The English clergy were in a desperate strait. Finally, they proposed this compromise: Let a fifth part of their revenue be set apart in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. "In this way," says Milman, "the papal prohibition was eluded, and the king remaining judge of the necessity cared not, provided he obtained the money."[4] Then the war was at hand, and Edward could not afford to alienate an influential portion of his subjects. He confirmed the Great Charter, which acknowledged that the

BONIFACE DEFYING ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

[1] See St. Thomas Aq., Regimine principum; Baumann, Die Staatslehre des heil. Thomas von Aquino, Leipz., 1872; Creighton, i, 29, 30.

[2] Alzog, ii, 624, 625.

[3] See this bull in Rymer, Fœdera, 2d ed., 1816, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 836; Henderson, Hist. Documents, p. 432.

[4] Hist. Latin Chris., vi, 262.

subject could not be taxed without his consent. Thus the clergy sheltered themselves under the common provision of justice, and took their place with all the people on the platform of general right. In the end this was a victory neither for kingly absolutism nor for clerical immunities.

In France Boniface was also thwarted. Even under the pious king St. Louis an ordinance was passed (1268) securing freedom of election and appointment to churches, and forbidding any tax levied by the popes without the consent of the king and the French clergy.[1] In this case the haughty Philip the Fair replied (1296) by forbidding the exportation of gold and silver in any form or of any article of value, and forbidding also any foreign trading in the land. The pope replied in a long letter, expostulating, conceding, and flattering, yet maintaining inviolate his own ground. The king answered in a document of great power. The laity were as much "the Church" as the clergy. The "liberty" of which the pope spoke so much belonged to the layman as well as the ecclesiastic. "Did Christ die and rise again for the clergy alone?" The liberties which had been granted to the pope "could not take away the rights of kings to provide with the advice of their parliament all things necessary for the defense of the realm, according to the eternal rule: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. All alike, clerks and laymen, nobles and subjects, are bound to a common defense." Besides, the clergy have unbounded license to "lavish any expenditure on their dress, their horses, their assemblies, their banquets, their stage players, and all other pomps and pleasures. What sane man would forbid, under the sentence of anathema, that the clergy, crammed, fattened, swollen by the devotion of princes, should assist the same princes by aid and subsidies against the persecution of their foes?" This is treason. "We, like our forefathers, have ever paid due reverence to God, to his Catholic Church, toward his ministers, but we fear not the unjust and immeasurable threats of man."[2]

This document is a high-water mark in history. It gives notice of a new profession, the lawyers, who were able to contest the supremacy of the clergy on their own ground. It begins with the far-reaching proposition that the temporal power, standing by itself as by divine right, is more ancient than the spiritual, and that "before there were ecclesiastics in the world the kings of France had supreme guardianship of the realm." But the withdrawal of Boniface in this quarrel must not be considered an abandonment of his

[1] Traitez des Droits et Libertez de l'Église Gallicane, i, 46.

[2] See Milman, vi, 266–275.

principles. He issued another bull, in which he virtually conceded the full right of the king to tax his ecclesiastical feudatories, provided "there was no exaction, only a friendly and gentle requisition from the king's courts." He also showed his friendship to France by canonizing Louis IX. At the close of the war between England and France the matter in dispute was referred to the mediation of Boniface, but only as a private man, not as pope.

BONIFACE'S IGNORANCE OF HIS AGE.

So far the lofty scheme of Boniface—the kingdoms of this world as the suzerainty of the pope—did not seem to carry well. Great forces, which he did not have the penetration to measure, were working against him. One of these was the idea of the nation. France, England, Germany, were arising to a national consciousness. They were becoming powerful. The birth of parliaments, the discussion of civil questions, and the exigency of national and political affairs, were releasing the hold of the Church on the State. Then there was the coming of the lawyer to the front. This class opposed law to law, the decree of the emperor to the decree of the pope. It also cited precedent, canons, and laws, and showed how, under both the pagan and Christian emperors, the ecclesiastical power was never allowed to interfere with state affairs. Their influence was most weighty in these conflicts. Boniface did not understand his age, and so he broke himself against it. He was king as well as pope. At his installation two kings led his horse by the bridle, and waited upon him at the table, and in his great centennial festival of 1300 he appeared on one day with the pontifical robe and tiara and on the next day with the imperial mantle and crown.

KING EDWARD AND SCOTLAND.

The vaulting ambition of Edward was intent on attaching Scotland to his crown. The Scots appealed to the pope as their acknowledged liege lord. Scotland, they said, is a fief of the Church of Rome. Boniface responded favorably, and forbade Edward to invade the northern kingdom. His bull, June 27, 1299, is a clear exposition of the full right of the pope to the disposal of Scotland, and contains a peremptory demand upon Edward to surrender his hold there. To meet this Edward summoned a parliament at Lincoln (1301). It was one of the most important assemblies ever held on English soil. It gave the formal answer of the English nation to the lofty claims of Rome. It said the pretensions advanced by the pope were unheard of; that England had always the overlordship of Scotland; that Scotland was never under feudal bonds to the Church; that the King of England is in no way amenable to the pope for his rights over Scotland; that he cannot plead before the court of Rome; that to do so

would be an infringement on the ancient liberties and land of the realm, "to the maintenance of which we are bound by a solemn oath, and which by God's grace we will maintain to the utmost of our power, and with our whole strength."[1] Nothing came of this controversy. Edward proceeded, when ready, to the conquest of Scotland.

We come now to the most famous controversy between Church and State known in the history of the world. It was the last time that these two powers ever met in the open field to fight to a finish. "It was the strife," says Milman, "of the two proudest, hardest, and least conciliatory of men in defense of the two most stubbornly irreconcilable principles which could be brought into collision, with everything to exasperate, nothing to avert, to break, or to mitigate the shock."[2] The result of such an unnatural conflict on the eve of the modern era could not be otherwise than it was. The pope had various grievances because of Philip's intrusion into the affairs of the Church, his sequestration of Church revenues, and other high-handed acts. He sent his legate to demand justice, but Philip imprisoned him. This led to the issue of bull after bull—several the same year. These were summed up in a famous brief (1300) drawn up probably by some papal ecclesiastic to give to the French people a concise statement of the papal claims. It reads as follows:

"Fear God and observe his commandments. We wish you to know that in temporals and spirituals you are subject to us. The collation of benefices and prebends nowise belongs to you, and if you have the custody of any vacancies you must reserve the fruits of those for the successors. We revoke and declare null any collation or appointment you have made. Whoever believes otherwise is a heretic."[3]

In the larger bull, *Ausculta fili*, he gave a full list of grievances of the French people and Church against the tyrannies of Philip, and a declaration of the absolute supremacy of the pope in all matters: "God has placed us, unworthy though we be, over kings and kingdoms, in order that we shall root out, destroy, disperse, edify, and plant in his name and by his doctrine. Do not allow yourself to think that you have no superior, that you are not subject to the hierarch of the celestial hierarchy. Who-

THE BULL, AUSCULTA FILI.

[1] See this answer in Rymer, Fœdera, under February 12, 1301.

[2] Hist. Latin Chris., vi, 300.

[3] Drumann, in his Geschichte des Bonifacius, Königsb., 1852, and other historians have examined the genuineness of this short bull, *Deum time*. They are of the opinion that it is not from the pen of the pope, but a contemporary document, a condensation for popular purposes of the many bulls of that prolific year in papal documents.

ever thinks this is a madman ; whoever supports him in this belief is a heretic." It is unfortunate that the pope's perfectly just arraignment of Philip for his oppressive administration was mixed up with his claims to be the universal arbiter of the destinies of men and nations. It robbed that arraignment of its tremendous moral power.

THE BULL UNAM SANCTAM.

The king answered in an assembly of the States General held in the Church of Notre Dame, April 10, 1302, in which, for the first time in France, representatives from the common people sat in parliament. This first truly national expression of the French mind gave a decided negative to the papal claim : "To you, most noble princes, to you, our lord Philip, the people of your kingdom present this entreaty and demand, that you shall preserve the sovereign freedom of this State, which will not permit you to recognize as your sovereign on earth, in your temporal affairs, any other than God."[1] The pope met the charge by summoning the French clergy to a council in Rome. The king threatened them with confiscation of goods and imprisonment if they obeyed. Forty-five prelates, however, went to Rome. From this consistory emanated the most famous bull which ever bore the signature of the Pope of Rome—the bull *Unam Sanctam*, November 18, 1302. Much in this bull was old ; it nevertheless for the first time defines with unmistakable precision the absolute supremacy of the pope over all human things. After defining the unity of the Church under the one Lord and Peter and his successors, it says :

"Both swords, the spiritual and the material, therefore, are in the power of the Church ; the one indeed to be wielded for the Church, the other by the Church ; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and knights, but at the will and sufferance of the priest. One sword, moreover, ought to be under the other, and the temporal authority to be subjected to the spiritual. Spiritual things excel temporal. The prophecy of Jeremiah is verified : See, I have set thee over the nation and over the kingdoms. Therefore if the earthly power err it shall be judged by the spiritual power ; but if the lesser spiritual power err, by the greater. But if the greatest it can be judged by God alone, not by man, the apostle bearing witness : A spiritual man judges all things, but himself is judged by no one. This authority rests back on

[1] See Duruy, Middle Ages, pp. 375–379. It is sometimes said (Dupuy, Preuves, p. 59, Milman, vi, 318) that Philip had the bull *Ausculta Fili* publicly burned in Paris, thus anticipating Luther. But some recent historians now consider this doubtful. See note by G. B. Adams, in Duruy, p. 377.

Christ's word to Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind.' Whoever resists this power thus ordained of God resists the ordination of God, unless he makes believe, like the Manichæan, that there are two beginnings. This we consider false and heretical, since by the testimony of Moses, not 'in the beginnings,' but 'in the beginning,' God created the heavens and the earth.' Indeed, we declare, announce, and define, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."[2]

Recent controversies over papal infallibility have made this bull assume a place of vast importance. Berchtold has made it the subject of a careful study.[3] He says that every good Catholic must receive it as an article of faith. It is throughout a dogmatic statement, and hence all hope of a permanent peace between the modern State and the Catholic Church must be given up. On the principles which govern infallible decisions, however, this bull takes its place among ordinary papal utterances, such as letters, bulls, encyclicals, and the like. The pope did not represent the universal Church in this decision. It emanated from a consistory of a few French prelates, nor was any attempt made to canvass the universal episcopate to get their witness to apostolic tradition in their sees. And, as Alzog says,[4] it was intended only for France. The bull in this respect differed in no wise from the numerous papal letters which this French controversy called out. Further, it made no pretense to be given under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to solemnly define and set at rest any disputed dogma. In fact, there was no difference of opinion among mediæval Catholic theologians on the points mentioned in the bull. The absolute supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal was the first principle of their faith. The bull itself contains quotations and verbal echoes of statements by eminent theologians like St. Bernard, Hugo of St. Victor, and St. Thomas Aquinas, who were held in the highest reverence by all parties in France.[5] The bull is simply the logical *reductio ad absurdum* of Catholicism.

BONIFACE IN DANGER.

From such a height great is the fall. Philip again called the States General. William of Nogaret, professor of law at Toulouse, accused the pope of simony, heresy, and other infamous vices. Another lawyer proposed a general council,

[1] This short bull contains two or three specimens of fanciful exegesis thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Ages.

[2] Latest revision of text, Revue des Questions historiques, July, 1889, p. 255. Trans. in full in Henderson, Documents of Middle Ages, p. 485. Text also in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 54.

[3] Die Bulle Unam Sanctam, Munich, 1887.

[4] Church History, ii, 626.

[5] See Alzog, ii, 624–626, notes.

and summoned Boniface to appear before it. This proposition was accepted. William of Nogaret went to Italy, and with the help of Sciarra Colonna entered the pope's palace at Anagni, where he was staying. It seemed as though the Becket tragedy would be reenacted. The soldiers entered the palace with loud cries, "Death to the pope! Long live the King of France!" Boniface, though eighty-six, was yet active. He clothed himself in his pontifical garments, and, with tiara, cross, and keys, awaited his murderers. "Abdicate," said Colonna; "give up the tiara you have usurped." Boniface, with calm fearlessness, replied, "Here is my head, here my neck; betrayed like Jesus Christ, if I must die like him, at least I will die as a pope." Colonna dragged him from his throne, struck him with his iron glove, and would have killed him if Nogaret had not prevented. "O wretched pope," said Nogaret, "consider and see the kindness of my lord the King of France, who in spite of the distance of his kingdom, preserves and defends you through me."[1] The Italians rallied, however, rescued the pope, and conveyed him to Rome, where he soon died, October 11, 1303, in the infinite shame and mortification of wounded pride and a broken heart.

JUBILEE OF BONIFACE.

Boniface was the first pope to institute a jubilee. On the first day of January, 1300, immense crowds gathered in Rome on the strength of a rumor that on that day the pope would absolve all who came. When he heard of this Boniface issued a bull, April 22, 1300, inviting all to come to Rome and receive absolution. Two million pilgrims availed themselves of the privilege. People were trampled down in the streets. For the protection of pilgrims a barrier was erected along the middle of the bridge of St. Angelo, thus dividing those going toward St. Peter's and those returning. Dante used this scene to illustrate the two bands of sinners moving in opposite directions in the first circle of Malebolge.[2] Countless money was swept into the pope's coffers. Day and night two priests stood at the altar of St. Paul, with rakes in their hands, raking in the treasure.[3] In 1343 the interval of the jubilee was shortened to fifty years; in 1389, to thirty-three years; and in 1470, to twenty-five years.

Opinions have been much divided as to the character of Boniface. His contemporary, Ptolemæus de Fiadonibio, describes him as

[1] Duruy, pp. 878, 879. Milman devotes over one hundred and fifty pages to his epochal reign.

[2] Inf., xviii.

[3] See Vincent, The Age of Hildebrand, pp. 415, 416; Plitt in Herzog; Milman, vi, 282–286.

scornful and arrogant. Dante, who had seen the liberties of Florence extinguished by the pope's *protégé*, Charles of Valois, and who had himself been driven into exile, calls Boniface "the prince of modern Pharisees," [1] the "high priest whom may evil overtake," [2] the usurper of St. Peter's place who makes the apostle's burying place run with blood and stench, whose crimes make Heaven blush,[3] and represents him as being buried in hell for his guilt of simony [4]—yes, buried head downward, with a ruddier flame than usual licking his feet.[5] This cruel transfixing of a living man is quite within the possibilities of Dante's remorseless pen. Wiseman, on the other hand, goes too far when he says that in no writer, however hostile to Boniface, do we find any insinuation against his moral character or conduct, and that there is no sign that he was cruel or revengeful.[6] His treatment of Celestine and of Colonna, however, proves that he was cruel and revengeful. At the same time, while strong exceptions must be taken to individual acts, there can be no doubt, in general, of the purity of his motives, the personal integrity of his conduct, and the conscientiousness of his devotion, according to his light, to the best interests of the Church and the world.

DIVIDED OPINIONS ON BONIFACE.

[1] Inf., xxvii, 85. [2] *Ibid.*, 68. [3] *Ibid.*, 22–30.
[4] Parad., xiv, 52. [5] Inf., xix, 313.
[6] Pope Boniface VIII, in Essays on Various Subjects, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE PAPACY.

It was left for Benedict XI, 1303–4, to completely annul the proceedings of his great predecessor, restore Philip to all his ecclesiastical rights, revoke the censures on the prelates who did not go to Rome, cancel the bulls of the recent conflicts, restore the Colonna family to their former positions, and reconcile the papacy to the princes. But just as he was preparing for an energetic stroke at the participants of the fray at Anagni he was poisoned. Poisoning was a fine art among those followers of the vicar of Christ. It was arranged how the life of John II was to be taken by poison, as well as that of his successors, Hadrian VI and Clement VII. State poisons were kept in an official box in Venice.[1]

CLEMENT V.

The successor of Benedict was Clement V, 1305–14, who bought the tiara by a number of concessions to Philip. Villani describes a dark scene in the depths of the forest of St. Jean d'Angély between Philip and Clement, in which the latter made various degrading promises.[2] But recent research has thrown doubt on this scene, although none on the reality of Clement's serfdom to Philip. He was crowned at Lyons, and resided first at Bordeaux, where he was archbishop, and then at Poitiers, and finally, 1309, settled at Avignon. Here the popes resided for seventy years, or, more exactly, sixty-eight—from 1309 to 1377. This period of painful and humiliating memories has so impressed itself on the papal historians that they have called it The Babylonian Captivity of the Church.[3] Philip made Clement begin a process against Boniface, but this went no further than a withdrawal of his bulls and acts of excommunication. He held a general council at Vienne, 1311, in which it became apparent that the civil power was getting the upper hand.[4] At Avignon Clement lived a brilliant but scan-

[1] Lamansky, Secrets d'Etat de Venise, a la fin du XV et au XVI Siècle, St. Petersb., 1884. The registers of Benedict's reign are well edited by Grandjean from the manuscripts recently opened to scholars in the Vatican, Registers de Benoît XI, Paris, 1884.

[2] Hist. Fiorent. [3] "L'empia Babilonia" is the phrase of Petrarch.

[4] Ehrle has discovered the acts of this council, and has published them in

dalous life, gathering riches and wasting them on his lusts. Ehrle has investigated his will, and has given an interesting picture of the wealth of the papal court. Clement left 814,000 gulden. A gulden was worth two dollars. Of this sum 300,000 gulden were for a crusade, 314,000 for his servants and relatives, and 200,000 for the poor, for churches, monasteries, and other purposes. He had loaned 313,000 gulden to the kings of France and England, and he left 70,000 gulden to his successor. It cost him 100,000 gulden a year to live, but his income was fully double that amount. Hence he left a fortune of over two million dollars. Ehrle shows that the usual statement that John XXII left an estate of fifty millions is absurd.[1] No wonder that the papacy was sinking into hopeless disintegration!

After Clement V the papal see was vacant for two years. John XXII, 1316–34, tried to reenact with the empire the rôle of Boniface. For this he was deposed by Louis of Bavaria, and an antipope elected in his place. This was the pope whom Michael Cesara charged with heresy. William of Occam gave powerful support to his charge, and reinforced his bitter assaults on papal abuses.[2] It was under his successor, Benedict XII, in 1336, that the vast papal palace, one of the largest buildings in the world, was begun. The building proceeded for sixty years. It covers one and a quarter acres. Valuable paintings at one time adorned its interiors. In recent years this great pile has been restored for ecclesiastical and civil purposes.

Clement VI, 1342–52, continued the papal debauch. He robbed the Church in all directions. With his enormous revenues he supported an establishment of brilliant infamy. What with a sumptuous table, fine horses, splendid pageantries, and beautiful women, the court of Clement rivaled that of Louis XIV and XV in its voluptuous abandonment. Avignon itself he purchased from Joanna of Sicily for eighty thousand florins; and thus, although the pope owned the whole city, it became one vast brothel. The great Petrarch lived in Avignon for some time during Clement's reign, and his letters give a photograph of what he saw.[3]

INFAMOUS PAPAL COURT AT AVIGNON.

Archiv. f. Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte d. Mittelalters, Bd. iv, H. 4, 1888. H. M. Scott gives complaints laid before the council in Cur. Dis., vii, 196.

[1] Ehrle in *ibid.*, Bd. v, H. 1, 1889, and H. 4; Scott in Cur. Dis., vii, 197. On the suppression of the Templars, see below.

[2] See Müller, Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., vi, 80, ff.

[3] "Tam calidi, tamque præcipites in Venerem senes sunt, tanta eos ætatis et status et virium cepit oblivio, sic in libidines inardescunt, sic in omne ruunt dedecus, quasi omnis eorum gloria, non in cruce Christi sit, sed in commessationibus, et ebrietatibus, et quæ hæc sequuntur in cubilibus, impudentiis."—Petrarch, Ep., ed. Bas., p. 730.

He says that Satan himself is amazed to see the papal people exceed his instruction with their rapes, incests, adulteries, and lascivious games. To the pope's relatives were given fat offices, and the women of the court handed out the benefices.

Under Innocent VI (1352–62) a halt was called in this carnival of hell. Albert, Bishop of Ostia, a learned and pious man, began the reform. He recalled unlawful grants, sent the clergy who had flocked to Avignon back to their charges, and rebuked the cardinals for their luxurious living. He also sought to influence political affairs to noble ends. Urban V (1362–70) walked in the footsteps of Innocent. Amid a multitude of distressing political complications he resolutely endeavored to advance the interests of the Church. In spite of the remonstrances of his cardinals he resolved to return to Rome, and actually took up his residence there in 1367. As an apparent reward for this he soon had the pleasure of receiving the emperor John Paleologus into the Church. But amid the raging sea of Italian politics he felt ill at ease, and finally consented to return to Avignon, in 1370. Two months later he died.

BREAKING OF THE PAPAL SPELL.

Gregory XI (1370–78) was the last pope of the Captivity. The papacy seemed hastening toward the rocks. Kings held it in disdain. Italy was in a seething discontent. Gregory saw that he must either rule in Italy or not at all. The holy Catherine of Siena appeared at Avignon and implored the pope to return. Another saint, Brigitta of Sweden, had warning visions. Gregory determined to obey the heavenly voices. The cardinals opposed him, and six of them remained at Avignon. After a tempestuous voyage Gregory landed at Corneto, and in the spring of 1377 he arrived at Rome. No peace, however, came to the pope. The neighboring cities and states were in revolt, and he died broken-hearted, in 1378, even then meditating a return to Avignon.

The seventy years' captivity was one of the causes which broke the spell of the papacy. The tools of the French, and living in licentious abandonment and for worldly ends, popes could no longer be considered divine leaders. Their insatiable rapacity and ingenuity in devising means of extortion created disgust. Students of Aristotle and of civil law were protesting against their abuse of power, and religious enthusiasts were denouncing their crimes. The civil power became more independent. England, France, Germany, and even Italy disregarded the papal mandates. Ominous mutterings, growing louder for fifty years, declared that the vast usurpation, used by Providence for the civilization of the West, must be broken up. Its crimes, its tyrannies, its grievous failure in its stewardship of the nations, were hurrying it to judgment.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE PAPAL DISRUPTION AND THE HEALING COUNCILS.

IT was fitting that the seventy years' captivity should be followed by the forty years' disruption—from 1378 to 1417.[1] Slavery to a French king might well be followed by slavery to faction. The moral disruption which the Avignonese residence so well marked was simply revealed and accentuated by the great schism. That it was still a hundred years before it grew into a permanent cleavage of the Church, proved that God's time was not yet, that He still had work for Rome.

When Gregory XI died the Italians were determined that an Italian should be elected pope, and that he should reside in Rome. Under the influence of their threats the cardinals, the most of whom were French, elected the stern archbishop Brignano of Bari, a Neapolitan. If the new pope, Urban VI, had been conciliatory a schism might have been avoided. But his passionate and domineering behavior intensified the already profound dissatisfaction of the cardinals. They proceeded to a place of safety, and, on the pretext that the former election was not free, they elected Robert, Bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII. It may be truly said that the ill manners of a pope were a cause of one of the most momentous evolutions of history. "Hold your tongue!" "You have talked long enough!" were common exclamations with him.

The controversy between the two popes has produced a large literature. The consensus of opinion of most modern scholars, Protestant and Roman Catholic, is that the thirteen protesting cardinals had not sufficient reason for their action. As Creighton says, the "formal plea of the dissatisfied cardinals was a mere cloak to political" and personal motives.[2] At any rate the Church was hope-

[1] Or forty-six years, counting to the death of Benedict XIII, in 1424.

[2] Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation, i, 64. The Abbé Gayet is the most recent R. C. partisan of Clement. But his contentions have been seriously invalidated by a fresh study of the documents by M. Valois in Revue des Questions historiques, October, 1890. Brann has proven a fresh defense of Urban's validity: The Schism of the West and the Freedom of Papal Elections, N. Y., 1891. "Twice they elected him, unanimously crowned him pope, were silent for several months after his coronation, and only when they found

lessly divided, and largely through the political affiliations of the nations. On Urban's side were England, Italy, Bohemia, Germany, Russia, Poland, and Scandinavia; for Clement were France, Scotland, Spain, Lorraine, Sicily, and Cyprus.[1] Many remained neutral. Among the nonpartisans was the University of Paris, which issued many manifestoes looking toward peace.

NICHOLAS ON THE MORAL DEPTH.

In the meantime the Church sank lower and lower. The next pope was a shameless miser, and on account of the necessity of keeping up two establishments the Church taxes became still more oppressive. Many noble voices were raised against this *descensus Averno*. One of the most remarkable of these was the book of Nicholas of Clemengis, on the Ruin of the Church, in 1401. Let us hear his voice from out of the center of this period of moral collapse: "Who does not know that this frightful pest of schism was first introduced into the Church by the wickedness of the cardinals, that by them it has been promoted, propagated, and enabled to strike its roots deep? If all kingdoms have been prostrated by injustice and pride, how knowest thou, O Church, when thou hast cast far from thee the rock of humility on which thou wast founded, and hast lifted thy horn on high, that such a fabric of pride, erected by thyself, will not be overthrown? Already has thy pride, which could not sustain itself, begun slowly and gradually to fall, and on this account its fall was not perceived by the majority. But now thou art wholly plunged in the gulf, and especially since the breaking out of this abominable schism. Most surely has the anger of God permitted this to come upon thee as a check to thy intolerable wickedness, that thy domination, so displeasing to God, so odious to the nations, may, by being divided within itself, come to naught."

This author gives a faithful picture of the times. He speaks of the pride of the cardinals, suddenly raised, as some of them were, from the humblest conditions; he speaks of their luxury, their avarice, simony, ignorance, idleness, and scandalous living. The people looked upon them with contempt. The clergy would neither preach nor study the Scriptures. Every pious man was a butt of ridicule to the rest, and looked upon as insane or a hypocrite. Many voices united in demanding a general council to heal the intolerable sore of the Church. Among these voices the University of Paris took the lead.

that he would not be their dupe did they begin to question the legitimacy of his title" (p. 14). Creighton gives a full conspectus of the original authorities in App. 1: The Election of Pope Urban VI (pp. 428–425).

[1] For political reasons, see Milman, vii, 244.

After great pressure the majority of the two sets of cardinals consented to call a council. The pope had usually the power of summons. But this did not apply to an extraordinary case of urgency. The law of the Church had failed to produce peace, and the wider equity of a council must interpret the law. So argued the University of Paris, and the cardinals accepted this opinion as a justification of their procedure. On March 25, 1409, the council opened at Pisa. The popes were summoned to appear before it. They refused. Charges of contumacy were preferred against them, and after a full hearing these charges were declared true and notorious, and on June 5 both popes were deposed. The cardinals then went into conclave and elected Peter Philargi, a native Crete, who took the name of Alexander V. They had promised to attend also to a thorough reform of the Church, but this work was not undertaken. The pope's health was feeble, and the prelates promised to take up the matter of reform in a future council. The council dissolved on August 5. "The council of Pisa," says Creighton, "was not successful in its great object—the restoration of the unity of the Church. Instead of getting rid of the contending pope it added a third. Gregory XII and Benedict XIII might have few adherents, but so long as they had any the council of Pisa was a failure. This was recognized by the council of Constance, which negotiated afresh for the abdication of Gregory and Benedict. According to the rules of canonists the council of Pisa was not a true council, because it was not summoned by a pope. It was regarded, soon after its dissolution, as of doubtful authority. This was greatly due to its want of success. It did not act wisely or discreetly. From the beginning it overrode the popes, and did not try to conciliate them. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the expression of the reforming ideas which the schism had brought into prominence. It was the first fruits of the conciliar movement, which was the chief feature of the ecclesiastical history of the fifteenth century." [1]

THE COUNCIL AT PISA.

On the death of Alexander V, in 1410, the Pisan cardinals elected Balthasar Cossa, who took the name of John XXIII. Nicholas de Clémenges calls him "Balthasar perfidissimus;" and the pope well deserved the epithet. He was a dissipated and unprincipled man, but inexhaustible in shifts and intrigues.[2] It was found that the work of the Pisan council must be done over

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

[1] Council of Pisa, in Schaff-Herzog, iii, p. 1844, and in Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation, i, 222, 223. Mansi has Acts of the Council, vols. xxvi, xxvii. Lenfant gives History, Utrecht, 1712; Amst., 1724. Hefele (vol. vi) gives R. C. view.

[2] Voight in Herzog-Plitt.

again. Things were going from bad to worse. A real general council must be called. John consented to issue the call, with the emperor Sigismund, hoping the council would confirm him on the throne. It met at Constance, November 5, 1414, to April 22, 1418, and was one of the largest and most imposing religious assemblies ever held. When the next great council met at Trent a large part of the Christian world had fallen away from Rome forever. At Constance the deliberations were conducted by twenty-nine cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred abbots, five hundred monks, and more than five hundred professors and doctors of theology and common law. Thousands of the common clergy were also in attendance, and had a voice in the proceedings, as was also true, except on matters of doctrine, of princes and ambassadors of Christian States. It was estimated that eighteen thousand ecclesiastics were in attendance.[1] It was the noble contention of the University of Paris that doctors of law and theology must be introduced into the councils, and the great cardinal Peter d'Ailly had also advocated the rights of the clergy. The illiteracy of the prelates gave point to the petition of the universities.[2] The council brought with it countless numbers of vagabonds, actors, money-lenders, and four hundred public women.[3]

Fortunately it was resolved that the delegates should vote by nations, thus giving all parts of the Church equal voice. The council then proceeded to do radical work. D'Ailly carried through a motion that all three popes should abdicate and that a new election should take place. John was deposed, Gregory abdicated, Benedict was deposed, and on November 11, 1417, Cardinal Odo Colonna was elected pope, who took the name of Martin V. Of the three quondam popes John XXIII, the last of the name, was imprisoned, but escaped, fell at the feet of Martin, was made cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and died in 1419; Gregory XII died in 1417 as cardinal-bishop of Porto; and Benedict XIII lived on his estate at Peniscola, in Aragon, and on that rock he still continued to declare, "Here is the only true Church," until in 1424 he died. In the reformation of morals, however, the council proved abortive. The lower clergy and the monks and professors loudly demanded reforms, and the German nation made a solemn protestation before the council that the Church must be

[1] Döllinger, Ch. Hist., iv, 155.

[2] Bullæus, Hist. Univ. Paris., iv, 690. "Quia plures eorum proh pudor! hodie satis illiterati sunt."

[3] See the statistical account of an eyewitness in von der Hardt, Concil. Constant., vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 10, ff.

purified.[1] But the abuses, says Voigt, "in which the reforms were necessary, such as appeals to the pope and the papal procedure, the administration of vacant benefices, and the commendation of simony, dispensations, indulgences, and the like, were the very sources from which the popes, the cardinals, and the huge swarm of ecclesiastical officials in Rome drew their principal revenues. In fighting against reforms the cardinals fought *pro aris et focis*, and they proved unconquerable." A few decrees were published against simony, but the scantiness of the moral result of this great council in meeting the crying needs of the time made a profound impression, shook the faith of thousands, and helped largely to prepare the way for the Reformation.

SMALL MORAL RESULT OF THE COUNCIL.

A famous decree was passed in its fifth session, April 6, 1415, to the effect that an ecumenical council legally called has its power direct from Christ, and that its decrees are binding on all, even on the pope.[2] As this decree directly contradicts the dogma of the Vatican council papal historians have in various ways tried to minimize or destroy its force. But none of their objections has any validity. They claim, first, that the council was not ecumenical. But, we reply, the council represented the whole Church, and was called by the pope in due form. Hefele acknowledges the ecumenicity of the council. Further, it is held that the decree is limited to the object of ending the schism. To this we answer that no such limitation is expressed. Again, it is said that when Martin V ratified the decrees he excepted, or meant to except, this one. But, we say, there is no evidence whatever for this claim. He ratified whatever had been done by the council as such as opposed to what had been done by committees, nations, and partial meetings. The decree was passed by the entire session, and all modifying considerations like the above are afterthoughts. And when the council of Basel reenacted this decree Pope Eugenius IV gave to the doings of the council his solemn approval.[3] And, as a matter of fact, the Roman Cath-

[1] For this great challenge, see von der Hardt, iv, 1424.

[2] "Hæc sancta synodus in Spiritu S. legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, ecclesiam catholicam militantem repræsentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet; cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiamsi papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem, et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et generalem reformationem ecclesiæ Dei in capite et membris."—Von der Hardt, iv, 88.

[3] Fisher conclusively replies to Hefele. See his Discussions in History and Theology, N. Y., 1880, pp. 105–109 (Essay on the Council of Constance). See also Creighton, vol. i, app. 15. The decrees of the council had an early defender in Emmanuel Schelstrate, a canon of Antwerp, in his Acta Conc. Constantiensis, 1683, and Tractatus de Sensu et Auctoritate Decretorum Constantiensis Concilii, 1686.

olic Church, by accepting the results of the council—namely, the deposition of the three popes and the electing of another—has given this decree all needful validity. The supremacy of the council over popes, and even its independence of them, was implied in the whole situation. This, too, the Church accepted. Indeed, it had no alternative.

And thus the disruption was externally healed. But the corruptions which were eating at the heart of the Church had not yet been touched. To abate these the Western prelates met at Basel, on July 23, 1431. But they had a stormy and unsatisfactory session. The pope and the curia eyed them with alarm. The council reaffirmed the decrees of Constance subordinating all ecclesiastical authority to that of a general council, and made other lofty claims. At one time Pope Eugenius acknowledged those claims, but at another time he repudiated them. Finally, he called a counter council at Ferrara, September 18, 1437. Then Basel deposed him. But the cause of reform was hopelessly doomed. Eugenius bribed the chancellor of the emperor, and his secretary as well, Æneas Sylvius, and Germany declared for the pope. When Eugenius died, in 1447, the council recognized his successor, Nicholas V, and adjourned on April 25, 1449. It left the pope supreme, the old abuses still untouched, and the glorious war-cry of many a saint and ecclesiastical statesman and religious teacher, "The reformation of the Church in head and members," was postponed to a more favored age. Those who proposed the only real means of such a reformation, in a return to the purity of the Gospel in life and doctrine, were condemned to death even by these reformatory councils.[1]

[1] For proceedings of council of Basel, see Mansi, xxix–xxxi. The original journal of the proceedings of the council of Basel has recently been discovered, and a series of texts and studies, Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschich. des Concils von Basil, vol. i, edited by J. Haller (1431–7), Basel, 1896, is being issued under the auspices of the Hist. and Antiq. Gesellsch. of Basel.

LITERATURE: THE CRUSADES, THE MILITARY ORDERS.

I. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

1. Spalding, K. A. W. Geschichte des christlichen Königreichs Jerusalem. 2 vols. Berl., 1803.
2. Heeren, A. H. L. Essai sur l'influence des croisades. Paris, 1808.
3. —— Versuch einer Entwicklung der Kreuzzüge für Europa. (In his Vermischte historische Schriften. 3 vols. Götting., 1821–24.) Heeren was the first to give a philosophical treatment of the Crusades.
4. Mills, C. The History of the Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land. 2 vols. 4th ed., Lond., 1828.
5. Haken, J. C. L. Gemälde der Kreuzzüge nach Palästina zur Befreyung des heiligen Grabes. 3 vols. Frankfurt a O., 1808–20.
6. Michaud, J. F. Bibliotheque des Croisades. 4 vols. Paris, 1829.
7. —— Histoire des Croisades. 6 vols. Paris, 1825–29; 9th ed., Paris, 1856, 4 vols. Translated by W. Robson, Lond., 1854; N. Y., 1881, 3 vols. Badly translated. To be used with caution.
8. Wilken, F. Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 7 vols. Leipz., 1807–26. An elaborate and impartial history.
9. Keightley, T. The Crusades. 2 vols. Lond., 1847.
10. Chronicles of the Crusades. (Bohn Library.) Lond., 1848. Contains translations of contemporary accounts.
11. Proctor, G. History of the Crusades. Reprinted, Phila., 1854.
12. Neale, J. M. Stories of the Crusades. New ed., Lond., 1860.
13. Sybel, H. v. History and Literature of the Crusades. Edited by Lady Duff Gordon. Lond., 1861. An excellent historical sketch, and an account of the preceding literature.
14. Perry, G. G. History of the Crusades. Lond., 1865; new ed., 1872. Popular.
15. Dutton, W. E. History of the Crusades. Lond., 1877.
16. Roehricht, R. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. 2 vols. Berl., 1874–78.
17. Gibbon, Edward. History of the Crusades (1095–1261). (Chandos Library.) Lond., 1880.
18. Laporte, A. de. Les croisades et le pays Latin de Jérusalem. Paris, 1881.
19. Prutz, H. Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge. Berl., 1883. Important; makes use of Arab and other sources.
20. Henne-Am-Rhyn, O. Die Kreuzzüge und die Kultur ihrer Zeit. Leipz., 1883–84.
21. Oman, C W. C. The Art of War in the Middle Ages (378–1515). Lond., 1885.
22. Cox, George W. The Crusades. (Epochs of History series.) Lond., 1874; 7th ed., 1887. An interesting and fairly accurate book, but without critical value and philosophical insight.

23. Hagenmeyer, H. Anonyma gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum. Mit Erläuterungen. 2 vols. Heidelb., 1890.
24. Roehricht, R. Kleine Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. Berl., 1890.
25. Kugler, B. Geschichte der Kreuzzüge. (Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.) Berl., 1880; 2d ed., 1891.
26. Gottlob, A. Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugssteuern des 13 Jahrhunderts. Heiligenstadt, 1892.
27. Archer, T. A., and Kingsford, C. L. The Crusades: the Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. (Stories of the Nations series.) Lond. and N. Y., 1894. See Ludlow in Christian Literature, July, 1895, p. 160. Archer was a diligent worker among the historical materials for the Crusades, and this is an admirable work, so far as it goes; but it is a fragment at best.
28. Mombert, J. I. A Short History of the Crusades. N. Y., 1894.
29. Ludlow, J. M. The Crusades. (Epochs of Church History.) N. Y., 1897. One of the best of the short histories, by one of the ablest and most picturesque writers of the day.

II. TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALERS.

1. Verbot. Histoire des chevaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem. Amst., 1732.
2. Wilcke, W. F. Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens. Berl., 1826–35.
3. Michelet, J. Le proces des Templiers. 2 vols. Paris, 1841–51.
4. Porter, W. A History of the Knights of Malta, or the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Revised ed., Lond., 1883.
5. Schottmueller, K. Der Untergang des Tempelordens. 2 vols. Berl., 1887. A defense of the order. Contains much documentary material.
6. Prutz, H. Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens. Berl., 1888. A reply to Schottmueller.
7. Salles, F. de. Annales de l'Ordre de Malte. Paris, 1889.
8. Gmelin, J. Schuld oder Unschuld des Tempelordens. Stuttg., 1893. An able work, containing a good résumé of the subject.
9. Döllinger, J. J. von. The Suppression of the Knights Templars, in Addresses on Historical Subjects. Lond., 1894. A thorough defense. This was a work of love on the part of Döllinger; he expressed much satisfaction in being able to vindicate the Templars.
10. Delaville le Roulx, J. Cartulaire générale des hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310). I. Paris, 1895.

III. CRUSADES IN ORDER.

The First Crusade.

1. Bongars, J. Gesta Dei per Francos, sive oriental. expeditionum et Regni Francorum hierosolymitani scriptores varii. Hanov., 1611.
2. Matthew of Edessa. Récit de la premiere croisade. Trans. from the Armenian into French by Edouard Delaurier. Paris, 1850.
3. Receuil des Historiens des Croisades (published by the French Academy). 2 vols. Paris, 1841–66.
4. Sybel, H. v. Essays, in his Kleine historische Schriften. 2 vols. München, 1869.
5. Hagenmeyer, H. Peter der Eremite. Leipz., 1879. The first scientific biography of Peter.

6. Sybel, H. v. Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. Leipz., 1841; 2d ed., 1881.
7. Klein, C. Raimund von Aquilers. Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. Berl., 1892.
8. Marquardt, G. Die historia hierosolymitana des Robertus monachus; ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. Königsb., 1892.
9. Wolf, T. Die Bauernkreuzzüge des Jahres 1096. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. Tübing., 1892.
10. Michaud, J. F. Histoire de la premiere croisade (edited by E. L. Naftel). Paris, 1893.
11. Roehricht, R. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097–1291). Innsbruck, 1893.
12. Munro, D. C. Urban and the Crusaders, in University of Pennsylvania's Translations and Reprints, vol. i, No. 2. Contains original documents. Letters of the Crusaders, *ibid.*, i, No. 4, 1894 (first and other Crusades). Both of them contain bibliographical notes. An admirable attempt to publish in handy form the sources of European history.

The Second Crusade.

Kugler, B. Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges. Stuttg., 1866. (See also biographies of St. Bernard of Clairvaux.)

The Third Crusade.

1. Thayeno. De expedicione Asiatica Frederici I. in Freber's Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, i, Append.
2. Chronicles and Memorials of Richard I, edited by W. Stubbs. Lond., 1864. See also Chronicles of the Crusades: containing contemporary narratives by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf. Lond. (Bohn), 1848.
3. Archer, T. A. (ed.) The Crusade of Richard I (1189–92). Lond., 1888. Contains extracts from original sources.

The Fourth Crusade.

1. Villehardouin, G. de. Histoire de la conqueste de Constantinople. Paris, 1585. Later edition by Paul Paris. Paris, 1838.
2. Streit, L. Beiträge zur Geschichte des vierten Kreuzzuges. I. Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Konstantinopel. Anklam, 1877.
3. Pears, E. The Fall of Constantinople, being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. Lond. and N. Y., 1885.
4. Tessier, J. Quatrième Croisade: la diversion sur Zara et Constantinople. Paris, 1885.
5. Munro, D. C. The Fourth Crusade, in Trans. and Reprints from Original Sources of European History, vol. iii, No. 1, 1896. Pub. by Dept. of History of Univ. of Pennsylvania.

The Children's Crusade.

Gray, G. Z. The Crusade of the Children in the Thirteenth Century. N. Y., 1870; 11th ed., 1896.

The Fifth Crusade.

Roehricht, R. Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges. Innsbruck, 1891.

The Seventh Crusade.

Joinville, J. Sire de. Histoire de St. Louys IX (edited by Ch. du Fresne). Paris, 1668. Later edition, by Natalis de Wailly, for the Société de Hist. de France, containing the text and French translation, 1868 and 1874. An English translation also appeared in Chronicles of the Crusaders (Bohn Library), Lond., 1848. In 1867, Extraits de le Chronique de Joinville, were published, with introduction and glossary, Paris.

Crusade of 1333.

Wrong, G. M. The Crusade of 1333, known as that of the Bishop of Norwich. Lond. and Oxf., 1892.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CRUSADES.

NOTHING was more foreign to the temper of early Christianity than reverence for sacred places. Nowhere in the apostolic writings is there a trace of consciousness of regard for the places associated with the life of our Lord. In fact, Christ himself forbade all such superstition by his famous charter of spiritual worship.[1] Nevertheless, as time went on, it became natural to journey

> "In those holy fields
> O'er whose acres walked those blessed feet,
> Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
> For our advantage on the bitter cross."[2]

One of the earliest manifestations of that natural longing to visit the Holy Land was shown by Constantine and his mother, Helena, who built splendid churches over the natal cave of Christ in Bethlehem and over his sepulcher in Jerusalem. Subsequently pilgrimages became frequent, the pilgrims being lionized on the way, and looked upon as heroes on their return. The first break in this peaceful movement was the Persian conquest of Palestine in 611, which was followed by the Arab conquest under Omar, in 637. The Mohammedans mingled some toleration, however, in their hard terms. The Christians were to build no new churches, nor exhibit the cross on buildings or in processions, nor possess weapons. But they were to be safe in their persons and fortunes, and undisturbed in the exercise of their religion and the use of their churches. And for four centuries the flow of pilgrims went on under the reluctant toleration of Islam.

But the ruthless incursion of the Turks, a new horde on the field of history, changed all that. They had, indeed, been converted to Islam, but that left them what they have ever since remained—barbarians, the polygamists of the ages, an essentially alien element in the civilization of western Asia and Europe. In 1076 they were masters of Palestine, and soon afterward of all Asia Minor. Then began those falsehoods, exactions, robberies, murders, which from that day to this have been an invariable accompaniment of Turkish rule. It required men of the bravest heart even to attempt a

[1] John iv, 20–24. [2] Shakespeare, Henry IV, pt. i, act i, sc. i.

pilgrimage, and the indignities and cruelties practiced upon the pilgrims and the insults offered to the holy place sent wave after wave of horror and indignation over Europe.

ORIGIN OF THE IDEA OF THE CRUSADES.

The idea of a crusade for religion was familiar to Europe by the attempts made to drive the Moors from Spain. The Duke of Burgogne and the Duke of Chalon went over to Spain, urged by Hildebrand, and in 1079 Chalon fell in the crusade. "We find the knightly romance, the selling all to go on a crusade, the vows, the adventures, filling the early part of the eleventh century with holy wars against Spanish infidels"—all the characteristics with which the Holy Wars of Palestine have made us familiar. This Spanish Crusade went on until the end of the thirteenth century parallel with the crusade proper.[1] As far back as the beginning of the eleventh century the lofty mind of Gerbert—Sylvester II (999–1002)—conceived the idea of Europe uniting to restore the Sepulcher to Christian hands.[2] Hildebrand (1073–85) urged the same scheme, though unsuccessfully. It was left to Urban II to set in motion those invasions of the East which form so characteristic a feature of mediæval history, and which, largely futile in their immediate purpose, nevertheless left permanent marks on the civilization of the world. At the council of Clermont, on November 26, 1095, he delivered an address which, though equaled by many in eloquence and fire, has, as Wilken says, surpassed all other orations in its wonderful results:[3]

"You must show the strength of your righteousness in a precious work which is not less your concern than the Lord's. For it behooves you to hasten to carry to your brethren dwelling in the East the aid so often promised and so urgently needed. For the Turks and the Arabs have attacked them, as many of you know, and have advanced into the territory of Romania as far as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George [the Hellespont]; and, having penetrated farther and farther into the country of those Christians, have already seven times conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the kingdom. If you permit them to remain for a time unmolested they will extend their sway more widely over many faithful servants of the Lord.

[1] See Petits Croisades Bourguignonnes contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne au XIe Siècle, in Revue Historique, 1886, p. 11; Cur. Dis., iv, 179, 180.

[2] Ep. 219, quoted in Emerton, Mediæval Europe, p. 158.

[3] Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, 7 vols., Leipz., 1807–32. The eighth centennial of the preaching of the first crusade was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies and speeches at Clermont in May, 1895.

"Wherefore I pray and exhort, nay, not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you, as heralds of Christ, at all times to urge men of all ranks, peasants and knights, the poor equally with the rich, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the land ruled by our brethren, and to bear timely aid to the worshipers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I shall proclaim it to the absent, but it is Christ who commands. Moreover, if those who set out thither lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, their sins shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant through the power of God vested in me."[1]

PETER OF AMIENS.

Among those who fanned popular enthusiasm was Peter of Amiens, a little monk who went through the south of France preaching a crusade. He has usually been represented as the originator of the first crusade, the fiery preacher whose eloquence stirred all Europe, and that it was his representations to the pope and the force of his personal appeals which gave life to the whole movement. But this popular idea is now completely abandoned. It is founded on the fiction of William of Tyre, who wrote one hundred years after the time. Contemporary accounts know nothing of Peter as the chief agent of the crusade. Von Sybel was the first to throw doubt on the tradition concerning Peter the Hermit, and Hagenmeyer, by an exhaustive investigation, pulverized that fine tradition. Peter was never in Palestine before the crusades, he did not incite Urban, did not speak at Clermont, did not stir Europe by his preaching, which was limited to a few months and a small part of southern France, and he was not the immediate cause of the crusade.[2] Yet as he rode through the country on an ass carrying with him a great crucifix, and dramatically appealed to the feelings of the people, there can be no doubt that Peter's part was not small in imparting an impetus which carried the French warriors to the Levant.

[1] Munro, Urban and the Crusades, in Original Sources of European History, i, 2, pp. 4, 5. The speech quoted above is Urban's at the council, as quoted by Fulcher, a contemporary, and is reprinted in Bougars, Gesta Dei per Francos, i, 382, 383. The promise of remission of sin made by the enthusiastic pope went far beyond his province, according to Roman theology. But that promise wrought havoc, as the sequel shows.

[2] Von Sybel, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, 1841; Hagenmeyer, Peter der Eremite, Leipz., 1879; Munro, in Original Sources (Univer. of Pa.), i, 2, 2; Schaff, in Presb. Rev., i, 181; Archer and Kingsford, The Crusades, Lond. and N. Y., 1895, p. 26. Cox gives the traditional view. Although his book was written before the appearance of Hagenmeyer's, and so may be excused for misrepresenting the Hermit, yet it does not appear to be founded on any critical study of the sources.

Many favors were granted the crusaders. The journey to the Holy Land itself stood for them in place of penance. Their family and their property were under the protection of the Church. No lawsuit should put their possessions in danger. Those in debt were to pay no interest. If away more than a year they were to pay no taxes. "We grant to all who undergo the difficulties in their own person and at their own expense full remission of the sins of which they have truly repented with contrite hearts and which they have confessed with their mouths, and at the retribution of the just we promise an increase of salvation."[1] For those who were left behind the truce of God suspended all hostilities for four days of the week, and the women, the clergy, and others whose occupations prevented them from bearing arms were placed under the special protection of the Church. Anyone who molested them incurred the special curse of the pope. But motives were not lacking to the crusaders. For the devout there was the consciousness of a service nobly done for the Master; for the warlike there was a fierce pastime in which all his baser passions could find full scope without the loss of his soul; there was also the prospect of permanent conquest and new dominions for those who loved to rule; and for the sinful there was an easy method by which they could atone for the vices of a lifetime.[2]

EXEMPTIONS OF THE CRUSADERS.

We must leave the secular historians to give an adequate account of these wars of religion. Some reckon nine crusades, others seven or eight. But reckoning of this kind is largely artificial. The crusades were a continuous effort to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracen. Between the special expeditions fitted out under imposing auspices there was a "continuous ebb and flow of European enthusiasm and courage to and from the East."[3] Of these greater efforts we present a survey.

The first crusade (1096–99) was the greatest and, in some respects, the most successful. The old chroniclers said in their enthusiasm that six million people were in motion toward Palestine. Probably two hundred and seventy-five thousand would be nearer the truth—that is, for the first great current. "The most distant islands and savage countries," says William of Malmesbury, "were inspired with this ardent passion.

FIRST CRUSADE.

[1] Privileges granted by the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, in Mansi, xxii, 1057, ff., and Wilken, vi, Beilage ii, Transl. in Munro, *l. c.*, p. 13. Innocent III is not so nearly universal in his grant of remission as Urban.

[2] Cox, The Crusades, p. 33.

[3] Emerton has called attention to this: Mediæval Europe, p. 358.

The Welshman left his hunting, the Scotchman his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking party, the Norwegian his raw fish. There was no regard to relationship; patriotism was held in light esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes."[1] The first who set out were two or three sections of rabble—a motley crowd of men, women, and children, under Walter the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and the priest Gottschalk. After infinite sufferings these were easily cut to pieces before the plains of Nicæa. Then came the real crusaders—six armies, marching separately, and at considerable intervals of time. These, perhaps six hundred thousand men, were under the command of some of the noblest knights of the time. After many reverses, under which this magnificent army melted away, Antioch was taken on June 3, 1098, and put to the sword, and the next year the miserable remnant set siege to Jerusalem. On the 15th of July, 1099, Jerusalem surrendered, the inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred, and Latin kingdoms were set up at Edessa, at Antioch, and at Jerusalem.

After fifty years these kingdoms were threatened with destruction. Then, under the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, the second crusade set out. Two enormous armies, under Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, marched for the Holy Land in 1147. This promising expedition proved a total failure. Through treachery Conrad's army was destroyed by the Turks near Iconium, while Louis's was wrecked in the Pisidian defiles.

In October, 1187, the brilliant young Kurdish chief, Salah-Eddin (Saladin), captured Jerusalem. Then the three greatest kings of the West—Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard the Lion-Hearted—united in the third crusade, in 1189–92. The story of this crusade is one of the most romantic in history. It resulted in a complete victory for neither Turk nor Christian. But all Christians were to have the right to make their pilgrimages untaxed and unmolested.

The fourth crusade (1197), under the banner of Emperor Henry VI, was a failure. The fifth crusade, sometimes called the fourth, in 1203–4, turned aside to Constantinople and fought against Christians instead of infidels. It was successful. Constantinople surrendered to Baldwin of Flanders, April, 1204, and all kinds of profanities and excesses were committed by the intoxicated soldiers. This forms one of the darkest blots in the history of Latin Christendom. "How," ask the popes, "shall the Greek Church return to ecclesiastical unity and to respect for the apostolic see when

[1] De Gestis Regum, iv, 2. Commentators note the Englishman's prejudice in his contemptuous reference to the Scots.

they have seen in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness, for which they might justly loathe them worse than dogs?" Innocent III put the matter very mildly. Pears, the excellent historian of this crusade, justly held that the seizure of Constantinople by the Latins was the greatest crime of the Middle Ages, for it was the first step toward the overthrow of the Greek and the introduction of the Turkish power in Europe.[1]

The sixth crusade (1228), conducted single-handed by the liberal-minded emperor Frederick II, terminated without a blow by a treaty, in which Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were ceded to the Latins, the Mosque of Omar alone remaining in the hands of the Moslems. But this magnificent result could not atone for the emperor's breadth of view, worthy of the nineteenth century; and as the pope, Gregory IX, had excommunicated him for his tardiness in embarking in this crusade, so now he cursed him for the treaty and for his return.

The seventh crusade (1240) was led by Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, who trod in the footsteps of Frederick, and sought by negotiations to do what the sword had failed to achieve. He succeeded. Palestine was virtually in the hands of the Christians. But unfortunately the hordes whom Genghis Khan was driving before him swept down on the unhappy country in 1242, and, after a brief holocaust of blood, undid the work of centuries.

The eighth and ninth crusades (1248–50, 1270–91) were the efforts of Louis IX of France and Prince Edward of England to win the vantage ground once more. But everybody had lost heart. Town after town capitulated. The Templars and other military orders were glad to leave the country, and the Saracens were at the end, as at the beginning, masters of the country.

Certain characteristics marked all the crusading movements. One was the ferocity and the cruelty with which the Christians, and, of course, the Moslems, carried on the wars. The unspeakable barbarity of the conquering party seems incredible. The selfishness, jealousy, and disunion among the Christians were another characteristic. For instance, the Templars and the Hospitalers came to a pitched battle in 1259, from which scarcely a Templar escaped alive. The crusaders frequently demonstrated themselves unworthy of their success. Then, there were no statesmanship, no grappling with the real problem of the situation, no attempt at a permanent standing ground for the Christian and Moslem settlers of Palestine. The whole movement was, finally, a prolific breeding

[1] Pears, The Fall of Constantinople: The Story of the Fourth Crusade, N. Y., 1886.

ground for fanaticisms. The Pastoreaux, or shepherds, thought they had a divine call to liberate Louis IX when he was a prisoner in Egypt, in 1251. But when they began to maltreat the priests, the monks, and the Jews, the military had to cut them down. More pathetic was the Children's Crusade, 1215, organized as a protest against the lust and cruelty of the crusaders. "A little child shall lead them"—but in the ways of gentleness and love, not of war and hate. Gray has told the sad story of failure.[1] The boy Stephen led thirty thousand children, who were encamped around Vendome. As many as ten thousand were lost or strayed before they had reached Marseilles, and the five thousand who sailed, meanwhile chanting the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," found themselves in the slave markets of Algiers and Alexandria. More fortunate were the two hundred thousand German boys and girls who left Cologne. Those who sailed for Palestine were never heard of, but the larger number returned home or settled in or around Genoa, where many of them founded families of distinction.[2]

Guizot has finely stated the results of the crusades.[3] Recent historians have not added to his discriminations. Speaking now of the religious influence, there was, on the one hand, an increase in the power of the pope, who loomed up as the one central authority who alone could call forth those vast armaments and invest them with sacred sanctions, and there was, on the other hand, an undermining of his power and a neutralizing of the papal spell by the broadening of mind and widening of interests. Men came in contact with civilization in some respects superior to their own, and with men equal to themselves in chivalry, generosity, and charity. A remarkable illustration of this catholic tendency is seen in the difference between the tone of the reference to the Moslems in the earliest chronicles of the crusades and that of the later chronicles. In the first the Moslems are spoken of with unmitigated hatred, in the last with appreciation and sometimes with eulogy. The later historians "sometimes even go the length of placing the manners and sentiments of the Mussulmans in opposition to those of the Christians; they adopt the manners and sentiments of the Mussulmans in order to satirize the Christians, in the

RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES.

[1] Gray, The Children's Crusade, Boston, 1872; 11th ed., N. Y., 1896.

[2] An instructive comparison of the insanity of some of these crusading movements with the blind impulses toward war which sometimes seize modern nations is carefully drawn by the Nation, N. Y., February 13, 1896, in an editorial on "National Insanity."

[3] Hist. of Civilization in Modern Europe, i, 180–188 (ed. Hazlitt and Henry); Emerton, pp. 388–397; and Adams, Mediæval Civilization, N. Y., 1894, pp. 258–278, give excellent views of results.

same manner as Tacitus delineated the manners of the Germans in contrast with those of Rome."[1] There can be no doubt that the crusades worked indirectly and silently but powerfully toward the emancipation of the mind. Then, the crusades were the opportunity of the layman. Though started by clerical zeal, they were kept up by lay resources and brought to an issue by lay generalship. These laymen founded a kingdom in Jerusalem, with laws more liberal and just than any hitherto known in history. And this kingdom enjoyed a peace and prosperity for ninety years exceeding that of any contemporary nation. Through travel men became familiar also with Rome and her corrupt court, and all this intercommunication of ideas and first-hand knowledge of the world tended to make men restive under the clerical yoke and in the end helped to bring in the modern era. The death of feudalism, the growth of nationalities, the creation of modern commerce, a glimpse of Arabic and Greek learning, to all of which the crusades ministered, furthered mightily the same result.[2]

[1] Guizot, *ibid.*, p. 182.

[2] In an editorial, "The Centennial of the Crusades," in the Nation, May 25, 1895, p. 396, a parallel is drawn between the condition of Palestine under the crusades and that condition to-day. One difference between the two ages is that "in the earlier Europe received more from Syria than she gave, the learning of the East, its arts and sciences. Now she is paying the debt. She has given it a literature, by translation of the Bible and other works into Arabic, while Western civilization, with its potent adjuncts of steam and electricity, is already changing the face of the land."

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE MILITARY ORDERS.

A MOST characteristic feature of the Middle Ages is the career of the military orders. There were three: The Templars, the Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights. In 1119, two comrades of Godfrey de Bouillon—Hugues de Payen and Geoffroi de Saint-Nohimar—with seven other French knights, bound themselves to protect pilgrims on their journeys in the Holy Land. For this purpose they took before the Patriarch of Jerusalem the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. It was a consecration of militarism to Christ, the reception of the soldier as such into a monastic brotherhood. King Baldwin II gave them quarters in his own palace, which was built on the site of the temple of Solomon, near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Hence they took their names of Templars, Pauperes commilitares Christi templique Salmonici—Poor fellow-soldiers of Christ and of Solomon's temple. Their houses were called the Temple. In London, their celebrated church, the Temple Church, consecrated in 1185, was restored in 1839–42 by the lawyers of the Middle and Inner Temple[1] at a cost of £70,000.

The knights took their vows either for life or for a certain period. Their discipline was austere, forbidding all worldly pleasures, and enjoining simplicity in food and dress. The eight-pointed red cross on a white mantle was worn over the shoulder. On their glorious war banner, *bauséant*, half white, half black, were the words, "Non nobis, non nobis, domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam"—"Not to us, but unto thy name, O Lord, give the glory!" They always carried about with them an altar and a portable chapel. Like the Jesuits they were devotees of the Church, sworn to defend the defenseless from the Moslem, and were never known to fear in battle or fail before a foe. From the beginning to the end of their two centuries of history they were never charged with cowardice.

In 1172 the Templars were made independent of bishops, and brought under the authority of the pope alone. They were allowed to have chaplains in their own ranks, to whom they might confess,

[1] So called because these lawyers and law-students occupied the old Templar quarters in London, and worshiped in their church.

and they enjoyed exemption from all taxes and tithes and interdict. They enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and often acted as a safe deposit company for kings and princes.[1] It is no wonder that wealth poured in on them, that many nobles joined them, and that at last, when their work was done and they had outlived their usefulness, they excited the cupidity of one of the most unscrupulous and cruel kings known to history, Philip the Fair of France. He had in Clement V a creature of his own, and ready to do his bidding. Philip had exhausted every means of obtaining more money, and the riches of the Templars offered a temptation too strong to resist. Döllinger says: "It was the general opinion of the time that a covetous desire for the property of the order formed the king's chief motive, as all the contemporary chronicles in Germany, in Italy, and especially in France itself, openly and covertly express this conviction, which is confirmed by the whole course of events."[2] The same historian shows also from recent documents that Philip's continual demand upon Clement to condemn Boniface VIII was bought off by the pope consenting to unite with him in the suppression of the Templars. "As often," he says, "as Clement showed signs of hesitation or delay in the matter of the destruction of the Templars, as often as he betrayed any scruples, or showed even an inclination to grant the Templars a hearing, so often did Philip and his legal advisers apply this special means of pressure, and always with unfailing result."[3]

PHILIP THE FAIR AND CLEMENT V.

The charges preferred against them were such infamies as denial of Christ, spitting upon the cross, the worship of hideous images, sorceries, unnatural lusts, and similar indecencies. By the horrible methods of the Inquisition, to whom the judicial process was turned over, whatever the judges desired the prisoners to confess was extorted from them. Renegades from the order, or those expelled for crime, or even good Templars under the tortures of the rack, made the necessary confessions. Such confessions could not be retracted under the penalty of burning to death—such was the infinite refinement of the cruelty and the perversion of justice which were guaranteed by the Holy Inquisition. Under this act on May 12, 1310, fifty-four knights were slowly burned to death, refusing in the midst of the most awful agonies to perjure themselves by false confessions. In 1312 the pope

[1] See a full and scholarly treatment in the last edition of Chambers's Encyc., *s. v.*, Edinb., 1893.

[2] The Suppression of the Knights Templar, in Historical and Literary Addresses, p. 207.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

formally suppressed the order. On March 19, 1314, Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master, and the "gray-haired Geoffrey de Charney, Master of Normandy, were brought from prison to receive judgment, when, to the dismay of the churchmen and the astonishment of all, they rose and solemnly declared their innocence and the blamelessness of the order. That same day on the Isle des Juifs, in the Seine, they were slowly roasted to death, declaring with their last breath that the confession formerly wrung from them by torture was untrue. A strange tradition asserts that from the stake the grand master summoned both the pope and the king to meet him at the bar of Almighty God within a year, and history tells us that within the year both went to their account." The property of the order for the most part was given to the Hospitalers, and even in France the king was forced by public opinion to forego a part of his prey.[1]

SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER.

In 1308 a bull from the pope ordered the arrest of all the Templars in England. This was instantly obeyed, but without the horrible circumstances connected with the affair in France. Various examinations were held, but nothing was elicited. Finally, under torture,[2] some preposterous admissions were made which gave the pretext for the suppression of the order. All who confessed were set at liberty, and those who maintained the innocence of the order were imprisoned in monasteries for life.[3] In Spain, Portugal, Germany, and in all Italy except in the case of six at Florence, the charges broke down and the order was found innocent.[4]

[1] It must not be supposed that the kings were not enriched from the spoil of the Templars. The Hospitalers were compelled to redeem the Templars' property from the kings with large sums of money. The effect was that the Order of St. John was impoverished instead of enriched by these enforced benefactions. In fact, as Sismondi says: "Before giving up these goods to the religious orders the sovereigns universally enriched themselves by sequestering them." Hist. Repub. Ital., iii, 181.

[2] The king at first would not permit torture to be used, but at last, under direct pressure from the pope, it was permitted.

[3] The Suppression of the Templars in England, in Church Quar. Rev., April, 1880, pp. 84, ff.

[4] One of the charges was that, although laymen, the Templars gave absolution. In reply to this the Grand Master of England, William de la More, explained that in receiving again a sinning brother the form was to strike him three times with a scourge, and then say to him, "Brother, pray to God to remit thy sins." He had never used the form, "I absolve thee." Lea has given a thorough investigation of this in his article, The Absolution Formula of the Templars, in Papers of the American Society of Church History, vol. v (N. Y., 1893), pp. 87, ff. He shows that, with the entire consent of the Church, the Templars for a long time confessed to the whole chapter, and received absolution in the ordinary terms from the master. It was not until 1260 that the

The question of the guilt or innocence of the Templars is one of the vexed questions of history. It must be confessed, however, that an impartial judgment of the fierce Inquisitional trial by torture allows no weight to its findings. This is steadily coming to be the final judgment of historians. It is true, indeed, that Hans Prutz,[1] Ranke,[2] though halting and cautious, Hammer-Purgstall,[3] Weber,[4] Michelet,[5] Dareste, Vini,[6] and others have received the almost universal opinion of contemporaries that the order was corrupt either in life or doctrine or both, and to a greater or less degree. On the other hand, those who have made the Templars the subject of earnest investigation, like Conrad Schottmüller,[7] who went into the matter with great thoroughness, Döllinger,[8] who studied the subject many years, the French historians—many of the earlier[9] and nearly all the later—like Vaisette, Villaret, Le Jeune, who wrote a detailed work, Raynouard,[10] who wrote a brilliant defense, Mignet, Guizot, Renan, Boutaric,[11] Lavocat, Bonnechose and H. de Curzon,[12] Fumagalli—a Cistercian, and therefore a notable witness—

formula, Ego te absolvo, was introduced into the Church. After 1168 the order was allowed by Alexander III to receive priests. Lea proves that this charge concerning absolution was a *brutum fulmen*. "It betrays a consciousness of the flimsiness of the graver accusations in the eagerness with which one was brought forward based upon the theological subtilties that at the same time were still under debate by the schoolmen." P. 58.

[1] Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens, Berlin, 1888. Prutz also wrote Geheimlehren und Geheimstatuten des Tempelherrenordens, Berlin, 1879.

[2] Weltgeschichte, 8th part, 1887, pp. 621, ff.

[3] Die Schuld der Templer, 1855. Ranke follows this author in thinking that the order had adopted a body of secret and heretical doctrines from the East.

[4] Weltgeschichte, Leipz., 15 vols., 1859–81.

[5] Procès de Templiers, 1841–51.

[6] Dei Tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana, in Atte dell' Academia Lucchese, vol. xiii (1843). Even this piece Döllinger examined. It appears from Vini that the rack was employed in the examination in Florence.

[7] Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens, 2 vols., Berlin, 1887.

[8] The Suppression of the Knights Templars, in Historical and Literary Addresses, transl. by Warre, Lond., 1894.

[9] Under the strict supervision of the press it was with difficulty the earlier French writers expressed an opinion at variance with what might be considered the voice of the French Church, ratified by the pope, at the Council of Sens, 1310.

[10] Monuments Historiques relatif à la Condemnation des Chevaliers du Temple, Toulouse, 1813.

[11] La France sous Philippe le Bel, Paris, 1861. This unanimity of experts in the only country where the order was condemned by the so-called confessions is remarkable.

[12] La Règle du Temple, Paris, 1886.

Cantu and Cibrario,[1] Froude,[2] and Lea,[3] whose scholarly researches are entitled to great weight, are convinced of the innocence of the order. It is noticeable that the order was never formally condemned, and in his bull of suppression, April 13, 1312, the pope alleges only the public scandal caused by the charges, and, pending more definite results, dissolves the order provisionally. The truth seems to be that the Templars, like all the monastic brotherhoods, had become more or less corrupt, and as they had long outlived their usefulness their suppression in any event was only a matter of time.[4] But of the unnatural and graver charges preferred against the Templars—resting on the popular gossip of an ignorant and superstitious age, or on the perjured evidence of criminals and renegades, or on the involuntary utterances of the victims of horrible tortures—these charges are not only improbable in themselves, but absolutely disproved by the steady denial of the most honorable and saintly knights when facing the stake and in the very article of death.[5]

CONCLUSION ON THE MORALS OF THE ORDERS.

The Teutonic Knights, formed of German merchants and others, started as a hospital order in 1190, were confirmed by the pope in 1191, and seven years later were converted into a military order. In addition to duties to the sick and the usual monastic vows, the order made a special vow to wage war against the heathen. This designation gave it its chief mission. In the

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.

[1] Cibrario undertakes to turn Michelet's unfavorable Procès even into a witness for the innocence of the order.

[2] The Knights Templars, N. Y., 1886; also in Spanish Story of the Armada and other Essays, Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

[3] Hist. of the Inquisition, N. Y. and Lond., 1888 (vol. iii). Lea calls the treatment of the Templars the "great crime of the Middle Ages" (iii, 288).

[4] Wealth and luxury in a time of peace inevitably led to immorality. A curious illustration of this is a collection of amatory poems in Greek addressed by the Knights Hospitalers to the ladies of Rhodes; see Torr, Rhodes in Modern Times (3rd cent. to Turkish occupation), Cambridge, 1887. This is a point on which the rule of these orders is especially strict.

[5] Cox speaks of these slanders as an illustration of what might be done by malignant lies uttered boldly under the plea of maintaining the truth and righteousness of God (Hist. of the Crusades, p. 221). The connection of the Order of the Temple with the Freemasons in their higher degrees is purely imaginary, not historical. 1. The Templars were not strictly a secret order, but a monastic brotherhood, whose rules and regulations were well known to the Church. In the English examinations the knights denied calmly and specifically that the chapters and reception of members were held in secret. 2. The order was not for speculative or social or fraternal purposes, but purely for placing their arms at the disposal of pilgrims. 3. The knights were in complete subordination to the pope, confessing the faith of the Roman Church, and ready at any time to die for that faith.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it did much fighting in Prussia and Lithuania. In 1525 it was secularized, and in 1809 it was entirely suppressed by Napoleon, except in Austria and Utrecht, where it still exists as, in a way, an aristocratic club. The Knights were cruel converters, but they were civilizers.

The Hospitalers, or Hospital Knights, whose chief duty was the waiting upon the sick, existed in many of the older orders or in separate associations. But the chief was the Order of the Knights of St. John, commonly called Hospitalers. In 1048 as Benedictines they established a chapel and hospital in Jerusalem, and, later, hospitals at the seaports. In 1118 they were made a fighting order, and they won great renown by the valor with which they fought the battles of the crusaders. In 1309 they captured the island of Rhodes, and held it for two hundred years as a bulwark against Turkish aggression. In 1523 they surrendered it to Solyman after one of the most stubbornly contested sieges in history. They then removed to the island of Malta, where they stood as the advance guard of Christendom against the further western extension of the Moslem. In 1565 Solyman the Magnificent determined to conquer this last stronghold of the Christians. He sent against it the finest fleet and the strongest army which had ever faced a Christian foe. By marvelous valor and endurance the Knights drove back the Turks, and thus helped to save Europe from barbarism.[1] At the close of the eighteenth century the Knights dispersed, breaking up their organization. They have since organized in various countries with a more or less direct suggestion of the old order.[2]

HOSPITALERS.

[1] For an account of this siege, see Prescott, Philip II, book iv, ch. iv.

[2] Woodhouse, in his excellent book, The Military Religious Orders, Lond., 1879, gives a list (pp. 199–202) of the houses and officers in England.

LITERATURE: FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

1. Hase, Karl. Franz von Assisi. Ein Heiligenbild. Leipz., 1856. Able and careful.
2. Oliphant, Mrs. M. O. Francis of Assisi. Lond., 1870; new ed., 1877. Interesting; written from the three main sources, but the story slightly idealized, with a womanly enthusiasm.
3. Bonaventura. Life of St. Francis, translated by Lockhart. 1868; 3d ed., 1890. The third source—less valuable than the first two, viz.: the Lives by Thomas of Celano and the Three Companions. Bonaventura's is the official orthodox life; too much of miracle, too little of human nature.
4. Bournet, A. St. François d'Assise. Etude sociale et médicale. Lyon and Paris, 1893.
5. Le Monnier, L. Histoire de St. François d'Assise. 2 vols. 3d ed., Lyon, 1890. English translation: History of St. Francis of Assisi. Lond., 1895. A valuable critical life from a Catholic standpoint.
6. Sabatier, P. Vie de St. François d'Assise. Paris, 1894. English transl. by Louise S. Houghton. N. Y., 1894. By far the best life. A work of both genius and learned research, yet leaving the existence of God an open question.

FRANCISCANS.

1. Wadding, L. Annales Minorum sive trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum. 17 vols. To 1540. Rome, 1731–41. Continued to 1558 by I. de Luce. 3d ed., 24 vols., Naples, 1731–1860.
2. Henrion-Fehr. St. François et les Franciscains. Paris, 1858.
3. Morin, F. St. François et les Franciscains. Paris, 1858.
4. Léon. L'auréole séraphique, vie de saints et bienheureux des trois ordres de St. François. 4 vols. Paris, 1883.
5. Mueller, Karl. Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften. Freiburg, 1885.
6. Huettebraeuker, A. Der Minoritenorden zur Zeit des grossen Schisma. Berl., 1898.

DOMINIC.

1. Acta Sanctorum. Augusti, tom. i, p. 358. Antv., 1733.
2. Caro. St. Dominique et les Dominicains. Paris, 1858.
3. Lacordaire, J. B. H. Vie de St. Dominique. Paris, 1840–44; 7th ed., 1871. English transl., Lond., 1883.
4. Drane, Augusta T. History of St. Dominic, Founder of the Friar Preachers. Lond., 1891. Translated into German, Düsseldorf, 1891, and into French, Paris, 1893. Best life; work done carefully and with the loving sympathy of a disciple. But Dominic yet waits for his Sabatier.

DOMINICANS OR PREACHING FRIARS.

1. Quetif and Echard. Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum. Lutet, Paris., 1719.
2. Annales Ordinis Prædicatorum. Rome, 1746.

3. Lacordaire, J. B. H. St. Dominique et les Dominicains. Paris, 1858. Historical sketch of the Order of St. Dominic. N. Y., 1869.
4. Bernard, Eugene. Les Dominicains dans l'Université de Paris. Paris, 1868. An interesting monograph.
5. Denifle, Heinr. Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228. (In Denifle and Ehrle's Archiv. I, Berl., 1885.)
6. Kleinermanns, Jos. Der dritte Orden von der Busse des heiligen Dominicus. Quellenmässige Darstellung. Dülmen, 1885.
7. Jessopp, Augustus. The Coming of the Friars, and other Historical Essays. N. Y., 1889. The first essay treats specially the introduction and settlement of the Franciscans and Dominicans in England.

CHAPTER XLV.

FRANCIS AND HIS ORDER.

THE Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was saved by the Mendicant Orders—the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites. When everything bade fair for a complete disintegration of the Church on account of its corruptions,[1] St. Francis and St. Dominic arose as the great reformers, the heralds of a better age, and the saviours of the papacy.

Francis of Assisi ought to be first in the affections of the Roman Church. No sooner did he die than the process of his canonization was set on foot.[2] Never did a man blend more perfectly the most simple-hearted enthusiasm for the imitation of Christ with ardent devotion to the holy see. Utterly free from worldliness, enamored with the ideal of poverty and peace set forth by Christ, going forth with the faith of a child to preach penitence, with a charity and zeal that never flagged, this one son of an obscure town in central Italy, this root out of a dry ground, has shed more charm upon the Catholic Church and kept more people within her fold than all her cardinals and theologians. With every fresh investigation the saintly features of this apostle of the thirteenth century appear more radiant than ever.

Giovanni Francesco Bernardone was the son of a rich merchant of Assisi, a town which sits proudly on the hills of Umbria, fourteen miles from its old enemy, Perugia. As a youth he was careless, gay, handsome, leading the young aristocratic set of his town in all their wild escapades. Mrs. Oliphant implies that there was nothing vicious in all this;[3] but Sabatier, with a franker and less

[1] An excellent picture of the destructive forces at work when Francis arose is given by Sabatier in his Life of St. Francis of Assisi, pp. 28, ff. After Hase and de Malan and Mrs. Oliphant and Bernardin had gone over the documents, Paul Sabatier, after ten years' study of all the sources, ransacking the garrets of the Italian monasteries, subjecting all the materials to a fresh criticism, writes once more the story of the Little Poor Man (Poverello) of Assisi, and finds more and more in him to love and to admire.

[2] Died 1226, canonized 1228.

[3] Francis of Assisi, p. 5: "Among all the details that are given us we find no record of any disgraceful or painful episode."

idealistic attitude toward the sources, represents things as they are.[1] But two serious illnesses interrupted this worldly life, and affliction proved a schoolmaster to bring him, as it did Loyola, to Christ. He boldly left all his old ways, and went passionately into the path of self-denial. This was in his twenty-sixth year, 1208. He waited on the lepers, rebuilt with his own hand the decayed churches of Assisi, one of which he called his Portiuncula, or "little inheritance," and as the final act of self-surrender he discarded his wallet, his staff, and his shoes, and arrayed himself in a rough brown tunic of coarse woolen cloth, girt with a hempen cord. One day mass was being celebrated at the Portiuncula. The priest read the daring words of Christ: "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither silver, nor gold, nor brass in your purses, neither scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staff, for the laborer is worthy of his hire." These strong words penetrated him like a revelation. "This is what I want," he cried, "this is what I was seeking; from this day forth I shall set myself with all my strength to put it in practice." "Before the shabby altars of the Portiuncula," says Sabatier, "he had perceived the banner of poverty, sacrifice, and love; he would carry it to the assault of every fortress of sin; under its shadow a true knight of Christ, he would marshal all the valiant warriors of a spiritual strife."[2]

REVOLUTION IN FRANCIS.

Francis did not set out to found a brotherhood. At first he simply intended to preach repentance to the people. But others came to him and begged to be enrolled with him in this literal imitation of the first apostles. These he received. They were put under no vows excepting poverty and preaching. These men were not mendicants. They were to labor with their hands where work could be obtained; where it failed they were to ask simply for the necessaries of life. Francis found that a sanction from the pope was necessary. This he sought in 1210 from Innocent III, who gave it to him orally and informally in a cordial interview. Francis

[1] Life of Francis of Assisi, p. 8; "Thomas of Celano and the Three Companions agree in picturing him as going to the worst excesses. Later biographers speak with more circumspection of his worldly career. A too widely credited story gathered from Celano's narrative was modified by the Chapter General of 1260, and the frankness of the early biographers was, no doubt, one of the causes which most effectually contributed to their definitive condemnation three years later." Thomas of Celano and the Three Companions were his earliest and best biographers. Bonaventura came later, and wrote his official biography, which gives us a miracle-worker rather than a man.

[2] Sabatier, p. 70.

saw the monastic orders, though vowed to poverty, rolling in wealth. The inconsistency he could not tolerate. Neither in their personal or corporate capacity could the Brothers of his order hold property. In fact, they were not to be a monastic body, with house and lands, but a band of itinerant evangelists, taking upon themselves the vows of Christ's first commission to his apostles. Nor was preaching their great object. The corner stone of Francis's scheme was love. "Go out," said he to his companions, "and show the people what love will do, what purity and self-denial will accomplish, and preach not so much by your words as by your lives." With this beautiful scheme he sent his followers out to regenerate the Church. Even the name of the Brothers proved that all worldly ambitions had been cut up by the roots, and that Francis went forth as the "patriarch of religious democracy," as his compatriot, Cristofani, calls him.[1] They were called Minorites, the Lesser Brethren, from the lower order of the populace. The numbers rapidly increased. In 1219, at the first general assembly, five thousand members were present. The Brothers went out over Europe, and even into the East, preaching Christ by the simplicity of their faith, by self-sacrifice, prayer, and holiness. Some historians call them the Methodists of mediæval times.[2]

FOUNDING HIS ORDER.

But the freshness and beauty of this morning could not last.

[1] Storia d'Assisi, i, 70.

[2] Compare the interesting essay of Jessopp, The Coming of the Friars, Lond. and N. Y., 1889. He says in italics, "*St. Francis was the John Wesley of the thirteenth century whom the Church did not cast out.* Rome has never been afraid of fanaticism. She has always known how to utilize her enthusiasts fired by a new idea. [Not always. She did not utilize Peter Waldo, who came to her in as sincere faith and on as holy a mission as Francis.] The Church of England has never known how to deal with a man of genius. From Wiclif to Frederick Robertson, from Bishop Peacock to Dr. Rowland Williams, the clergyman who has been in danger of impressing his personality on Anglicanism, where he has not been the object of relentless persecution, has at least been regarded with timid suspicion, has been shunned by the prudent men of low degree, and by those of high degree has been forgotten. In the Church of England there has seldom been a time when the enthusiast has not been treated as a very *unsafe* man. Rome has found a place for the dreamiest mystic or the noisiest ranter—found a place and found a sphere of useful labor. We, with our insular prejudices, have been sticklers for the narrowest uniformity, and yet we have accepted as a useful addition to the creed of Christendom one article—*surtout pas trop de zèle!*"—"above all, not too much zeal" (pp. 47, 48). Jessopp says again that when John Wesley offered to the Church of England precisely the successors of Francis's preaching Brothers, "we would have no commerce with them; we did our best to turn them into a hostile and invading force" (p. 49).

When the Brothers received formal ratification from Honorius III in 1223 the Rule which was then presented to the pope was a compromise between Francis's apostolic ideal and the practical sense of the Church. An intense conflict was going on in the order, and great pressure was exerted without the order, which Francis, with his humility and pious deference to superiors, could not resist. At first the Rule was simply the short, sharp sentences from the Gospel,[1] or, as Sabatier well says, the "true Rule was Francis himself."[2] But the Rule which was finally ratified by the pope in 1223 made of the Brothers an order under the direction of the Roman Curia, took out all the spontaneity of free movement, toned down the first requirements of Francis, and converted the order into a close corporation under the pope. Yet even through this Rule there breathes the true spirit of Francis, with its emphasis on poverty, love, and the following of Christ.[3] Poor Francis tried to stem the tide, but he was overborne by numbers and weight. He saw the eclipse of his sweet ideal. This may account in part for his early death, October 4, 1226, when only forty-four years of age.

THE FAILURE OF FRANCIS'S IDEAL.

Francis, in his Will, held up before the Brothers the first idea of the movement, without denying the validity of the later qualifications. He says:

"We loved to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant and submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would continue to do, and I will also that all friars work at some honorable trade. Let those who have none learn one, not for the purpose of receiving the price of their toil, but for their good example and to flee idleness. And when they do not give us the price of the work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salutation we ought to give: 'God give you peace.' Let the Brothers take care not to receive churches, habitations, and all that men build for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule, and let them not receive hospitality in them except as strangers and pilgrims. I absolutely interdict all the Brothers, in whatever place they may be found, from asking any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, under pretext of church or convent or under pretext of preaching, nor for their personal protection. If they are not received any-

WILL OF FRANCIS.

[1] Matt. xix, 21; xvi, 24–26; Luke ix, 1–6.

[2] Sabatier, p. 76.

[3] See this Rule in Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, pp. 344–349.

where let them go elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God." [1]

Francis interdicted all glosses in the Rule or in the Will, but enjoined that both should always be observed in the "clear and simple manner, without commentary," in which they were given. But neither the Rule nor the sacred memory of the Poverello's life could keep the Franciscans from going down the Avernus.

Near the end of Francis's life, on September 17, 1224, while rapt in prayer on the summit of Mount Verna, and in the ecstasy of agonizing desire to be conformed to the image of Christ's death, he received the Stigmata—the marks of the wounds received by the Lord. All the earliest biographers describe this, and the event rests on such abundant documentary evidence that Sabatier, though he totally rejects the very idea of miracles as immoral,[2] receives it. He explains it on psychological laws. Hase, on the other hand, subjects the story to a critical analysis which destroys all its value.[3] The Stigmata, according to the first Lives, were simply fleshly excrescences recalling the form and color of the nails of the cross. The flow of blood is a later invention. There is no event in Francis's life more thoroughly proven than this, and as Sabatier says, "psychological agreement between the external circumstances and the event is so close that an invention of this character would be as inexplicable as the fact itself." There are several well-authenticated cases of stigmatization, but the phenomenon rests on pathological conditions which are entirely explicable on physical and mental conditions.[4]

THE STIGMATA.

The order which Francis thus founded in spite of himself[5]

[1] See the Will given in full in Sabatier, pp. 387–389.

[2] Pp. 433–435. See his excellent review of the evidence in an Appendix, pp. 433, ff. Sabatier says that God's law of impartiality excludes miracles (p. 433).

[3] Franz von Assisi, Leipz., 1856. A history of the miracle, founded on Hase, is given in Good Words, 1867, p. 38, ff. Hase devotes sixty pages (142–202) to a study of the Stigmata.

[4] "We must not lay any stress upon such cases. They are no more a sign of divine favor than the shattered constitution and disordered brain which produce it."—The Schaff-Herzog Encyc., iii, 2248.

[5] There is a difference among scholars as to this. Müller, die Anfänge des Minoritenordens, Freib., 1885, agrees with Sabatier in the opinion I have expressed above, that Francis was at the beginning an unconscious founder of a monastic institute, while Father Ehrle holds that the formation of monasteries, as opposed to the free itinerant life of the first Franciscan evangelists, and the regular organization of the order, were entirely in conformity with the original idea. See his Controversen über Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens, in Zeitsch. f. Katholische Theologie, 1887, H. ii. No unbiased reader of the Will, or even of the Rule of 1223, can agree with Ehrle in this view.

proved one of the most useful in the Roman Church. One of its best features was its adoption of the Tertiaries, or Third Order of St. Francis, an idea not new to the Franciscans. It is the enrollment of members who continue to live in the "world," without the vow of celibacy, and bound only by the spirit and not by the letter of the Rule. Tertiaries must eschew all ornaments, all doubtful diversions, like the theater, must restore all ill-gotten gains, and attend faithfully to the duties of religion and charity. This extension of the monastic influence reminds us of Wesley's General Rules, and especially his Bands, and the High Church Guilds and Brotherhoods of the present day. The Tertiaries in their various forms exercised, and generally for good, a powerful influence on mediæval society. Both Weingarten and Denifle emphasize also the influence of the Franciscan Order on German mysticism. Weingarten says that German Pietism and the Moravian Brethren are the "last fruit of that piety of the heart, proceeding from inmost personal communion with Christ, which sprang from the original Franciscan system."[1] A most interesting line of religious development thus opens up—Francis and his band of workers preaching penitence and love, the Mystics, the Pietists and Moravians, and then Wesley and evangelical Protestantism.[2]

THE ORDER.

There were many followers of the humble Assisian who would not see his order completely transformed without a struggle. The fight between the Spirituals or Observants, as the stricter party were called, and the Conventuals, or liberal party, was one of the most bitter ever known in ecclesiastical history. The Spirituals were cruelly persecuted, tortured, and even burned. This interesting controversy resulted in a permanent split in the order and a schism in the Church.

Francis could not bow to the spirit of the thirteenth century in its reverence for learning. The orders soon contended with each other, like college fraternities, as to who should get the brightest and most learned men in their ranks. But Francis would not put aside his ideal—love and goodness. "The Brethren shall not take trouble," he says, "to teach those ignorant of letters, but shall pay heed to this—that they desire to have the Spirit of God and its holy workings."[3] "Suppose," he says again, "that you had nobility and learning enough to know all things, that you were acquainted with all languages, the course of the stars, and all the rest,

[1] Zeittafeln und Ueberlicke zur Kirchengeschichte, 8d ed., enl., Rudolstadt, 1888.

[2] See H. M. Scott, in Cur. Dis. in Theol., vi, 225.

[3] Rule of 1223, c. 10.

what is there in that to be proud of? A single demon knows more on those subjects than all the men in this world put together. But there is one thing that the demon is incapable of, and which is the glory of man—to be faithful to God."[1] Like Paul, Francis was an enthusiast for one thing, and he would have relished Wesley's impatient strenuousness for the salvation of men: "I would throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the loss of one soul."[2]

But this could not last. Soon the Franciscans and Dominicans were rivals in the race for getting the most men into the universities. Francis's dreaded change of emphasis—from holiness to theology—came in good time. Bonaventura, the Franciscan, was lecturing in one room of the University of Paris, and Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican, was lecturing against him in another room. If the Franciscan taught one thing, the Dominican taught its opposite. The Franciscans, however, stood on solid ground. They were Realists, and with their great friar, John Duns Scotus, repudiated predestination. The practical bent toward life and the love which they received from their founder made itself felt in their theology. They could boast a long list of immortals—five popes, Hales, Ockham, Ximenes, and that marvel of mediæval times, Roger Bacon, and the historian Wadding, an Irishman, who, like most celebrated Irishmen, lived and wrought outside of Ireland. In all the contrasts of history there is not one which surpasses the amazing development of the simple band of threadbare preachers of Penitence who flocked to the standard of Francis into the learned and masterful company of brilliant authors and wise leaders who bore his magic name and did world-wide service in his honor.

RIVALRY OF THE TWO ORDERS.

On Francis and the fundamental change which his institute underwent, it is only fair to view him as he really was, and as he went calmly on in his chosen career, without taking into account the legendary marvels which his later admiring devotees attributed to him. He himself held miracles in comparative disdain, and his first biographers, Celano and the Companions, are wonderfully free from them. His age was one in which earnest belief on the one hand, and all approach to high moral standards on the other, lay in one common grave.[3] Moral and doctrinal rectitude had long been passing through hopeless disintegration. His aspiration was to retrace the steps of ecclesiastical and ethical vagary; to lead the

[1] See Sabatier, *l. c.*, p. 281, and note 1 on p. 282.

[2] Wesley, Works, viii, 334 (last London ed.).

[3] Comp. C. Anderson Scott, in Critical Review, iv (1894), p. 355.

Church back to Christ as Teacher, Redeemer, and Example; to hold up the Sermon on the Mount as the only creed for pure living; to make the Church itself the embodiment of Christ's life and power; and to overcome the violence and waywardness of sinful passion by making supreme the truth and spirit of the whole Gospel. The ideal of Francis was sublime, and his labors to make it real belong to the higher realm of human greatness. His life was a protest against wrongdoing and vicious living. To the honor of Rome be it said, that he was permitted to speak and act in harmony with his deepest convictions. But the reformer was weaker than the organization which he sought to reform. His work was transmuted by the strong arm of Rome into a force for advancing her own ends, for substituting the shadow for the substance, for augmenting the popular faith in alleged miracles, and for making Francis the mere pretext for measures and beliefs which would have been abhorrent to him had he ever gone so far, in his wildest fancy, as to suppose them possible. No human organization has ever been so skillful and mighty as Rome in utilizing the achievements of its honest revolutionists for schemes of which the heroes had never dreamed and for which they had never toiled. The Roman acid has always been strong enough to dissolve and absorb into its general mass the purest crystals which it has deposited. The individuality was gone, but the elements were used for wider purposes. Francis was no more Francis, but it was an historical necessity which Rome eagerly seized upon to call the order by his name. But who would recognize Francis the practical and the real in the typical Franciscan of history, who revels in his world of ecstasies, visions, dreams, and miracles?

CHAPTER XLVI.

DOMINIC AND HIS ORDER.

In the year 1218 Dominic and Francis met at the Portiuncula. The former had always been powerfully impressed at the success of the Minorites, and it was from them that he borrowed the idea of poverty to reinforce the popularity of his own flagging order. This was wise, for after the new vow the Dominicans also rapidly increased. Between the two men there was a difference. "Francis is the man of inspiration, Dominic is that of obedience to orders." One is the Hammer of Heretics, the other is the Father of the Poor.[1] Dominic was equally conscientious, sincere, devout, and with an equal devotion to the Church. He had a wider outlook and a more calculating spirit. He was not averse to learning, and touched the fountains of power. That the Church should have given birth to two such men at that time proves that the Spirit of God had not entirely left her.

Dominic's youth was far different from that of Francis. The best blood of Castile flowed in his veins, but he was early taught to walk in the paths of piety, from which he never departed. This scion of the ancient and honorable house of the Guzmans—a family of saints—was born at Calaroga, near Osma, in Old Castile, in 1170. All kinds of legends surround his life, to many of which Drane, the most critical of his biographers, gives full credence. He was educated from an early age by his uncle, an archpresbyter, and at the age of fourteen he went to the University of Palencia, afterward transferred to Salamanca. He applied himself intensely to his studies, but not more so than to the pursuits of religion. He was saintly from his boyhood. In the terrible famine of 1191 he gave away everything of value, even his parchments, annotated with his own hands. When his fellow-students expostulated with him the enthusiast replied, "Would you have me study off these dead skins, when men are dying of

YOUTH OF DOMINIC.

[1] Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Assisi, p. 215. There is no Sabatier for Dominic. Augusta Theodosia Drane has written an elaborate History of St. Dominic, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, from a careful study of all the original authorities, but from the standpoint of a devout believer, and therefore with too much credence in the legends. Her work has had the rare honor of translation into both French and German.

hunger?" He was ten years at the university. In 1194 he was made canon, and afterward subprior of the monastery at Osma.

In 1203 he accompanied his bishop on a diplomatic mission to France. It proved the turning point in his life. His journey lay through Languedoc. He saw those beautiful plains given over to what he believed to be heresy, and on his devout mind this made a fearful impression. Some of the heretics were antichristian, thoroughly indoctrinated with Manichæism, others were more evangelical, but all were estranged from the Church by its manifold corruptions and wicked clergy. While Dominic saw this, he also saw that the papal legates were incompetent for the work of conversion, on account of the pomp and state in which they carried on their work. He therefore asked the privilege of converting the heretics of Languedoc, which he did with self-denying simplicity, going among them in a spirit of love, and convincing them out of Holy Scripture. Drane says that his eloquence "conquered the obstinacy of vast numbers whom he won to the obedience of the Church."[1] His mission, however, on the whole, was a failure, although alleged miracles attended him on every path. It was a stubborn generation, and Innocent III had lost confidence in Christian means of conversion. After his legate, Cardinal Castelnau, was slain, the dogs of war were let loose upon the Albigenses, and under the bloodthirsty Montfort the despised heretics were well-nigh exterminated.

LABORS IN LANGUEDOC.

Dominic, therefore, had the unenviable notoriety of being associated with this war against heresy, and from the fact that he was the first Inquisitor it has commonly been supposed that one of his duties was to turn over the heretics to death after their examination. Many of the early Dominican biographers and other Roman Catholic authorities earnestly affirm it, but this tradition is now exploded. The learned Dominican Echard proved that prior to the council of the Lateran in 1215, when Dominic ceased his labors in Languedoc, the office of Inquisitor did not exist, and that even then it was not so named.[2] The only evidence for the tradition is certain documents which simply refer to the penances which were exacted of heretics on being received back into the Church.[3] Lea shows that it was in fact ten years after Dominic's

[1] History of St. Dominic, p. 41.

[2] The decrees of that council require bishops to appoint three men of good character who shall assist him in visiting those parts of his diocese infested by heretics that they may seek them out and bring them to justice. See Echard, Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum, Paris, 1719–21, 2 vols., fol.

[3] These documents are given in full by Drane, pp. 109–112.

death before the Inquisition could be said to have existed at all,[1] and he classes this legend with the enthusiastic declaration of an historian of the order that more than a hundred thousand heretics had been converted by Dominic's teachings, merits, and miracles.[2] In fact, the common association of the Inquisition with the Dominican order rests on a misconception. The Inquisition was not formally confided to their hands, but any of the orders or the secular clergy could be used whenever convenient. There is no doubt that Dominic shared the belief of the Church of his time that the burning of incorrigible heretics was an act of piety and necessity, but his own method of conversion was by persuasion, and not by the sword.[3]

PAPAL SANCTION FOR THE DOMINICAN ORDER.

In 1216 Dominic received the papal sanction for his order, the Friar Preachers, who were to go out over the world carrying the banner of salvation. In 1220, influenced by the Franciscans, the order embraced the vow of poverty, which, however, was interpreted as not excluding collective property. Their numbers rapidly increased. Dominic had a larger mind than Francis, and he encouraged learning. Everywhere his schools and churches could be seen. The ablest minds in the Church donned the white gown with the black hood—Albert the Great, Aquinas, Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Savonarola, Las Casas, and Vincent Ferrier. Four popes came from them, and they had bishops without number. They were profound students of theology, and it is due to their preaching and that of the Franciscans that the light of faith was kept burning on the candlestick of the Church during the later Middle Ages. The whole constitution and thought of the Preaching Order revolved around the idea of making learned preachers of the faith and efficient converters of heretics. Pastoral work and manual labor were largely omitted, that everything might bend to study and prayer. Fixed dwellings were a matter of course, and higher education was a requisition.[4] In their earliest seat, Toulouse, their course of

[1] History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, i, 300.

[2] See references in Lea, p. 300, note. Both Lacordaire, Vie de S. Dominique, Paris, 1840, and Drane, ch. ix, vindicate Dominic from complicity in blood-guiltiness which the tradition implies, but the Abbé Douais does not hesitate to affirm the legend on the authority of the bull of Sixtus V (Sources de l'Histoire de l'Inquisition, in Revue des Quest. Histor., Oct. 1, 1881, p. 400). But this is a case where papal bulls cannot be deemed infallible. Even the infallibilists would exclude historical points from the range of divine guidance.

[3] Tulloch, art. Dominic in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed., needs correction here.

[4] Denifle, Die Constitution des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228, in Archiv. f. Litt. und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, 1885, H. ii,

study was most rigid, including Greek, Hebrew, and, for Eastern missionaries, Arabic. The student was required to understand apologetics and homiletics. To show the efficiency of their training, a brilliant pupil of theirs, Bernard de Gaillac (d. 1331), mastered Greek so thoroughly that he could preach in it readily, then translated Aquinas into that language, and went to Constantinople to win the Greek Church to the papacy.[1] The Dominican would not have been frightened at the ordinary curriculum leading to the Protestant ministry, for his course was even more protracted: three years in the preparatory department, three years in the arts course (studium artium), three years in the scientific department (studium naturalium), three years in theology, and a postgraduate course for teachers (studium solemne).[2]

DOMINICAN LEARNING.

Is it any wonder that these acute and richly furnished intellects checked the advance of dissent in Europe, and brought thousands into Christianity in India, China, and Japan? Their range of literary activity was encyclopedic, exhausting the learning of the times. Even in the thirteenth century, before 1258, a catalogue of Dominican "Masters of Theology" embraced twenty teachers who "lectured and debated two and two in the presence of scholars and monks and many prelates of the Churches."[3] Let Protestantism remember that if it will master the world, while receiving all the larger truth which has broken forth out of the Word in these later centuries, it must emulate the Dominican in his emphasis on the intellect and the Franciscan in his emphasis on the heart.

[1] Molinier, G. Bernard de Gaillac et l'enseigement chez lez Dominicains à la fin du XIII siècle, in Revue Historique, XXV (1884), 2.

[2] Douais, Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au XIII et au XIV siècle, Paris, 1884. Scott, Cur. Dis., iii, 176.

[3] Denifle, Quellen zur Gelehrtengeschichte des Predigerordens, im 13 u. 14 Jahrhundert, in Archiv. f. Litt. u. Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, 1886, Bd. 2.

LITERATURE: WALDENSES AND MEDIÆVAL DISSENTERS.

I. GENERAL WORKS.

1. Walch, C. W. F. Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Ketzereyen, Spaltungen und Religionsstreitigkeiten bis auf die Zeiten der Reformatoren. 11 parts. Leipz., 1762–85.
2. Hahn, C. U. Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter, besonders in den 11, 12, und 13 Jahrhunderten. 3 vols. Stuttgart, 1845–50.
3. Ullmann, C. Reformers before the Reformation. English transl. 2 vols., Edinb., 1855.
4. Jundt, Auguste. Histoire du Pantheisme populaire au moyen âge et au 16me siècle. Paris, 1875.
5. Tocco, Felice. L'Eresia nel medio Evo. Florence, 1884.
6. Doellinger, J. J. I. Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters. München, 1890. The first volume contains a history of the Gnostic-Manichaean sects; the second, and much the more valuable, furnishes documents bearing on the Waldenses and Cathari. See Newman in Chr. Lit., ii, 55–59, and Schaff in Presb. and Ref. Rev., i, 819–821.

II. WALDENSES OR VAUDOIS.

1. Keller, Andreas. Geschichte der würtembergischen Waldenser. Tübingen, 1796.
2. Perrin, J. P. Histoire des Vaudois. Geneva, 1619. English transl., Luther's Forerunners. Lond., 1624.
3. Dieterici, W. Die Waldenser und ihre Verhältnisse zu dem Brandenburg-Preussischen Staate. Berl., 1831.
4. Gilly, W. S. Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Waldensian Researches. 2 vols. Lond., 1825 and 1831.
5. Faber, G. S. Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses. Lond., 1838.
6. Monastier, Antoine. Histoire de l'église vaudoise. 2 vols., Lausanne, 1847. English transl., A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin. Lond. 1848; N. Y., 1849.
7. Dieckhoff, A. G. Die Waldenser im Mittelalter. Zwei historische Untersuchungen. Göttingen, 1851. A fundamental work; destroys old legends; began the newer and truer historical construction.
8. Muston, Alexis. L'Israel des Alpes. 4 vols. Paris, 1851. Two English translations: The Israel of the Alps. History of the Persecutions of the Waldenses. Translated by Wm. Hazlitt. Lond., 1852. A better translation, The Israel of the Alps. A complete history of the Waldenses and their Colonies. 2 vols. Glasgow, 1875. Muston also wrote Hist. des Vaudois. Paris, 1834.

9. Herzog, J. J. Die Romanischen Waldenser, ihre vorreformatische Zustände und Lehren, ihre Reformation im 16 Jahrhundert, und Die Rückwirkungen derselben. Halle, 1853.
10. Wilhelm, August. Die Waldenser im Mittelalter. Göttingen, 1851.
11. Maitland, S. R. Facts and Documents Illustrative of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. Lond., 1832; again, 1862.
12. Cantù, Cesare. Gli Eretici d'Italia. 3 vols. Turin, 1865–66.
13. Todd, J. H. Books of the Vaudois: MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Oxf. and Cambr., 1865. Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist. Dubl., 1840.
14. Palacky, Frantisek. Die Beziehungen und die Verhältnisse der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Sekten in Böhmen. Prag, 1869.
15. Melia, Pius. Origin, Persecution, and Doctrines of the Waldenses. Lond., 1870.
16. Worsfold, Jn. The Vaudois of Piedmont. A visit to their valleys, and a sketch of their history. Lond., 1873.
17. Preger, W. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldenser im Mittelalter: in the Abhandlungen der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften. München, 1875: 13, 1. Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldensern: in the same, 1887: 18, 1. Ueber die Verfassung der französichen Waldenser in der älteren Zeit: in same, 1890: 19, 3. All printed separately. "No sounder critic has ever busied himself with the literature of mediæval sects." See Newman, in Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., iv, 167, 168.
18. Vailleumier, A. Les apologistes vaudois au XVIIIe siècle. Lausanne, 1876.
19. Macduff, J. R. The Exiles of Lucerne. Lond., 1854; new ed., 1877.
20. Goll, Jaroslav. Verkehr der böhmischen Brüder mit den Waldensern. Prag, 1878. (Part I of his Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder.)
21. Arnaud, Henri. The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of their Valleys, with a compendious History of that people, previous and subsequent to that event. Lond., 1827. New French ed., Geneva, 1879.
22. Tron, B. Pierre Valdo et les Pauvres de Lyon. Pignerol, 1879.
23. Willyam, Jane L. A Short History of the Waldensian Church. Lond., 1855. 3d ed., by Mrs. Matheson, 1879. Popular.
24. Comba, Emilio. Waldo and the Waldenses before the Reformation. Transl. by T. E. Comba, N. Y., 1880. Storia della Riforma in Italia. Florence, 1881. Hist. of Waldenses of Italy from Origin to the Reformation. 2 vols. Trans. by T. E. Comba. Lond., 1888. Henri Arnaud, sa vie et ses lettres. La Tour, 1889. Storia dei Valdesi. Turin, 1893. Comba is professor in the Waldensian College in Florence, and his works are not only of great interest, but also of scientific completeness and accuracy. See Wilson in Presb. Rev., 1881, 605, and Briggs, *ibid.*, 1888, 329.
25. Klaiber, K. H. Henri Arnaud, Pfarrer und Kriegsoberster der Waldenser. Ein Lebensbild. Stuttgart, 1880.
26. Rochas d'Aiglun, Albert de. Les Vallées Vaudoises. Paris, 1880.
27. Wylie, J. A. History of the Waldenses. Lond., 1880. Popular; reprinted from his History of Protestantism.
28. Nielsen, F. Die Waldenser in Italien. Gotha, 1880. Translated from the Danish.

29. Gilles, Pierre. Histoire ecclésiastique des . . . églises vaudoises de l'an 1160 . . . au 1643. 2 vols. Pignerol, 1881.
30. Ochsenbein, G. F. Der Inquisitionsprozess wider die Waldenser zu Freiburg-im-Unstrut im Jahre 1430, nach den Akten dargestellt. Bern, 1881.
31. Montet, E. Histoire littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont. Geneva and Paris, 1885. Valuable.
32. Mueller, K. Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des 14 Jahrhunderts. Gotha, 1886. See Newman in Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., iv, 169.
33. Foerster, W. Review of "La noble leçon," published by Ed. Montet in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1888, No. 20.
34. Brunel, Louis. Les Vaudois des Alpes Françaises. Paris, 1890. 2d ed.
35. Chevalier, Jules. Mémoire historique sur les Heresies en Dauphiné. Valence, 1890.
36. Haupt, Hermann. Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstl. Deutschland. Freiburg, 1890. See Newman in Papers of Am. Soc. Ch. Hist., iv, 169–170.
37. Berard, Alex. Les Vaudois, leur histoire sur les deux versants des Alpes du IV au XVIII siècle. Lyon, 1892.
38. Strong, C. H. Brief Sketch of the Waldenses. Lawrence, Kan., 1893.
39. Bompiani, S. Hist. of the Italian Waldenses. N. Y., 1897.

III. CATHARI AND ALBIGENSES.

1. Allix, Pierre. Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Albigenses. Lond., 1692; new ed., Oxf., 1821.
2. Sismondi, J. C. L. S. History of the Crusades against the Albigenses in the Thirteenth Century. Lond., 1826.
3. Maitland, S. R. Facts and Documents Illustrative of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. Lond., 1832.
4. Fauriel, C. C. Histoire de la Croisade contre les hérétiques Albigeois. Paris, 1885.
5. Barrau, J. J., et Darrogan, B. Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois. (Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire de France aux XIe, XIIe, et XIIIe siècles.) 2 vols. Paris, 1840.
6. Luebkert, J. H. B. De haeresi Priscillianistarum fontibus. Copenhagen, 1840.
7. Schmidt, Ch. Histoire et Doctrines de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois. 2 vols. Paris, 1849.
8. Euthymius Zigabanus. Panoplia. Edited by Gieseler. Göttingen, 1852. An exposition of the doctrines of the Bogomiles.
9. Razki. Bogomili i Catareni. Agram, 1869.
10. Hareau, B. Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition Albigeois. Paris, 1877.
11. Lombard, A. Paulicians. Geneva, 1879.
12. Meyer, Paul. La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois, commencée par Guillaume de Tudela et continuée par une poete anonyme. Paris, 1879.
13. Peyrat, N. Histoire des Albigeois. 2 vols. Paris, 1880–82.
14. Breede, Ernst. Geschichte des Begriffes der Katharsis. 2 parts. Riga, 1880–83.
15. Douais, C. L'Albigéisme et les Frères Prêcheurs à Norbonne au 13e siècle. Paris, 1894.

IV. BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.

1. Gindely, Ant. Geschichte der bömischen Brüder. 2 vols. Prag, 1862.
2. Kruemmel, L. Utraquisten und Taboriten. Gotha, 1872. For an excellent summary of recent investigations on mediæval sects, see the chapters by Newman in Papers of Am. Soc. of Ch. Hist., iv, 167–221. See also the literature cited under John Hus.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE WALDENSES AND THE MEDIÆVAL DISSENTERS.

THOSE who speak of the Middle Ages as a Dead Sea of Religious Calm—no life, no dissenting voices, no great currents of spiritual enthusiasm, no profound movements counter to the ruling Church, have a narrow view of that epoch. This is especially true of the latter part of the mediæval period, especially since the twelfth century, when Europe was swarming with sects and stirring with either healthy or fanatical excitement. The movements may be divided into two classes—the heretical and the evangelical, or the Manichæan and the Catholic.

ORIENTAL DUALISM.

The persistence of the old Hindu and Persian dualism is one of the marvels of history. The problem of evil has staggered the human mind. There is only one solution—that offered by the theology of the free will, which explains sin as the abuse of freedom, the possibility of which is inevitable in a moral world made for men and not for machines. But that solution could not be grasped by those trained under the shadow of fatalism which spread its gloomy darkness over the whole East and some sections of Christendom. To these the only solution was that of Mani, that there are two beings, one infinitely good, the Creator of the soul of man and everything good, and the other evil, the creator of matter, sin, and evil. It is a striking testimony to the persistence of this conception that nearly every sect of the Middle Ages was infected with it, that it explains the opprobrium cast upon the body by many in the Catholic Church, and that it has been recently revived in part by the so-called "Christian Science," which has had large vogue in the United States. One general name covers all these mediæval Manichæan-Christian sects—namely, Cathari, "the Pure." From a document first edited by Döllinger we get an excellent description of the tenets of one of them, the Albanenses, so called from the country of their origin or activity, Albania: "You teach and believe that there are two Creators from eternity, and that they are contrary, and that there is a great conflict between them, and that the one fights against the other, and destroys the other, according as either is more potent, publicly and privately. If this is true each is lord of

his own account, and lord over his own kingdom, and the creatures and sons of each ought to be subject to him. . . . O Albanenses, you preach two gods, two peoples, and two kingdoms without beginning, and that each of these will be of perpetual duration. O Albanenses, you preach that the evil god sent his messenger, or his messengers, into the kingdom of the good God, and that a great battle took place there, and that not being able to resist Michael the archangel they were thrust out of heaven; but yet they fell into a multitude of the souls of the good God, whom the evil god himself imprisoned in human bodies, for restoring whom the good God sent his Son into the world, who died, was crucified, suffered martyrdom in this world."[1]

ALBANENSES.

The Carcoricii of Bulgaria and Italy and the Bogomiles of Thrace differed from the Albanenses by holding to a derived and subordinate dualism. There were some minor differences between the different sects or branches of the Cathari, but they all agreed as to the dualism, emphasis on asceticism and the necessity of crucifying the flesh to attain the perfect life, a denial of the magical effect of Church ordinances, a denial of the sacredness of Church buildings and ceremonies, especially when ministered by a corrupt priesthood, and an absurdly strict moral standard based on the opposition between spirit and matter. To hold property, to keep intercourse with worldly men, to lie, to steal, to swear, to wage war, to kill animals, except those that creep, to eat flesh, except that of fishes, and to marry, were deadly sins. The severity of these requirements was mitigated by the distinction between the Perfect and the Believers; only the Perfect were required to fulfill all the rules, while the Believers were exhorted to enter the higher circle in their last illness, at which time they received a spiritual baptism, the *consolamentum*.

Some Roman Catholic writers have excused the fierce persecutions waged against the Cathari by the assertion that they were outrageously immoral. Ryder, the associate of Newman, calls the mediæval heretic, as a rule, "a very loathsome combination of the scamp and the ruffian."[2] This is a slander. There were ruffians in the Middle Ages—such as the Cotereaux and Brabancons—men tossed up on the surface of the raging sea of those troublous times, with-

[1] Salons Burce, a nobleman of Piacenza, in his Supra Stella, A. D. 1235, printed the 2d vol. of Döllinger's Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters, München, 1890. This tract is one of the most valuable sources for a knowledge of the mediæval sects. It is written by a layman, and is a straightforward and moderate account.

[2] Catholic Controversy, 3d ed., p. 209 (Am. ed.).

out religion, without mercy, organized banditti, returned crusaders, discharged soldiers, escaped criminals, and worthless ecclesiastics and monks. But these were not the Cathari, much less the Waldenses.[1] Drane, more moderately, says that the "facts of history fully justify a contemporary writer, who was perfectly well informed in the matters of which he speaks, when he declares the actions perpetrated by the followers of the Albigensian heresy to have been too loathsome and horrible for description."[2] Döllinger is also inclined to give credit, without special investigation, to the testimony of their enemies as to the immorality of certain of the Cathari.[3] On the other hand, the monstrous charges of the enemies of the Cathari impute to them deeds which were fundamentally opposed to their principles, and for these principles they were ready to suffer torture and death. Besides, the writers of the documents which mention these deeds do not pretend to have sufficient evidence whereon to base their insinuations, but throw them out for what they are worth, as resting on mere rumor.[4] Karl Schmidt, who investigated the documents in a more judicial spirit, discredits the charges,[5] which rest in fact on no better foundation than do the wild stories told of the early Christians.

CONFLICTING ESTIMATE OF THE CATHARI.

Indeed, no surer way lay open to a Roman Catholic Christian to vindicate himself against the charge of Catharism than to swear that he was addicted to the practices and vices of our ordinary humanity. When summoned before the tribunal of Toulouse, Jean Teisseire defended himself by exclaiming: "I am not a heretic, for I have a wife and children, and I eat flesh, and lie and swear, and am a faithful Christian."[6] Lea agrees with Schmidt that many of the ethical precepts of the Cathari were admirable, and that they were reasonably obeyed. In spite of the horrible tales, invented perhaps to frighten the people from heresy, the candid and intelligent inquisitors, who had the best means of knowing the truth, make no mention of crimes, and in the hundreds of excom-

[1] Lea, Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 125.

[2] Quæ ipsi faciunt in abscondito non est modo necesse in medium proferre, qui sunt fœtida et horribilia. Alberic Trium, Font. Gallia, Rer. Scrip. Collection of Dom Martin Bouquet, t. xxi, p. 524. See Drane, Hist. of St. Dominic, pp. 27, 28.

[3] Sektengeschichte, i, 174, ff. The treatment in this volume is meager, and does not add materially to our knowledge.

[4] See Newman, in Chr. Lit., April, 1890, vol. ii, p. 57.

[5] Hist. et Doctrine de la secte des Cathares, Paris, 1849, 2 vols., and art. in Herzog-Plitt.

[6] Guil. Pelisso, Chron., ed. Molinier, Anicii, p. 17.

munications and sentences which Lea read there is no allusion to anything of the kind except in some proceedings in the Alpine valleys in 1387.[1] St. Bernard bears the same testimony. "If you interrogate the heretics," he says, "nothing can be more Christian; as to their conversation, nothing can be less reprehensible, and what they speak they prove by their deeds. As for the morals of the heretic, he cheats no one, he oppresses no one, he strikes no one, his cheeks are pale with fasting, he eats not the bread of idleness, his hands labor for his livelihood."[2] The abbot Joachim bears the same testimony.[3]

After making a careful study of the original authorities Lea sums up the whole matter in a few comprehensive words. The Cathari were "mostly simple folks, industrious peasants and mechanics, who felt the evils around them and welcomed any change. The theologians who combated them ridiculed them as ignorant churls, and in France they were popularly known by the name of Texerant (Tisserands, weavers), on account of the prevalence of the heresy among the weavers, whose monotonous occupation doubtless gave ample opportunity for thought. Rude and ignorant they might be for the most part, but they had skilled theologians for teachers and an extensive popular literature, which has utterly perished, saving a Catharin version of the New Testament in Romance and a book of ritual. Their familiarity with Scripture is vouched for by the warning of Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, that the Christian should dread their conversation as he would a tempest, unless he is skilled in the law of God so that he can overcome them in argument. Their strict morality was never corrupted, and a hundred years after St. Bernard the same testimony is rendered to the virtue of those who were persecuted in France in the middle of the thirteenth century. In fact, the formula of confession used in their assemblies shows a strict guard was maintained over every idle thought and careless word."[4] The guilt of immorality lay on other shoulders, and the Church knew it, and many of her teachers bitterly confessed it. This in part explains the rise and vast extent of the Catharist heresies. They honeycombed all central and southern Europe. Mediæval Christianity had met its most formidable enemy, and it seemed at one time as if the Church would be supplanted by a Christian Manichæism over all its fairest territories.

It is a matter of congratulation that the Catharists did not supplant it. For although they shone favorably in morality beside the

[1] Lea, i, 101.
[2] Serm. in Cantica, xv, 5; xvi, 1.
[3] See the admirable work by Tocco, L'Eresia nel Medio Evo., p. 408.
[4] Lea, *l. c.*, pp. 101, 102.

Catholics, their system was not only a negation of Christianity, but also a strong denial of progress and civilization. If matter is the creation of the devil, and nature the vesture of a demon, all science becomes an impossibility, and all the magnificent growth of man in art and labor and the ameliorations of charity is a deadly snare. For this reason we may be thankful that the Church triumphed in that conflict. We cannot excuse her weapons. She tried persuasion, reason, truth, and in Francis she tried love. But all these failed. Then she used force, and the dragoons of Montfort, the tribunals of the Inquisition, the torture, and the stake accomplished the work. But the pulverization of dualism was a most beneficent result, even if the means used were barbarous and devilish. If the Church had been faithful to the spirit and truth of her Lord she would not have had occasion to imbrue her hands in blood and burden her conscience with the awful memories of her inquisitional butcheries. But it was the just retribution for her sins.

DESTRUCTION OF DUALISM.

Of the numerous wings of the Catharist school the Bogomiles of Thrace lived on through the Middle Ages, in spite of fire and sword, until they were finally absorbed or forced into Mohammedanism. Even to-day in Bosnia-Herzegovina their tenets "still lurk as a secret and sacred tradition among some families," and the vestiges of an ancient Christian ritual can be traced in their services. On their sixty thousand tombs the crescent and the cross are often to be found sculptured.[1] The Patarini[2] of Italy were widely spread, and had churches, and, at last, even dioceses, in the principal cities and in the Papal States. Both the conflicts of the popes with the Hohenstaufen and the political condition of Italy favored them, and many powerful nobles supported them. For centuries they withstood the fires of the Inquisition, and late in the fourteenth century the Holy Office was busily persecuting them. After that, however, they disappeared. It is a singular illustration of their strength and influence in Italy that so late as the last years of the thirteenth century one of their number in Ferrara, Armanno Pangilovo, was very near being canonized by the pope. Some go so far as to say that Dante was a preacher among them,[3] but Schmidt

LONG LIFE OF THE PATARINI.

[1] See Munro, Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia, Edinb., 1896; The Nation, N. Y., Aug. 18, 1896, p. 128.

[2] Or ragpickers, so called from the section of the city of Milan where the rag collectors made their rendezvous, and where the Catharists under their great leader Arialdus were wont to gather. "Patari!" is still the cry of the ragpickers in the small towns of Provence.

[3] Aroux, Dante Hérétique, Revolutionaire et Socialiste, Paris, 1854, and the same author's Clef de la Comédie anti-Catholique de Dante Alighieri, Paris, 1856.

justly characterizes such a statement as an "exaggeration of sickly criticism."[1] The Albigenses of the south of France felt the iron the most keenly. Here the intolerable papal corruption had made a deep impression, and the spread of Catharism was rapid and extensive. In many places they almost entirely supplanted the Roman Catholic Church. In vain the holy St. Bernard, in 1147, and St. Dominic, in 1205–15, and numerous other Catholic workers, tried to bring them over to the faith. The more they argued the more the heresy grew. Then the murder of the papal legate Castelnau gave Innocent III his pretext for arguments of another sort. He called for a holy crusade against the heretics of Languedoc, and was met by prompt responses enough. With fire, sword, torture, and wholesale massacres, all augmented by the Inquisition, the heretics were either converted or exterminated. For twenty years, 1208–29, the holocaust went on. The savagery with which the Holy War of Innocent was carried on was well illustrated by the famous response of the papal legate at the sack of Beziers, in 1209. When asked what to do with the inhabitants of the captured city the answer came: "Kill them all; God will know his own." The religious effect of the Albigensian war was to leave the miserable remnant of Cathari in the hands of the Inquisition, while its political effect was to leave the country in the hands of the King of France. The war itself is one of the infamous spots on the fame of the Roman Church which will not out, though washed by a thousand seas. This war left the richest and fairest country a desert, burned its heterodox inhabitants, and many even of its orthodox were chained together and sent to the Moslem slave market.[2] In Germany a few burnings and the decisive treatment

THE HOLY CRUSADE.

[1] Modern biblical criticism affords many parallels to such fantastic exaggeration.

[2] The name Albigenses comes from Albi (Albiga), capital of department Tarn, one of their principal seats. Before the crusade they were spoken of as Poblicants, or Publicani, a name probably from the Paulicians, although they called themselves the Bos Homes (*Boni Homines*, Bons Hommes), a name which they gave to the *perfecti*. It used to be the popular Protestant conception that the Albigenses were practically identical with the Waldenses, and that they were evangelical, if not almost Protestants of the pre-Reformation The works of Allix, Hist. of the Albigenses, Oxf., 1821, Faber, Theol. of the Vallenses and Albigenses, Lond., 1838, Baird, Hist. of the Albigenses, Vaudois, etc., N. Y,. 1830, helped to spread this idea. In this they had the illustrious examples of Basnage, Abbadie, and Beausobre, the celebrated author of the Hist. of Manichæism, and the Vaudois historians of the seventeenth century, Perrin and Leger. The learned Arminian Limborch was one of the first to change Protestant sentiment. In preparing his Hist. of the Inquisition (1692) he edited the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse, and confesses its perusal had changed his opinion, and convinced him of the Manichæan character of the

of Konrad of Marburg (1231) sufficed to crush the Cathari, and in England they made no mark.

The second group of heretics may be called evangelical and catholic, not because they reached at once the full assurance of faith, but because they stood, for the most part at least, on the Scriptures, and in their doctrines never went beyond the limits of belief as held by the Church Catholic. While not Protestants before the Reformation, they anticipated in important particulars Luther's message. That there were all through the Middle Ages select souls here and there who kept the faith, cannot be doubted, but these men of purer thought had no connection one with another, and were in no separate organization, but simply existed in the Church. The idea that the Waldenses and the Anabaptists can trace their life as communities back to the apostolic times, that groups of men existed here and there which had received from their predecessors and handed down to their successors a purer faith, and that thus the lamp of the Gospel was kept burning at a definite center or centers from the apostolic times to the Reformation, rests on no sufficient foundation whatever, and is now abandoned by scholars. If there were such evangelical groups, such heralds of the pure Gospel, it may at least be said they have left no trace.

EVANGELICAL AND CATHOLIC GROUP.

One of the earliest of these reformers was Peter of Bruys, who went through the south of France preaching against images, crucifixes, ceremonies, and church buildings, and calling men back to the simple teachings of Christ. He rejected infant baptism and all sacramental significance in the Lord's Supper. Much that was crude and ill-advised was in his message, but he was working back to the original Gospel, though without the training or balance to do justice to institutional Christianity. Most of the practices and tenets of the Church he repudiated, but without substituting a well-considered scheme of Christian doctrine. Döllinger insists on identifying him and Henry of Lausanne with the Catharists, but without any reason.[1] His great opponent, Peter the Venerable,

PETER OF BRUYS.

theology of the Albigenses. Mosheim followed him, and this view has been so confirmed by every study of the documents of the time that Neander, Gieseler, Hahn, Schmidt, Herzog, and since them all scholars, have adopted this view. For a scholarly treatment see Lond. Quar. Rev. (Wesl. Meth.), iv, 1, ff. An admirable account of the crusade is given by Moffat in Presb. Rev., 1886, 657-689. Maitland, Facts and Documents Illustrative of the Albigenses and Waldenses, Lond., 1832, was one of the first to bring Englishmen to the right view. A simple way to come to a solution of the matter is to ask the opinion of the Waldenses concerning their brother heretics, the Cathari and Albigenses. The later Waldenses abhorred them and wrote against them.

[1] Döllinger, *l. c.*, i, ch. vi.

never attributes to him any of the distinguishing marks of the Manichæans, or calls him one. This he would have done had there been occasion.[1] The bishops and priests, with the help of a mob, burned him at St. Gilles in 1126.

Henry of Lausanne, a contemporary, and a monk of Clugny, stood closer by the Church. He held a cross before him, and went forth preaching penitence, attacking the depravity of the clergy and creating intense excitement wherever he went. He laid hold of men's hearts with great power, brought them face to face with the Gospel, and caused thousands to renounce their sins. He readily proved that the Church, both in doctrine and life, had left the New Testament standard, and his work in southern France produced a profound impression. Bernard of Clairvaux, who preached and wrote against him, thought that all the people were leaving the Church for him. "How great are the evils," he says, "which I have heard, and know, that the heretic Henry has done and is daily doing in the churches of God! A ravening wolf in sheep's clothing is busy in your land. The churches are without congregations, congregations without priests, priests without their due reverence, and, worst of all, Christians without Christ. Churches are regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of God is said to have no sanctity, the sacraments are not thought to be sacred, and feast days are deprived of their wonted solemnities. Men are dying in their sins."[2] The Church was thoroughly alarmed, and sent the holy Bernard to call the people back. Bernard had little success, however. His auditors interrupted him with passages of Scripture and confounded him. Finally, Henry was seized and imprisoned about 1148, and kept in prison until he died.[3]

HENRY OF LAUSANNE.

We ought not to pass over that brave and high-minded republican, Arnold of Brescia, who, if he did not protest strongly against corrupt doctrine, worked mightily for evangelical reform. He was a native of Brescia, in Lombardy,

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

[1] The best treatment of Peter of Bruys is by Newman in Papers of Am. Soc. of Church History, iv, 183, ff. See also Neander, iv, 595, ff. The only source is Peter the Venerable's Adversus Petribrusianos hæreticos, in Migne, vol. 189.

[2] Ep. 241 (ed. Eales, ii, 707). In this epistle Bernard seeks to blacken his character—a favorite method of dealing with heretics—but his charges are unfounded.

[3] Döllinger classes Henry also with the Catharists, but without evidence, purely an insufficient and presumptive reasoning. Neither Hildebert nor Bernard hints at this, which they would have been only too glad to do if the slightest pretext had been afforded them.

where a statue of him was unveiled in 1882. He had been a pupil of Abelard, in Paris. He was deeply agitated by the corruptions of the Church, and called it back to the simplicity of the apostolic model. In Lombardy, in France, and finally in Rome, he lifted up his voice, though relentlessly pursued, however, by the great hunter of heresy, Bernard of Clairvaux. His scheme was the Voluntaryism of the Protestant Churches, that priests and prelates should give up their riches, live in the simple style of the apostles, and depend upon the freewill offerings of the faithful. He was nine hundred years in advance of his time. In Rome he led a revolutionary movement for the restoration of the greatness of the city under the senators and people, dependent neither on the corrupt papal court nor on the empire. In 1155 the new constitution was adopted, but on the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, into whose hands he fell,[1] he was surrendered to the pope, was hung, his body burned, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, in 1155. There has been much dispute as to Arnold's doctrinal position, Giesebrecht claiming that his work was political and within the Church,[2] and others holding that his protest went farther.[3] There is no doubt that the latter opinion is correct. Bernard says he was unsound in doctrine as well as a schismatic.[4] Otto of Frisingen says that he was a "man of affected singularity and sought after novelty, one of those dispositions ever ready to manufacture heresies and to stir up divisions."[5] He also complains that he "is said to have been astray in reference to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants." Arnold founded, directly or indirectly, the Arnoldists, a sect which had large vogue in Lombardy, and led a reaction against the superstitious value of rites in favor of a purer Christianity.[6]

The most influential of these evangelical reformers was Peter Waldo, of Lyons, who founded the only mediæval reformatory

[1] Frederick wanted to conciliate the pope in order to facilitate his crowning. The surrender of his real ally in his contests with the papal absolutism is a dark stain on Frederick.

[2] Arnold von Brescia, München, 1873.

[3] This is the opinion of the best authorities on mediæval sects, including Leger, Füesslin, Muratori, Dieckhoff, Tocco, Keller, Breyer (Arnold von Brescia, in Maurenbrecher's Hist. Taschenbuch, 1889, and Die Arnoldisten, in Brieger's Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch., xii, 1891), and Newman, pp. 199 ff. There are four primary authorities for Arnold's life: the letters of St. Bernard, the anonymous poet of Bergamo, John of Salisbury, and Otto of Freising.

[4] Ep. 195. [5] De Gestis Friderici, ii, 20.

[6] Perhaps the best monograph on Arnold of Brescia is by Hausrath, Arnold von Brescia, Leipz., 1891. Picturesque and trustworthy.

community that has come down to the present day. He was a wealthy merchant, but, becoming enamored with Christ's ideal of poverty and cross-bearing, he parted with his goods (1173) and embarked on a voyage, the issue of which he knew not. His first thought was to study the Bible. He knew little of Latin, and there were no translations in the dialect of the country. He therefore hired two priests, who translated the New Testament for him, which he soon committed to memory. People came to his house to hear him. Without knowing it, he soon became the preacher. Disciples gathered around him. He instructed them in reading the Scriptures. "Then they went out into the public places and the workshops, and visited the people from house to house, and what they had to say was summed up for the time being in the words: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'" [1] Such was the rise of the Waldenses.

PETER WALDO.

It was a movement at first entirely within the Church. Although Waldo and his followers went out everywhere preaching, or rather talking, the Gospel, reading and explaining the Scriptures and scattering over southern France, Switzerland, and Italy the seeds of truth, they did so in simple-hearted confidence as good Catholics.[2] Their aim was to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures, to conform more strictly to the primitive ideal. To do this they had to maintain the liberty of preaching, that any Christian who knew the word could expound it in private or in public. But this they did in no spirit of schism, but as loving children of the Church. In 1179 Pope Alexander III received them at Rome with favor, but forbade their preaching. That was the parting of the ways. "We must obey God rather than men," said Waldo, and in saying that he gave a banner for Protestantism. But this challenge the pope met by an anathema, in 1183: "We include under a perpetual anathema all those who in spite of our interdiction, and without being sent by us, shall dare to preach, whether in private or public, contrary to the authority represented by the apostolic see and the bishops." [3] This anathema was repeated at the fourth Lateran council of 1215, and thus closed the purely Catholic period of the Waldenses.

THE WALDENSES.

[1] Comba, Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy, tr. by T. E. Comba, Lond., 1889, p. 26.

[2] Montet, in his excellent work, Hist. Littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont, Paris, 1887, divides the history of the Waldensian Church into three parts, (1) Catholic, (2) Hussite, and (3) Protestant, and there is no doubt of the substantial accuracy of this representation.

[3] Mansi, xxiv.

Organization followed. Two by two they went forth carrying with them parts of the Bible translated into the vernacular, devotional extracts from the Fathers, and hymns, gathering the faithful in secluded places, visiting them in their homes, preaching, hearing their confessions, and granting absolution. In some congregations contrition of heart and silent prayer were the only penance necessary. In morals they were very austere. They took the Sermon on the Mount literally: nonresistance, no homicide, even in judicial sentences. Every holy man had the power to ordain and to administer the sacraments, although in some places the Waldenses had a regular ministry. They rejected purgatory. Their views changed with time, becoming more and more scriptural, while in different countries various aspects of teaching appeared. But their whole and inevitable tendency was to widen the breach between them and the Church. Their principles logically cut the ground from under sacerdotalism, indulgences, and the whole machinery of the Church.[1] They were saturated with the Bible. They frequently knew whole books by heart. Various councils forbade Bible reading. Then these earnest folk unfolded its truths to the people. There is no sublimer picture in history than these humble Bible students, holding with the Church in some things, attending her services in many cases, going forth in love to bring the power and love of the Gospel to the people, seeking the lazar-houses to minister to the lepers, ceaseless in learning and teaching, swimming rivers on their mission tours, working with their own hands to support themselves, despised, persecuted, tormented, whose only sign was, as their Nobla Leyczon says, and for which they were deemed worthy of death, that they followed Christ, and sought to obey the commandments of God.

The Poor Men of Lyons spread with great rapidity. On the plains of Lombardy they were the Poor Men of Lombardy, where, partly in descent from the Arnoldists, they differed in some respects from the Lyons brethren, the Italians being more radical reformers.[2] In the valleys of the Alps they flourished, and in those valleys they endured until the Reformation. It was the age of martyrs—three hundred years of cunning, force, torture, dungeons, and fires on the part of the Roman Church against as inoffensive and pious Christians as the world has ever seen. They

[1] Lea gives an excellent survey, Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 76–88.

[2] These differences form the subject of a conference between the two schools, full particulars of which are in the Rescriptum Heresiarcharum Lombardiæ ad Leonistas in Alemannia, about 1250, first published by Preger, München, 1875, and repub. by Döllinger in his Sektengeschichte, 1890.

were the fathers of the idea of the vernacular translation of the Bible for the common people, and of the right of every man to read the book for himself. They were emphatically Bible Christians. Since the time of Hildebrand the Church had repeatedly, in various local synods, prohibited the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, and Innocent III had given authoritative expression to these decisions. It was the Waldenses and their colaborers to whom the common people of the Middle Ages owed their sight of the written word, and the message of its salvation, in their mother tongue. A number of Romance Waldensian versions have been known constantly, but it was not until 1881 that Klimesch discovered in the monastery of Tepl in Bohemia a manuscript German Bible, which, in the opinion of many scholars, is Waldensian, and surprised the world with the question whether to those outcast heretics the German people do not owe their first introduction to the Bible in their own language. This Codex Teplensis, as the discoverer calls it, belongs to the fourteenth century, agrees strikingly with the Romance Waldensian versions in points where they differ from the Vulgate, and experts in Waldensiana, like Keller, Haupt, and Müller, have almost demonstrated the Waldensian origin of the version.[1]

KLIMESCH'S DISCOVERY.

The Waldenses also exerted a great influence on Hus and the Husite Reformation, and they everywhere paved the way for Luther. The best historical investigator of the sixteenth century, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, confesses that the Husite and Taborite movements, the Unitas Fratrum, and other reformatory movements were deeply indebted to the Waldenses. They not only created an atmosphere of reform throughout the south of Europe, but they produced influences of a more positive kind. In 1318 and 1335 there were inquisitions for Waldensian heresies in Bohemia, and the synodical decrees of

WALDENSES STIMULATE OTHER MOVEMENTS.

[1] Keller, Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien, Leipz., 1885, and Die Waldenser und die deutschen Bibelübersetzungen, 1886; Haupt, Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelal. Waldenser, Würzb., 1885, and Der waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis und der vorlutherischen deutschen Bibeldrücke, 1886; Newman, Papers of Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., iv, 215, ff.; Schaff, in Presb. Rev., 1887, 355–357. Klimesch was the librarian of the Bohemian (Catholic) convent at Tepl, and published the Codex under the title, Der Codex Teplensis enthaltend die Schrift des neuen Gezeuges., Augsb. and Munich, 1881–84. Klimesch and Jostes (R. C.), Die Waldenser und die vorlutherischen Bibelübersetzungen, eine Kritik des neusten Hypothese, Münster, 1885, and other scholars believe in the Catholic origin of the Teplensis. Berger, the best French authority on mediæval Bibles, is fully convinced of the Waldensian origin of the pre-Lutheran German Bibles. See his essays in Revue Historique, 1886, p. 32.

Prague, going back to 1335, made frequent mention of the Waldenses, but scarcely refer to any other sect. In the fourteenth century Waldensian heretics had penetrated into Bohemia, Austria, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and, belonging to the more radical and anti-Roman branch, the Poor Men of Lombardy, and being less committed to nonresistance, powerfully stimulated the working of the Protestant leaven, and were the forerunners of Hus and the Bohemian Brethren. In all these countries there existed a thoroughly evangelical type of Waldensianism during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1]

The college of the Waldenses was located at Milan, which sent out pastors and evangelists through southern Europe. One of their teachers and pastors, Morel, greeted the light which arose at Wittenberg. "When the sun of the Reformation arose," says Comba, "the Waldensian light was shining still, if not as brightly, at least as purely as in the past; but in the presence of the new sun it might well appear to grow paler. Morel testifies to this with child-like simplicity and an ingenuous joyful expectation which recalls that of the prophets of old. 'Welcome! blessed be thou, my Lord,' he writes to the Basel reformers, 'we come to thee from a far-off country, with hearts full of joy, in the hope and assurance that through thee the Spirit of the Almighty will enlighten us.' That is the last word of the history of the Waldenses before the Reformation. The cry of the navigator who, at the early dawn, saw the New World appear was neither more sincere nor more joyous nor yet of better omen. It was as if from the valleys there reechoed the voice of Simeon welcoming again the Saviour of the Israel of the Alps."[2]

The Waldenses continued to hold their own simple and secret services until about 1530, though occasionally receiving baptism and the Lord's Supper at the hands of the regular priests. They

[1] Wattenbach shows this in his Ueber die Inquisition der Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg, Berl., 1886, based on recently discovered MSS. For influence of Waldenses on Taborites, see Preger, Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldensern des 14 Jahrhunderts, München, 1887, and Haupt, Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstl. Deutschland, Freib., 1890. The only denial of this has sprung from those who, like Loserth and Gindely, are impressed by the fact no less true of the vast influence of Wiclif on Hus and the Husite reform. Loserth has demonstrated this influence by abundant evidence. But one fact need not destroy the other. Newman gives an excellent *résumé* of the evidence of the connection of the Taborites with the Waldenses and a comparison of their doctrines in ch. vi (pp. 206, ff.) of his treatise, Recent Researches concerning Mediæval Sects, printed in Am. Soc. of Church History Papers, iv, 1892.

[2] Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy, p. 159.

maintained, however, their own body of ministers, whom they called *barbas*—guides. These ministers were inducted into office through the imposition of the hands of the entire ministerial assembly, after a meager course of instruction carried on through three or four winters in the intervals of rest from the manual toil of the flock and the soil. In 1532 at a synod held at Chanforans the Waldenses openly allied themselves with the Swiss Reformers, cut themselves entirely aloof from the Roman Church, and declared their meetings, hitherto conducted as private assemblies, to be public gatherings for the worship of God.

FINAL SEPARATION FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH.

LITERATURE: THE USE OF PERSECUTION: INQUISITION.

I. INQUISITION: GENERAL WORKS.

1. Paramo. De origine et progressu officii sanctæ Inquisitionis. Madrid, 1589. Among the best of the older Roman Catholic works.
2. Eymericus, Nicolaus. Directorium Inquisitorum. Rome, 1587; Venice, 1607.
3. Sarpi, Paul. Storia della sacra Inquisizione. Serravalle, 1688.
4. Limborch, P. a. Historia inquisitionis. Amsterd., 1692. English trans., abridged, History of the Inquisition. N. Y., 1888.
5. Reuss. Sammlung der Instructionen des spanischen Inquisitionsgerichts. Hanover, 1788.
6. Carnicero. La inquisition justamente restablecida. Madrid, 1816.
7. Balmes, J. The Inquisition: chapter 38 of his European Civilization. Lond., 1855. The author was a Jesuit.
8. Buckle, H. T. In his History of Civilization. 3 vols. Lond., 1867. Contains a vigorous denunciation.
9. Gordon, Janet. The Spanish Inquisition: its Heroes and Martyrs. Lond., 1870. Popular.
10. Rule, W. H. The History of the Inquisition from its Establishment in the 12th Century to its Extinction in the 19th. New ed., Lond., 1874.
11. Rodrigo, F. J. Historia verdadara de la Inquisicion. 3 vols. Madrid, 1876. Romish.
12. Orti, y Lara. La inquisicion. Madrid, 1877. Roman Catholic.
13. Mocatta, F. D. Jews in Spain and Portugal, and the Inquisition. Lond., 1877.
14. Hoffmann, Fridolin. Geschichte der Inquisition. 2 vols. Bonn, 1878.
15. Maurenbrecher, Wilh. Geschichte der katholischen Reformation. I. Nördlingen, 1880.
16. —— ——. Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit. Leipz., 1874.
17. Fereal, V. de. Les mystères de la inquisition. Paris, 1880.
18. Ficker, J. Die getetzliche Einführung der Todesstrafe für Ketzerei. In the Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreich. Geschichtsforschung, 1880, i, 177, ff.
19. Havet, J. L'hérésie et le bras séculier au moyen-âge jusqu' au XIIIe siècle. Paris, 1881.
20. Guido, Bernard. Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis, auctore Bernardo Guidonis. Document publié pour la première fois, par C. Douais. Paris, 1886.
21. Lea, H. C. History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. 3 vols. N. Y., 1888.
22. —— ——. Superstition and Force. Phila., 1870; 4th ed., 1892.

23. Henner, C. Beiträge zur Organisation und Kompetenz der päpstl. Ketzergerichte. Leipz., 1890.
24. Sassenbach, J. Die heilige Inquisition. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Religion. Berl., 1893. Popular only.

II. THE INQUISITION IN SPECIAL COUNTRIES.

1. Llorente, Juan Ant. Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne. 4 vols. Paris, 1817. German trans. by Höck, 4 vols. Gmund, 1819. English trans., History of the Inquisition in Spain from the Time of the Establishment to the Reign of Ferdinand VII. Lond., 1826; Phila., 1843. The author was secretary of the Inquisition. His work, while a strong indictment of the Inquisition, is confused and unreliable.
2. Maistre, J. de. Lettre à un gentilhomme russe sur l'inquisition espagnole. Lyons, 1822; trans., Lond., 1851.
3. M'Crie, Thomas. History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the 16th Century. Edinb., 1829. History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy. New ed., Edinb., 1856.
4. Hefele, C. J. Die spanische Staatsinquisition: in Wetzer and Welte's Encyclopädie. Freib. i. B., 1850; 2d ed, 1880. Life of Ximenes. Transl. by Dalton. Lond., 1860: 2d German ed., 1851.
5. Albanese. L'Inquis. relig. nella Republ. de Venezia. Venice, 1875.
6. Molinier, Charles. L'Inquisition dans le midi de la France au 13e et 14e siècle. Paris, 1880. De fratre Guilelmo Pelisso veterrimo inquisitionis historico. Paris, 1880. L'hérésie et la persécution en XIe siècle. In the Revue de Pyrénées, 1893, pp. 26–38.
7. Douais, C. Les sources de l'histoire de l'inquisition dans le midi de la France au 13e et au 14e siècle. In the Revue des Questions historiques, xxx, Paris, 1881.
8. Fereal, V. de. Storia della tremenda Inquisizione di Spagna. Florence, 1881.
9. Hoefler, C. R. v. Monumenta hispanica. I. Correspondenz des Gubernadors von Castilien, Grossinquisitors in Spanien. Prag, 1881.
10. Ochsenbein, G. F. Das Inquisitionsprozess wider die Waldenser zu Friburg-im-Unstrut im Jahre 1430. Bern, 1881.
11. Fredericq, Paul. Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis Neerlandicæ. I: 1025–1520. Gent, 1889. Geschiedenis der Inquisitie in de Nederlanden tot aan hare Herinrichting onder Keizer Karel V. (1025–1520.) Part I. Ghent and Haag, 1892.
12. Foerster, P. Der Einfluss der Inquisition auf das Leben und die Litteratur der Spanier. Leipz., 1890.
13. Haupt, H. Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland. In the Deutsche Zeitsch. für Geschichtsforschung, Freib. i. B., 1890. Also published separately.
14. Lea, H. C. Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition. Phila., 1890. The Spanish Inquisition as an alienist. Popular Science Monthly, July, 1893.
15. Tanon, L. L'histoire des tribunaux de l'inquisition en France. Paris, 1893.
16. Heus, A. Histoire populaire de l'intolérance, de l'inquisition et la liberté en Belgique. Paris, 1895.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE USE OF PERSECUTION.

THE Christian law of tolerance, as definitely fixed by our Lord himself,[1] was cordially embraced by the Church during its own trial by fire. Tertullian nobly vindicates it in his Apology and in his great treatise to Scapula: "Let one man worship God, another Jupiter; let one lift suppliant hands to the heavens, another to the altar of Fides. . . . For see that you do not give a further ground for the charge of irreligion by taking away religious liberty, and forbidding free choice of Deity, so that I may no longer worship according to my inclination, but am compelled to worship against it. Not even a human being would care to have unwilling homage rendered him."[2] "It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions; one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion, to which free will and not force should lead us, even the sacrificial victims being required of a willing mind. You will render no real service to your God by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire for offerings from the unwilling."[3]

TERTULLIAN ON LIBERTY.

Cyprian also has golden words: "It is for us to do our utmost that we may be vessels of gold or of silver; to God only is it given to break the vessels of clay. The servant cannot be greater than his lord. No one may take upon himself what the Father has given to the Son only. No one may undertake to purge the threshing-floor or sever the wheat from the tares by human judgment. This is proud obstinacy and sacrilegious presumption springing from

[1] See Luke ix, 54–56, and the remarks on the passage by Creighton, Persecution and Tolerance, Lond. and N. Y., 1895, pp. 13, ff.

[2] Apol., xxiv.

[3] Ad. Scap., ii. In writing against the Gentiles he seems to indicate a place for compulsion: "It is proper that heretics be driven to duty, not enticed. Obstinacy must be conquered, not coaxed." But it is a question whether this is not to be interpreted figuratively. If otherwise, Tertullian is a remarkable, though not exceptional, case of inconsistency—claiming toleration for one's self, but not willing to grant it to others.

wicked anger." [1] "Belief cannot be enforced," says Lactantius, "for he who lacks piety is useless to God." [2] But this Christian sentiment of the first three hundred years was ruthlessly sacrificed to a supposed necessary uniformity in the State when Christianity became a State religion.

LECKY'S PARTIAL VIEW.

There has been a wide difference of opinion as to the rationale of the persecution of heretics by the ruling Church. Lecky attributes it to the doctrine of exclusive salvation; that is, that only in the Church and in orthodoxy is there salvation. He says that no doctrine has had greater influence on the history of mankind, and he compares the somber and baleful shadow it cast upon the human mind with the cheerful serenity with which Socrates looked upon death and the hereafter.[3] This writer also says that if men hold their own faith intensely, and with equal firmness believe that all dissidents are doomed to eternal misery, they must inevitably persecute to the full extent of their power.[4] But the judgment of Lecky is an afterthought. When persecution is once well under way it may be defended by the grim necessity of saving men's souls by punishing their bodies, and by terror keeping in the ranks those not infected by heresy. But this is evidently not the reason for beginning it. If it was, why did not the Church use this weapon against heathenism? Here were multitudes in the bonds of iniquity, but the Church proceeded against them with missionaries and not with soldiers.[5] On the other hand, Creighton contends that the use of persecution by the Church arose by the extension of the idea of the State into the domain of the Church, the Church herself becoming, after Constantine, a civil institution, the guardian of society, and the sponsor for unity. The fundamental conception of the Greek and Roman State was uniformity of religion. Plato says: "Let this then be the law: No one shall possess shrines of the gods in private houses, and he who is found to possess them, and perform any sacred rites not publicly authorized, shall be informed against to the guardians of the law; and let them issue orders that he shall carry his private rites to the public temples, and if he do not obey, let them inflict a penalty until he comply. And if a person be

PLATO'S OPINION.

[1] Ep. 1 (*al.* liv), 8, Chr. Lit. ed., p. 327; li (*al.* lv), 25, Chr. Lit. ed., p. 334.

[2] Div. Inst., v, 29.

[3] The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe, i, 415, 416. See this whole chapter, i, 886, ff., ii, 1-105. This is one of the most interesting books of the century; but its brilliant generalizations must not all be received at their face value.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii, 1, 2.

[5] Both Creighton, p. 5, and Lea, History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 242, call attention to this.

proven guilty of impiety, not merely from childish levity, but such as grown-up men may be guilty of, let him be punished with death."[1] On this principle the Greek and Roman world was governed. Rome indeed allowed her conquered nations to retain their faiths, supremely indifferent to the claims of clashing religions. But this indifference was on the surface. Rome had her *illicitæ religiones*—prohibited faiths—and these she persecuted to the death. A religion which she deemed anticivic, irreconcilably opposed to the pagan State, she could not abide. For this reason she looked upon Christianity as abhorrent. This reference to the traditional policy of the State explains, in Creighton's opinion, the use of persecution by the Church. He sums up his conclusion, which is entirely at variance with the ordinary judgments, in these words: Persecution or punishment for erroneous opinion, though all along condemned by the Christian conscience, was "adopted by the Church from the system of the world, when the Church accepted the responsibility of maintaining order in the community; it was exercised for political rather than religious ends; it was felt by those who used it to throw them into contradictions; it neither originated in any misunderstanding of the Scriptures nor was removed by the progress of intellectual enlightenment; it disappeared because the State became conscious that there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognized by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organization."[2]

CREIGHTON'S CONCLUSIONS.

No doubt the influence of the idea of the unity of the State went for much. But it does not explain everything. In the first place, the ancient and mediæval mind could not conceive the innocent existence side by side of variant faiths. The idea of toleration is a modern growth. There was something in the ancient world which made the realization of that idea impossible. It was rather due to a limited intellectual outlook and a one-sided spiritual culture. The growth of man is a slow process, and Christ's ideal, even to-day, is far in advance of his followers. This explains why the modern idea of the essentials and nonessentials in religion, and of the moral innocence of mistaken beliefs, was incapable of being grasped by the ancient Church. These things to us are axioms, but they were

[1] Laws, 908-910 (Jowett).

[2] Persecution and Tolerance, pp. 2, 3. It is to be hoped that the proofs of such important conclusions will be elaborated. These Hulsean Lectures are far too slight, and on important points the evidence adduced is meager. The case is really more complicated.

inconceivable even to the mediæval mind. It was rather the awful guilt of heresy before God, and the exposure of the soul of the heretic to punishment in hell, than his menace to the State, which moved the Church to cut him off.

Chrysostom compares heretics to the devil's tares. They must therefore be checked, their mouths stopped, and their assemblies broken up; but they must not be put to death, for in doing this some saints might perish also. Besides, an implacable war would be brought into the world, and some heretics who are not incurables might be slain before they have a chance to amend.[1]

Augustine also shrank from blood. The laws against the Donatists must be strictly enforced, and any hardship short of death must be meted out to them; but all this solely to deliver them from their error, that they "may be preserved from falling under the penalty of eternal judgment."[2] "He is aware, indeed, that the barring of the death penalty may have somewhat the aspect of weakness and dereliction of duty," but so much is due to the reputation of Catholic clemency and to the forbearance which is due to her enemies.[3] In his answer to the letters of Petilian the Donatist—a sharp book written with dialectical incisiveness—Augustine is compelled to meet the question of toleration. Petilian pleads for toleration in almost a modern spirit, but he of Hippo never meets him on the same plane. He always ignores the real question, and by hard words, skillful fencing, and the convenient use of the Circumcelliones he keeps away from his opponent's ground. But throughout there is the assumption that schism is a crime of the deepest dye, and if not punished by death it is not because the crime is not intrinsically worthy of it, but because of forbearance or a desire not to proceed to such lengths. He refers to Christ's driving the money changers out of the temple as full justification for persecution, and insists that it is not persecution to persecute the unrighteous, that is, heretics and schismatics.[4] The same principles are laid down in the City of God.[5] The Church is supreme over the State, and to its wishes the latter must defer; heresy is a crime; compulsion is not only right in itself, but most salutary, because it brings fanatics to their senses and awakens the indolent. And so to the holy St. Augustine we must assign the honor of not only laying over Europe the dark pall of the horrible

AUGUSTINE.

[1] Hom. in Matt., xlvi. [2] Ep. c. [3] *Ibid.*, cxxxix.

[4] See Aug., Contra Litt. Petil., chaps. 79–92. He also quotes Psalm ci, 5, as justifying persecution, and he calls schism a "criminal sacrilege."

[5] For Augustine's doctrine on this matter, see Geffcken, Church and State, i, 124–126.

decree which Calvin handed over to Protestantism, but also of fully asserting the doctrine of religious intolerance and fortifying it with his sanctity, his genius, his flimsy arguments, and his perverted exegesis. Augustine does not advocate persecution for State reasons or for the bearing of heresy on morality, but on account of the inherent detestability of heresy itself. Besides, the Church was a divine institution, and if men will not come into it themselves they must be forced into it.[1]

PREVALENCE OF INTOLERANCE.

We need not be surprised, then, if, with or without the regnant influence of St. Augustine, a doctrine so congenial to human nature as that of religious intolerance found free scope in the Middle Ages. The Gnostics, the Priscillianists, the Donatists, and later the Catharists, the Waldenses, the Husites, the Lollards—all felt the iron heel. The first case of death for heresy was in 385, when the Gnostic and pantheistic Christian Priscillian, with six of his adherents, was condemned to death by the emperor Maximus at the instance of two bishops. This first formal murder for heresy made a profound impression on the Church, and elicited from Bishop Martin of Tours, a more Christ-like man than his brother of Hippo, a passionate remonstrance. Martin refused to communicate with the persecuting bishops, and Ambrose excommunicated the emperor. But the protest of Martin was soon forgotten, and we find Leo the Great (died 461) indorsing the Theodosian Code in 438, which outlawed heretics and condemned them to death.[2] The Church did not recede from this ground. There were individual cases of clemency and pleas for toleration, but nothing to break the force of the great Latin teachers of Christendom in their contention that the salutary surgery of death was sometimes necessary in healing the body of Christ of the disease of heresy. Bernard of Clairvaux was a good representative of the more tolerant persecutors. When the populace of Cologne, in 1145, seized the Catharists and burned them, he remonstrated with them, saying that reason and not force should be used in converting heretics, and that faith cannot be spread by persecution but by persuasion. But he admitted that the secular arm could wield the sword against the misbelievers, and quoted Paul[3] to prove that it may sometimes be the duty of the State to use that

[1] Comp. Allen, Continuity of Christian Thought, pp. 152, 153. In Ep. xciii, chaps. 1–5, Augustine offers an elaborate argument against religious liberty. In this epistle he says that he was at first in favor of toleration, but, seeing in a certain town the practical benefits of persecution in bringing the Donatists into the Church, he had changed his mind.

[2] Theod. Code, bk. xvi, tit. 5: De Hæreticis.

[3] Rom. xiii, 4.

weapon.[1] The first positive law assigning burning as the punishment of heresy was enacted by Pedro II of Aragon in 1197. Spain has been sufficiently faithful to the precedent.

Germany was somewhat more merciful. Otho IV in 1210 ordered the property of heretics confiscated and their houses torn down. Frederick II in 1220 made the heretic an outlaw, which placed his life at the mercy of anyone who desired to take it. But the progress of this liberal Voltairean prince in cruelty recalls the tender mercies of the infidels of the French Revolution. In 1224 he decreed the loss of the tongue or death by fire, at the discretion of the judge. In 1231 he made the punishment by fire absolute, that is, for Sicily, and in 1238 by the edict of Cremona he made the fagot the recognized punishment for heresy throughout the empire, as we find it subsequently embodied in both the Sachsenspiegel and the Schwabenspiegel, or municipal laws of northern and southern Germany. The stake was universal in France in the thirteenth century, though it was not until 1270 that the recognized custom was made the law of the land. England, freer from heresy than other countries, was also later in punishing it, the stake not being assigned as the recognized penalty until the famous law *De hæretico comburendo* in 1401.[2]

INTOLERANCE IN GERMANY.

Lea calls attention to the fact that the horrible climax of cruelty to which men were led by their zeal for Christ—the burning of heretics—was not the product of law, but the spontaneous action of the people. The law simply embodied the popular will. The custom found abundant sanction from the ignorant literalism then in vogue in the exegesis of Scripture. The words of Jesus concerning the rejected branch[3] were taken as giving divine authority to the practice. It is this text which Pope Lucius III quotes in 1184 in his edict concerning persecution. This popular demand for burning suggests another reason for the prevalence of persecution, or, at least, for the ease with which it was carried on and the absence of protests against it—that is, the savagery, callousness, and semibarbarism of the European mind of mediæval times. What would to-day excite indescribable horror and indignation was considered then a matter of course. It was a military age, and cruelty is the invariable concomitant of militarism.[4] Force was used instead of persuasion. Men were accustomed to endure hard-

[1] Serm. in Cantica, lxiv, chap. 8, lxvi, chap. 2; Lea, i, 220, 221.

[2] Lea, Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 221. All the works of this eminent scholar are specially strong on the legal side.

[3] John xv, 6.

[4] Even to-day in Germany, on account of the cruel army discipline, the number of suicides among soldiers is phenomenal.

ship and pain, and ascetics to inflict severe punishments on themselves. The criminal code was atrocious and of unspeakable barbarity. In fact, the Middle Ages can be understood only by remembering that in many aspects of individual and social life the people were barbarians. We are misled by the churches and theologians and philosophers, and think that an age which could produce these must be far advanced in civilization. But these plants grew in rough soil. Burning people alive for simple felonies was characteristic of the age. Can we wonder, then, that, impelled by a vicious teaching based on an honest but mistaken exegesis of Scripture,[1] and by the principle of the criminality of mistaken opinions and the doctrine of exclusive salvation, an age essentially barbaric and cruel beyond imagination would try to rid itself of heresy by the prison, the sword, or the stake?[2] Thomas Aquinas echoed the sentiments of Augustine, and reduced the theory of persecution to a dogma.[3] The wonder is that no more blood was shed.

PERSECUTION A POPULAR WISH.

Catholic apologists emphasize the fact that persecution was not the direct work of the Church, but invariably the action of the civil arm. But this exculpation of the Catholic Church to the prejudice of the Catholic State is purely fictitious. It is true that the heretic was turned over by the Church to the civil officers, and that the canon law forbade a clergyman to imbrue his hands in blood. On the other hand, what are the facts? In Catholic theory the State was simply the executive of the Church. Aquinas and almost every eminent spokesman for the Church insisted on the headship of the Church. They also taught intolerance as a first principle of the Gospel, and the right of persecution of religious error as inherent in the nature of Church and State. If the civil authorities were remiss in their sacred duty of burning people for reading the Bible or refusing to invoke the saints, the Church soon prodded the drooping secular

THE CHURCH TEACHING PERSECUTION.

[1] "Compel them to come in." Luke xiv, 23.

[2] See the excellent treatment in Lea, chap. v. He does justice to all the elements in the case, and, for a full view of the rationale of ecclesiastical persecution, he should be read to supplement Creighton. On the criminal code, see pp. 234–236.

[3] Summa Sec., Sec. 2, Q. x, arts. iii, vi; Q. xi, arts. iii, iv. Aquinas held the supremacy of the Church over the State in an absolute form. A king must see to it that no heresy is allowed in his dominions, and if he himself becomes heretical he must be deposed. See his De regimine principum, of which the first two books are by him and the last two by Ptolemæus of Lucca (probably). Creighton, Hist. of Papacy during Reformation, i, 29, 30; Lea, i, 229, 230, 236.

arm. The second Lateran council, 1139, ordered all kings to coerce heretics, and Pope Lucius III, in 1184, gave a similar order, and any refusal or neglect was to be punished by excommunication. Because of Raymond's reluctance to force these bloody requisitions among his peaceful folk the terrible Albigensian Crusade was preached against him. When the pope handed the emperor the ring and the sword the emperor was instructed that these were the symbols of his authority to strike down heresies and the enemies of the Church.

The atrocious decrees of Frederick II were not only taught in the famous law school at Bologna, but were embodied in the canon law itself. "In the bull of Clement VI," says Lea, "recognizing Charles IV, the first named of the imperial duties are the extension of the faith and the extirpation of heretics; and the neglect of the emperor Wenceslas to suppress Wiclifism was regarded as a satisfactory reason for his deposition. In fact, according to High Churchmen the only reason of the transfer of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans was that the Church might have an efficient agent. The principles applied to Raymond of Toulouse were embodied in the canon law, and every prince and noble was made to understand that his land would be exposed to the spoiler if after due notice he hesitated in trampling out heresy. Minor officials were subjected to the same discipline. . . . Anyone holding temporal jurisdiction who delayed in exterminating heretics was guilty of fautorship of heresy, became an accomplice of heretics, and thus was subjected to the penalties of heresy. . . . From the emperor to the meanest peasant the duty of persecution was enforced with all the sanctions, spiritual and temporal, which the Church could command. . . . In view of this earnestness to embody in the statute books the sharpest laws for the extermination of heretics, and to oblige the secular officials to execute those laws under the alternative of being themselves condemned and punished as heretics, the adjuration for mercy with which the Inquisition handed over their victims to be burned was evidently a mere technical formula to avoid the 'irregularity' of being concerned in judgments of blood. In process of time the moral responsibility was freely admitted, as when in February, 1418, the council of Constance decreed that all who should defend Husitism or regard Hus or Jerome of Prague as holy men should be treated as relapsed heretics and be punished with fire—*puniantur ad ignem*. It is altogether a modern perversion of history to assume, as apologists do, that the request for mercy was sincere and that the secular magistrate, and not the Inquisition, was responsible for the death of the heretic.

We can imagine the smile of amused surprise with which Gregory IX or Gregory XI would have listened to the dialectics with which the Comte Joseph de Maistre proves that it is an error to suppose, or much more to assert, that Catholic priests can in any manner be instrumental in encompassing the death of a fellow-creature."[1]

The Church, however, did not hesitate to organize the forces of persecution under its own hands, and give those forces an effectiveness which for diabolical ingenuity and disregard for both the forms and substance of right is unparalleled in history. The Inquisition was not a sudden creation; it was a growth. The thought of appointing special persons to second the tardy efforts of bishops in hunting heretics came first to the mind of Innocent III—ever ready in schemes for the advancement of the Church. By the fourth Lateran council, 1215, every bishop was instructed to visit his see in person or to appoint diligent persons to do it, and, where necessary, to take an oath of the inhabitants to inform against heretics. For many years afterward the process of perfecting some system of visitation, delation, trial, and conviction went on, all the time, however, the inquisitors already appointed doing their work all too perfectly. In 1233 Gregory IX appointed the Dominicans special inquisitors, though this by no means confined the honors of the Inquisition to that order.[2] More will be said of the Inquisition hereafter, in treating the Church history of modern Spain.

INQUISITION A GROWTH.

[1] History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 224–228. He refers to De Maistre, Lettres sur l'Inquisition Espagnole, 1864, pp. 17, 18, 28, 34. The alleviation of the blood-guiltiness of the Church by throwing it over on the State is a favorite method of Roman historians and controversialists. An earlier apologist is blunter: "Our pope does not kill, nor does he order another to be killed; but the law kills those whom the pope permits to be killed, and they kill themselves who make themselves liable to be killed."—Greg. Fanens, (13th cent.), Disputatio Cath. et Patar. (Martène Thesaur., v, 1741). This frank placing of the responsibility on the pope is met by the equally frank defense of the Inquisition by an enthusiastic Dominican in 1782, who goes back to Deut. xiii, 6–10, and attempts to prove from Scripture that fire is the peculiar delight of God and the best means of purifying the wheat from the tares. See Lea, i, 228, note.

[2] His bull is addressed "to the Priors and Friars of the Order of Preachers, Inquisitors," and after alluding to the sons of perdition who defend heresy it proceeds: "Therefore you, or any of you, wherever you may happen to preach, are empowered, unless they desist from such defense (of heretics), on monition, to deprive clerks of their benefices forever, and to proceed against them and all others, without appeal, calling in the aid of the secular arm, if necessary, and coercing opposition, if requisite, with the censure of the Church, without appeal."—Lea, i, 229.

The methods by which the Inquisition became the apotheosis of persecution, and by which it acquired its ghastly effectiveness, are interesting. We follow Döllinger's summary of its statutes: 1. The names of witnesses before the tribunal of the Holy Office[1] are not to be mentioned in the presence of the accused. 2. Witnesses may be of any kind—criminals, perjured, excommunicate, in fact, the basest villains. 3. As soon as any testimony has been obtained which the accused disavows the rack is to be applied to him, repeatedly if necessary, and with increasing severity. 4. Whosoever attempts to render legal assistance or to give any sort of counsel to the accused is liable to excommunication. 5. Everything that savors of the *fautaria*, that is, favoring or supporting the accused, will be visited with the severest canonical penalties. 6. Those of the accused who recant and declare themselves willing to do penance are sentenced to imprisonment for life. 7. Whoever recalls his confession will be treated as a backslider and burnt.[2] When we add to this horrible sevenfold scale of injustice the fact that the proceedings were secret, we may have some conception of the supernatural terror which seized a town on the approach of the inquisitors, or a family when it became known that one of its members hitherto orthodox had been arrested on the suspicion of heresy. Neither publicity nor formalities of law restrained the Office, whose procedure was, as Zanghino says,[3] purely arbitrary.[4] We need not be surprised that with this weapon Philip the Fair soon accomplished his purpose against the Knights Templars, and that any public manifestation of heresy in any district covered by the Inquisition soon became impossible. "The inquisitional process," says Lea, "as thus perfected was sure of its victim. No one whom a judge wished to condemn could escape. The form in which it became naturalized in secular jurisprudence was less arbitrary and effective, yet Sir John Fortescue, the chancellor of Henry VI, who in his exile had ample opportunity to observe its

METHODS OF PROCEDURE.

[1] *Sanctum Officium* is the official name of the Court of Inquisition.

[2] Döllinger, Hist. Essays, pp. 209, 210. [3] Tract. de Hæret., chap. ix.

[4] Lea, i, 406. Hefele in his Life of Cardinal Ximenes, tr. Dalton, Lond., 1860, pp. 323, ff., says that the methods of the Inquisition were fairer than those of the secular courts of the time. Lea (i, 407, note), on the other hand, quotes from the charter given by Alphonse of Poitiers to Auvergne about 1260, which provides that anyone accused of crime by common report could clear himself by his own oath and that of a single legal conjurator, unless there was a legitimate plaintiff or accuser; and no one could be tried by the inquisitional process without his own consent. No doubt after the Inquisition became a permanent department of the Spanish Church and State efforts were made to infuse a spirit of justice into its operations.

working, declares that it placed every man's life and limb at the mercy of any enemy who could suborn two unknown witnesses to swear against him." [1]

FEEBLE PROTEST AGAINST PERSECUTION.

Finally, it is an important question, in speaking of the use of persecution in the Middle Ages, to inquire whether there were not voices raised against it, men who remained true to the plan of the Gospel and sought to stay the tide of death. There were such voices, and Creighton is encouraged by them to think that the Church always felt that persecution was against the Christian ideal. But these protests were so few and stood in such isolation, never representing the dominant opinion, and being absolutely opposed to both the civil and canon law and to the authoritative judgments of popes and councils and theologians, that they unfortunately do not bear out such a favorable inference. In his great work, *Defensor Pacis*, in 1327, Marsiglio of Padua anticipates the modern idea of religious liberty. Priests can have no authority except what is given by Christ; and the question is, not what power Christ might have given them, but what he actually gave. He exercised no coercive power, and so far from conferring it on the apostles he warned them by example and precept to abstain from it. "It is vain and of none effect to compel any man unto the observing of God's laws. For to him that should observe them only on compulsion they should be nothing available unto eternal health. . . . I say it is not lawful for any man to judge a heretic or misbeliever, or compel him to any pain or punishment in the state of this life." [2] This is indeed an epoch-making book, and if we could have had such utterances from Aquinas it might be taken as representing the Church. But what heretic was shielded under the noble pleas of the Paduan lawyer, and wherein did he affect the steady policy of the Catholic Church? Much later, in the dawn of the modern era, we have another voice for toleration—More's Utopia, 1516. But it too was a voice in the wilderness. Sir Thomas himself held another language when he came to speak with authority, as representing the Church and State of his time.[3]

[1] Vol. i, 429. He refers to Fortescue, De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, c. xxvii.

[2] For further from this able and farsighted jurist see Creighton, Persecution and Tolerance, pp. 94–97, and the same author's Hist. of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation, i, 36–41.

[3] See Creighton, Persecution and Tolerance, pp. 104–108. His treatment of More is excellent. But when he says (p. 97) that "men never thought persecution right," how can he account for its systematic defense by the theologians, its enthusiastic adoption by the holiest teachers, and its constant use by the Church?

LITERATURE : THE MYSTICS.

I. MYSTICISM.

1. Heinroth, J. C. A. Geschichte und Kritik des Mystizismus aller bekannten Völker und Zeiten. Leipz., 1830.
2. Goerres, J. J. v. Die christliche Mystik. 4 vols. Regensburg, 1836–42.
3. Helfferich, A. Die christliche Mystik in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihren Denkmälern. 2 vols. Hamb., 1842.
4. Noack, L. Die christliche Mystik nach ihren geschichtlichen Entwicklungsgange im Mittelalter und in der neueren Zeit dargestellt. Königsb., 1853.
5. Jundt, Auguste. Histoire du panthéisme populaire au 16e siècle. Paris, 1875.
6. Seth, Andrew. "Mysticism," in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Edinb., 1884.
7. Du Prel, Carl. The Philosophy of Mysticism. Trans. from the German by C. C. Massey. 2 vols. Lond. 1888.
8. Adam, J. L. Le mysticisme à la Renaissance. Constance, 1893.
9. Preger, W. Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter. 3 vols. Leipz., 1881–93.

II. THE MYSTICS.

1. Arnold, G. Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie. Schaffhausen, 1742.
2. Delprat. Verhandeling over de Broederschap van G. Groote. Utrecht, 1830.
3. Dalgairns, John D. The German Mystics of the Fourteenth Century. Lond., 1850.
4. Ullmann, Carl. Reformers before the Reformation. (III. German Mystics.) 2 vols. Edinb., 1855.
5. Hamberger, Jul. Stimmen aus dem Heiligthum der christlichen Mystik und Theosophie. 2 parts. Stuttgart, 1857.
6. Jocham, M. Lichtstrahlen aus den Schriften katholischer Mystik. München, 1876.
7. Kettlewell, S. Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life. 2 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1882.
8. Herrick, S. E. Some Heretics of Yesterday. Bost., 1885.
9. Bevan, Mrs. Frances. Three Friends of God: Records from Lives of John Tauler, Nicholas of Basle, and Henry Suso. Lond., n. d. [1887]; 3d ed., 1893.
10. Perrelet, L. Essai sur le mysticisme en Italie au XVe siècle. Geneva, 1890.
11. Gebhardt, Emile. L'Italie mystique. Histoire de la renaissance religieuse au moyen âge. Paris, 1893.
12. Vaughan, R. A. Hours with the Mystic. 2 vols. Lond., 1856. 6th ed., 1893. Most charming of all works on the subject.
13. Hœning, G. Die Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens und ihre Bedeutung für ihre Zeit Gütersloh, 1894.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MYSTICS AND OTHER PROPHETS OF THE BETTER DAY.

MYSTICISM DEFINED.

THE story of Mysticism in the Christian Church is the romance of a reaction. When the mediæval Church had formulated its doctrines with the precision of a scientific catalogue, and when scholasticism had evaporated all the heat out of religion by its profitless dialectics, holy men arose who threw aside the theological conventionalities and boldly strode by the direct path of the mystic vision into the temple of God. Mysticism, so far as we have to do with it in the Church, was an attempt to find truth and life by the direct revelation of God in the soul, either with or apart from his revelation in the Bible and the community. So far as this attempt was made in conformity with the laws of mind and the integrity of the human personality, and so far as it was both inspired and modified by the historic revelation, it was a healthy development, essential to the progress and triumph of the Church and to the soundness and fullness of the Christian life. So far as the attempt sought the vision of God by ecstasy, by rapt, but not rational, contemplation, and by cessation of the bodily and mental functions, it was mischievous and extravagant and the parent of vagaries and fanaticisms.

This Mysticism, now true and now false, had a wide vogue in the Church. If the Latin Church had not overlaid the simple scriptural conceptions with its arid rites and infinitesimal refinements and additions, perverting spiritual union with God by faith and prayer into a material union by the sacraments, and perverting ethical union with God by a submission of the will and moral harmony of the whole life into a mechanical union by penance and the performance of the "commands of the Church," we might never have heard of Christian Mysticism. At all events, it would not have played an important part. Mysticism is the penalty of both sacerdotalism and that orthodox or heterodox rationalism which, both in Catholicism and Protestantism, crush the spontaneous movement of the soul toward God and look with unfriendly eye on all manifestations of the Spirit not in conformity with the formulas, the dogmas, and the stereotyped methods.

John Scotus Erigena is usually accounted the first of the Latin

Mystics. ERIGENA. He was both a mystic and a rationalist. This Irish scholar came to the court of Charles the Bald about the middle of the ninth century. Although it was a sluggish age the daring and original speculations of this thinker startled men into thinking. Erigena is the father of the idea of the immanence of God, which has played so important a part in recent theology. Creation is an eternal and necessary self-unfolding of the divine nature. God is the inner life, the vital foundation of the universe. As all things are now God, self-unfolded, so, in the final restitution, all things will be resolved into God, self-withdrawn. Evil and sin are not in the order of nature. They are negatives, have no real existence, and are a falling away from unity.[1] They must also cease and God be all in all. The fire of hell is figurative—a principle to which both the good and evil are subject, the latter to their torment, the former to their blessing, just as light is painful to a diseased eye and grateful to a sound one. On the Lord's Supper Erigena stood with Ratramnus —the bread and wine are symbols of Christ only.

On the great predestinarian controversy then raging Erigena entered with the zeal of a gladiator, eager to attempt to prove the falsity of Gottschalk's theory of election. Man is free. That is his highest gift. It is impossible in God to predestinate any person to evil. Man is made for God, and into God he must finally return. Even now by willing to know God man can to a certain extent commence his union with him, which will be completed at the end of all things, when he may hope to penetrate into the divine essence. Erigena had the Johannine ambition "to know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." To know God is to become one with him. Thus he cries out, "O Lord Jesus! no other reward, no other beatitude I desire from thee, but to understand purely and free from all error of fallacious theory thy words which were inspired by the Holy Spirit." It is remarkable that, so far as we know, the Church did not persecute this Christian pantheist for his lofty and splendid conceptions. But the Rome of the ninth century was less sharp in its detection of heresy than the Rome of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1225 Honorius III described the De Divisione Naturæ, written in 854, as "swarming with worms of heretical perversity," but it was not until 1685 that it was put on the Index of Prohibited Books.[2]

[1] This speculation has had great attraction for some minds, and is the fundamental principle of the sect of "Christian Science."

[2] Erigena's pioneer service for speculative Mysticism was his translation of the works of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and of the Greek theologian,

Bernard of Clairvaux's (1091–1153) Mysticism is of a more moderate and evangelical type. He had no faith in contemplative sloth, but believed in transmuting all experiences into life, and when he speaks of his highest experiences, which he does with hesitation and humility, he has no visions to relate, but only the joy which possessed him and the new facility with which he brought forth the fruits of the Spirit. Thus he speaks: "As the little water-drop poured into a large measure of wine seems to lose its own nature entirely and to take on both the taste and color of wine, or as iron heated red-hot loses its own appearance and glows like fire, or as air filled with sunlight is transformed into the same brightness so that it does not so much appear to be illuminated as to be itself light, so must all human feeling toward the Holy One be self-dissolved in unspeakable love, and wholly transfused into the will of God. For how shall God be all in all if anything of man remains in man? The substance will, indeed, remain, but in another form, another glory, another power."[1] But this highest experience of the transfiguring love comes only seldom—happy is the man who has it. "To lose thyself utterly as if thou wert not, not to think of thyself, to empty thee of thyself, and almost annihilate it—this is the part of heavenly converse, not of mere human affection." "In the spiritual immortal body the soul may hope to attain this fourth state of the fullness of love, or rather to be lifted into it, since it will not so much follow a human endeavor as be given by the power of God to whomsoever he will." But all Christian experience, according to Bernard, is for holiness, and here he reminds us of Wesley. "Of his theology, as of his heart, it might truly be said that its home was in the heavens. His ethereal system could hardly escape being frozen into a frightful scheme of carnal sacraments, purchased absolutions, and external salvation, when men of an earthly and frigid spirit put it into the forms of thought most congenial to their minds. But out of that theology came always to himself immense and lovely inspiration. It loosened him from the earth, and made him partaker, as he deeply felt, of thoughts, experiences, belonging by nature to higher realms. It gave him a strange supremacy among men. What power on earth could

BERNARD.

Maximus. There are excellent monographs by Tailander, Paris, 1843, and Christlieb, Gotha, 1860. See writings and life of Scotus Erigena, in Church Quar. Rev. (Lond.), July, 1882, 390, ff. Storrs, Bernard of Clairvaux, 286–288, 348–350, contains copious extracts from his writings.

[1] De diligendo Deo, x. Vaughan, Hours with the Mystics, 5th ed., i, 150, 151, gives several pertinent quotations from Bernard's writings.

frighten him affined through Christ to the Majesty in the heavens? What presence on earth could daunt or allure him to whom the stars were only the diamond dust of his immortal habitation? Every force of his will was exalted and energized by the touch of this theology upon him, and its ethereal sovereign power lived for long in other minds. Indeed, it never was lost, or will be, from the consciousness of the Church."[1]

The Augustinian monastery of St. Victor in the suburbs of Paris was the home of piety and learning. Hence issued forth the text-books of Mysticism. The head of the mystical school of St. Victor was Hugo (1096–1141). He was the teacher of Aquinas and Vincent of Beauvais, and his ponderous tomes gained for him the name of the second Augustine. He wedded scholasticism and Mysticism, and in his loftiest flights tried never to part with common sense. For the knowledge of God and spiritual realities there are three stages or faculties—cogitation; meditation, reflection, or investigation; and contemplation. In this last stage faith becomes so strong, the soul's eye so clear, that truth pervades the nature, God is in the heart, self is gone, and love is all in all. Man reaches this stage by the faith, the feeling, and the ascetic practice of religion. But even here man must exercise his critical faculty, that he be not deceived as to the nature of the light that comes to him. Satan can assume the garb of an angel of light, and we must try the spirits.

HUGO.

Hugo was one of the best theologians of the Middle Ages, and he largely influenced Bernard.[2] His pupil, Richard of St. Victor, was more of a reformer than his quiet, studious, valetudinarian master. He strongly rebuked the avarice of prelates and the empty disputation of schoolmen—men who blush more for a false quantity than for a sin, and stand more in awe of Priscian than of Christ. "How many come to the cloister to seek Christ, and find lying in that sepulcher the linen clothes of your formalism! How many mask their cowardice under the name of love, and let every abuse run riot on the plea of peace! How many others call their hatred of individuals hatred of iniquity, and think to be righteous cheaply by mere outcry against other men's sins!"[3] Divinely

[1] Storrs, Bernard of Clairvaux, pp. 342, 343.

[2] Leibner has given an elaborate investigation in his Hugo von St. Victor und die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit, 1832. A critical edition of Hugo's works is a desideratum. See the learned monograph of Haurean, Les Œuvres de Hugue de St. Victor; Essai Critique, Paris, 1886—a work more admirable for its scholarship than its theology.

[3] De Preparatione animi ad contemplationem, c. xii; Vaughan, Hours, i, 160.

illumined intelligence is to search first the deeps of our own nature and then ascend into the heights of the divine. The highest intuition few are able to obtain. In this all earthly things fade away and the soul joins itself to God. Not only a holy heart, but self-knowledge, self-simplification, and self-concentration are essential to the ascent of the soul.[1] A third member of this famous school, Walter of St. Victor, threw all his soul against the scholastic method, but when it came to any constructive work he had not the eagle's wings of his teachers. He sank into a slavish dependence on the Church. Bonaventura (1221–74) followed in the footsteps of the Victorins.

BRETHREN OF THE FREE SPIRIT.

An interesting heretical development appeared in the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They taught an undisguised pantheism and a union with God which dispensed with the help of moral precepts. They showed the extravagance which is so near the heart of Mysticism. This widely diffused sect of heretics withstood all the efforts of the Church and Inquisition to crush them. It is remarkable that while in mediæval times evangelical conceptions had a poor soil for growth Europe swarmed with wild heretics. Whether the Brethren of the Free Spirit were identical with the Beghards is hard to determine. Haupt has shown that at least in their later developments and in Germany the people of the Free Spirit differed from the Beghards. The most of the latter were orthodox, and in begging and other peculiarities were very like the Franciscans.[2] But the earliest manuscript sources attribute pantheism and other errors to the Beghards, no doubt with entire justice.

WOMEN AS MYSTICS.

More interesting still is the mystical overflow among German women. They came out in public with their visions, their preachings, and their insistence on reform and on holiness of heart and life, and made quite a ripple on the calm surface of the mediæval Church. Among them was St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31), who during her married life was a model of Christian charity and activity, but after the death of her husband, in 1227, became the victim of barbarous austerities under the influence of her confessor, Konrad of Marburg. He set himself to

[1] Best ed. of works, Rouen, 1650. Full information by Engelhardt, Richard von St. Victor, ed. 1838, and Leibner, Richard in doctrina, 1837–39. Large quotations are in the copious notes of Vaughan, i, 171–178. In Richard, Scotland taught all Europe.

[2] Haupt, Die Sekte von Freien Geistern und die Begharden, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 150, Bd. vii, H. iv (1885).

the task of destroying every natural affection in the hope of making a saint. Elizabeth separated from her three children, bared her back while her brother flagellated it, and Conrad sang the Miserere as an accompaniment—a ghastly spectacle, surely, but one perfectly in accord with the degraded religious conceptions of the time.[1] Mechthild of Magdeburg (1214–77) gave a terminology to German Mysticism fifty years before Eckhart's time.[2]

We now come to the best school of the Mystics, those German lovers of God who kept the seeds of piety alive until the Reformation. The most daring of these was John Eckhart (1260–1329), "Master," as he was called by his loving disciples. He was a Dominican, a pupil of Albert the Great, became a master in Paris in 1302, and preached and taught in Paris, Strasburg, and Cologne. The archbishop of this latter city could not endure his lofty speculations, and in 1325 proceeded against him for heresy. He was first acquitted and then condemned. On February 13, 1329, he made solemn declaration of innocence from the pulpit of the cloister-chapel of Cologne, but said that he would gladly recant any error into which he might have fallen. After Eckhart's death Pope John XXII pointed out seventeen propositions drawn from his writings which were erroneous, but declared that his conditional recantation cleared him from all heresy.

ECKHART.

Eckhart was the Hegel of the Middle Ages. No bolder thinker ever appeared in the Church. He did not stop at God, but went beyond to the Godhead that was behind God. He taught the starkest pantheism, or monism, and yet underneath all these ethereal speculations and antinomies he held the Christian faith in a life of singular purity and devotion. His speculative thought seemed a castle which his mind had built for his theology, and underneath that he abode content in the house of the Church. "Creation is an eternal necessity of the divine nature. I am as necessary to God as God is to me. In my knowledge and love God knows and loves himself." "The eye with which I see God is the same eye with which God sees me. My eye and God's eye are one eye—one vision, one recognition, one love." "Couldst thou annihilate thyself for a moment, thou couldst possess all that God is in himself." There is an uncreated attribute of the soul which will be satisfied with nothing less than its source in the eternal essence behind God. Of this something in the soul "I am wont," he says, "to speak in my sermons, and sometimes I have called it

[1] Herzog, art. in Herzog-Plitt.

[2] For an account of these women see Preger, Geschichte der deutschen Mystik, vol. i, 1875.

a Power, sometimes an uncreated Light, sometimes a divine Spark. It is absolute and free from all names and forms, as God is free and absolute in himself. It is higher than knowledge, love, or grace. For between all these there is still distinction. In this power doth bloom and flourish God, with all his Godhead, and the Spirit flourisheth in God. In this power doth the Father bring forth his only begotten Son, as essentially as in himself, and in this light ariseth the Holy Ghost. This Spark rejects all creatures, and will have only God, simply as he is in himself. It rests satisfied with neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost, nor with the three Persons, so far as each exists with its respective attributes. I will say what will sound more marvelous yet. This Light is satisfied only with the superessential essence. It is bent on entering into the simple Ground, the still Water, wherein is no distinction, neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost—into the unity where no man dwelleth. There is it satisfied in the light; there it is one; there it is in itself, as this Ground is a simple stillness in itself, immovable; and yet by this Immobility are all things moved."[1]

Formerly our only knowledge of Eckhart was from his few German writings, which have reached us, but in 1886 Denifle discovered and published his Latin writings, which reveal a closer approach to Thomas Aquinas,[2] and even Weingarten says that his speculative system is much less peculiar and important than was his psychological deepening of personal piety and making it more inward.[3] All the later German philosophers seem but to stand upon the shoulders of the holy Dominican preacher — Meister Eckhart. "Raise thyself to the height of religion," says Fichte, "and all veils are removed; the world and its dead principle pass away from thee, and the very Godhead enters into thee anew

[1] Vaughan, Hours, i, 190, 191; Martensen, Meister Eckhart, Hamb., 1842, pp. 26, 27; Schmidt, in Studien u. Kritiken, 1839, 3, 707, 709.

[2] Denifle, Meister Eckhart, lateinische Schriften u. die Grundanschauung seiner Lehre, in Archiv f. Lit. und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, Bd. ii, 1886.

[3] Zeittafeln und Ueberblick zur Kirchengesch., 3d ed., Rudolstadt, 1888, p. 121. Vaughan, i, 188–199, gives copious extracts from the writings of Eckhart, and an excellent discussion of his thought, pp. 204–212; Seth, a profound analysis, in his art. on Mysticism in the Encyc. Brit., 9th ed. (xvii, 140); one of the best monographs is by Lasson, Meister Eckhart, Berlin, 1868. The work of Vaughan on the Mystics is a marvel of genius and learning. It is remarkable how its judgments have been confirmed by more recent scholarship. For instance, when Seth says that Eckhart approaches more nearly to Schelling at some points than to Hegel it is no more than Vaughan says (p. 212, note). How like the infinite prodigality of God to let this rare and brilliant mind cease from its earthly work at the age of thirty-four!

in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live."[1]

The master's great pupil, John Tauler (c. 1300–1361), brought down Eckhart's philosophy from the clouds, humanized it, and made it a living power among men. As Uhland says:

> To long, and weave a woof of dreams,
> Is sweet unto the feeble soul,
> But nobler is stout-hearted striving,
> That makes the dream reality.[2]

JOHN TAULER.

Tauler was the son of a Strasburg burgher, educated at the Dominican convent at Strasburg and at Cologne, entered the Dominican Order, preached at Strasburg, Cologne, and other places, remained at Strasburg during the scourge of the Black Death, 1348 and after, corresponded with the Friends of God, and leavened all southwestern Germany with the principles of the Gospel. Tauler stood squarely on the platform of Eckhart in all his speculative ideas. A recent historian and fellow-countryman of Tauler has summed up his whole position and work in a few admirably terse and comprehensive words. Moeller furnishes a fine analysis of Tauler's central thought:

"Tauler follows in the line of Eckhart's mysticism—the idea of the divine abyss, in which God and all things rest in perfect unity; of the eternal issuing of God into the distinction of persons and of his eternal return; of the nature of God, who alone is life and nature in all things; of the formation of man according to the eternal type in his Son, and the transformed image or spark of God in the depth of the soul from which the created image of God in man is so fashioned that it produces his Son in man also. But these speculative elements, in the interest of pious government of souls, in close attachment to the doctrine and saving ordinances of the Church, are here developed with great warmth and impressiveness, with the apprehension of the divine grace in word and sacrament on the basis of repentance; that is, aversion from everything that is not God, and turning toward the unmixed good, which is God. The apprehension of the divine forgiveness of sins brings great peace and trust in God's promise, and kindles the flame of love which seeks to serve God eternally. As we begin naked and empty of all things, the inspiration of the divine communication of grace

[1] Anweisung zum sel. Leben, p. 470 (quoted by Vaughan, i, 212).

[2] Die Sehnsucht und Träume Weben
Sie sind der weichen Seele süss,
Doch edler ist ein starkes Streben
Und macht den schönen Traum gewiss.

advances upon the different degrees of the beginning, increasing and perfecting man on to the mystical end of being raised in and up to the divine nature in which man becomes one life and nature with God. With all the ascetic ideas which influence him, his cordial liberal spirit and pastoral tact preserve Tauler from a narrow legalistic conception, and, on the other hand, from losing himself in Quietism. The dying away of the personal will is accompanied side by side by the sober fulfillment of the duty of loving one's neighbor, which is more important. His sermons, for the most part but not exclusively preached before monastic congregations, explain the high esteem in which he was held as a pastor among the pious and even in wider popular circles."[1]

Tauler's intensely spiritual conceptions and moral earnestness made him in a real sense a Reformer before the Reformation, a John the Baptist of Luther, although neither he nor any other of the German Mystics set themselves against the doctrines of the Church. In and of the old Church, they unconsciously worked powerfully for the New Age. Hence Luther says: "If you would be pleased to make acquaintance with a solid theology of the good old sort in the German tongue, get John Tauler's sermons. For neither in Latin nor in our own language have I ever seen a theology more sound or more in harmony with the Gospel."[2] He represented the purest type of Mysticism, and in insisting on personal responsibility to God, freedom from the thraldom of authority, and the worthlessness of good works without the renewal of the inward life, he anticipated the message which sounded forth from that Wittenberg Church two hundred years later, and in 1521 said: "A heart that has laid Christ at the foundation of his hopes will find in Tauler such a light for improvement, for worship, for purity, for sanctification to God, for God's fear, for spiritual wisdom, that he will rejoice in the faithful and precious results to his soul." The Roman Catholic Alzog calls him the "sweet, the amiable, and the profound John Tauler"—*Doctor Sublimis et Illuminatus.*[3]

Tauler's supposed conversion is involved in obscurity. On the basis of the Meisterbuch, or the History of the Life of Dr. John Tauler, it is commonly assumed that in the first period of his career as a preacher he simply reproduced the sentiments of Eckhart, but with no spiritual power or fruits. Then he was visited by the "Friend of God in the Oberland," Nicholas of Basel, who so impressed him with a sense of his personal need of pardon and peace that for two years he refrained from preaching, until he should be

[1] Church Hist., Middle Ages (1893), pp. 470, 471.
[2] Ep. to Spalatin. [3] Church Hist., ii, 994.

endued with power from on high. Then he stepped into the pulpit again, and there followed his marvelous triumphs as a preacher. This is the theory accepted by Professor C. Schmidt[1] of Strasburg, by Miss Winkworth,[2] by Keller,[3] and by Mrs. Frances Bevan.[4] But Denifle has subjected this theory to a most searching criticism,[5] and if he does not completely explode it he yet makes it no longer tenable as an explanation of Tauler's life. Denifle shows that the Meisterbuch is not historical, that the Meister was not Tauler, that the stranger from the Oberland was not Nicholas of Basel, and that instead of history we have a writing in the interest of a tendency. Preger, who has given us the latest and best account of Tauler, agrees with Denifle in the main, but holds to the fact of the conversion, and so far to the genuineness of the Meisterbuch, standing, however, with Denifle in striking Nicholas out of the account.[6]

SUSO.

Henry Suso (the Amandus, 1291–1365) was one of the brilliant Mystics of this time. He, too, was a Dominican, educated at the Dominican convent at Constance and at Cologne under Eckhart, and afterward became rector and prior at Constance. He was more enthusiastic and poetical than Eckhart or Tauler in his adoration of the eternal Wisdom. His formula was, "Man should completely divest himself of the

[1] Johann Tauler von Strassburg, Hamb., 1841.

[2] Transl. of Meisterbuch and the Sermons of Tauler, Lond., 1857; N. Y., ed. by R. D. Hitchcock, 1858.

[3] Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien, Leipz., 1885.

[4] Three Friends of God: Records from the Lives of John Tauler, Nicholas of Basel, and Henry Suso, Lond., n. d. [1887], 3d ed., 1893.

[5] Tauler's Bekehrung, Strassb., 1879. See Jackson in Presb. Rev., 1881, 606, 607.

[6] Gesch. der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter, Leipz., 1893, vol. iii. The common tradition is expressed in the 1st ed. of Herzog and in McClintock and Strong. Both Kurtz, 10th ed., ii, 175, 176, and Möller, ii, 473, 474, agree with Denifle in ascribing the Meisterbuch to Rulman Merswin. Möller says that Schmidt himself afterward gave up the identification of the Friend of God from the Uplands with Nicholas of Basel. Equal obscurity rests on Tauler's works. All acknowledge the eighty sermons, but Denifle and Preger reject the Book of Spiritual Poverty (or the Imitation of the Poverty of Jesus Christ), while Schmidt and Kurtz admit this latter, Schmidt calling it Tauler's masterpiece. The Meditation on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ, transl. Lond., 1889, and the Institutiones Divinæ, also called Medulla Animæ, are not by Tauler. A selection from his writings, Golden Thoughts on the Higher Life, transl. by M. A. C., with introd. by Prof. T. M. Lindsay, was published in Glasgow in 1896. Gow, John Tauler, in Bapt. Rev., iv (1882), 143, ff., and Bennett, John Tauler and his Theology, in Meth. Quar. Rev., li (1869), 45, are excellent, though written before the new light of Denifle. The latter gives an excellent conspectus of Tauler's theology.

carnal nature by imitating Christ's sufferings, and, thus transformed, sink into the depths of the divine essence. To reach this three steps are to be passed through: Purification, or the deadening of carnal desire; Illumination, or the filling the soul with forms of divine truth; Perfection, or the fullest enjoyment of heavenly bliss." He joined his master Eckhart against the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but he himself fell under suspicion, and was deposed from his priorate in 1333. But this was all that was done. His books enjoyed wide vogue, and he was one of the most influential spirits of this rich time.[1]

JOHN OF RUYSBROEK.

John of Ruysbroek (1293–1381) spent his life in and around Brussels, a part of the time priest in the city and later an Augustinian monk in the neighboring village, Grönendal. He made Eckhart's Mysticism popular in the North. Fallen man can only be restored through grace, which elevates him above the conditions of nature. Three stages of the Christian life are to be distinguished: The operative, which proceeds to conquer sin and draw near to God through good works. Then comes the subjective or emotional, in which the ascetic practices come to the aid of the soul. The soul becomes indifferent to all but God, and is penetrated by the Spirit of God, and revels in visions and ecstasies. Highest of all is the contemplative state—the *vita vitalis*, which is an immediate knowing and possessing of God, leaving no remains of individuality in the consciousness, and concentrating every energy on the contemplation of God. The soul is led on from glory to glory, until it becomes conscious of its essential unity with God. In this, Ruysbroek does not desire to deny personality, but simply to assert the giving up of all thought and desire independently of God. He claimed to write under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and his daring flights into the empyrean excited the strong opposition of Gerson.[2]

FRIENDS OF GOD.

These and other German mystics of the fourteenth century formed an undesigned association—not a sect, nor a society, nor a brotherhood—the Friends of God, which consisted of monks, nuns, priests, laymen, who had all been touched

[1] His works are On the Eternal Wisdom, 1338, On the Eternal Truth, and his Life, Augsb., 1482. Best ed. of theological writings by Denifle, München, 1876–80, 3 vols.; best ed. of Life by Diepenbrock, Ratisb., 1829, 3d ed., Regensb., 1854. Schmidt, Henry Suso, in Studien und Krit., 1848, No. 4; Bevan, Three Friends of God, Lond., 1887. The book On the Nine Rocks (Von den neun Felsen), long attributed to Suso, was written by Rulman Merswin in 1392.

[2] Two excellent monographs are by Engelhardt, Richard v. St. Victor and J. Ruysbroek, Erl., 1838, and Schmidt, Étude sur Jean Ruysbroch, Strasb., 1868, and art. in Herzog by same.

by the new piety. Their relation to each other, entirely free, was kept up by personal intercourse, by correspondence, and by the communion of the Spirit. Many women in the convents of northern Germany, by their earnest piety and fine literary gifts, were prominent members of this band. A rich banker of Strasburg, Rulman Merswin (1307–82), became enamored of the mystical life, retired from business, devoted his money to benevolence, bought the island of the Green Wort, on the Ill, near Strasburg, and established there a house of God, a retreat for the Friends of God, and retired there himself for prayer, study, and writing. Among his books are the Master Book, printed as a history of the venerable Doctor Tauler, which is in part history and in part fiction; On the Nine Rocks, and The Little Banner Book.[1] It was formerly thought[2] that Nicholas of Basel, who was burned for heterodoxy in Vienna about 1395, was a chief teacher among the Mystics and the instructor of Tauler. But it has now been shown that Nicholas was, rather, of the sect of the Free Spirit.[3]

BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.

This religious revival under the Mystics found expression in an organization more closely knit than the Friends of God —the Brethren of the Common Life.[4] The founder was Gerhard Groot (1340–84), of Deventer, a pupil of Ruysbroek. He went about the diocese of Utrecht preaching righteousness and self-denial, and finally about 1376, at Deventer, he formed the idea of associating like-minded spirits of both sexes in a free community, in which, without vows, they would devote themselves to chastity and obedience, to the study of the Bible, to copying sacred books, to manual toil, and to a life of Christian service to others. A community of goods and ordinary monastic routine prevailed, but the whole rested on a purely voluntary principle. Love was the only constraining bond. These "brother and sister houses" spread everywhere through the Netherlands and North Germany. The brothers heard confessions, received children to educate, preached in a simple and earnest way, copied and circulated good books, engaged in works of mercy, and were everywhere centers of piety and intelligence. It was to this community that Thomas à Kempis (d. 1417) belonged. He was canon of their mon-

[1] This last ed. by Jundt, 1879, the Rock Book by Schmidt, 1859.

[2] Schmidt, Gottesfreunde, 1854.

[3] See authorities mentioned in note, p. 860. Also Haupt, On the Sect of the Free Spirit and the Beghards, in Zeitaft. für Kircheng., vii, iv, 1885. On the Friends of God, see Jundt, Les amis de Dieu, Paris, 1879, and Preger, Geschichte der deutschen Mystik, vol. iii, Leipz., 1893.

[4] Fratres communis vitæ; Fratres devoti; Fratres bonæ voluntatis; Fratres collationarii.

astery on the Agnetenberg, near Zwolle, and lived here a long life of ascetic contemplation, writing books of devotion, "a child of peace, of the love of God, and of the discipline of the inner life." It was here he wrote that classic of the religious life, On the Imitation of Christ, which has been printed in more editions than any other book except the Bible, and has expressed the longings of innumerable souls of all creeds and nations—a book which Wesley published for his societies, and which George Eliot held in her hand when dying. The Imitation is the flower of Mysticism. It fairly quivers with the heart-beats of one to whom the love of Christ is a passion. It expresses one side of the holy life so perfectly that it can never die. Yet it is a book of the fourteenth century, its ideal is ascetic, miraculously free indeed from the errors of Rome, speaking to the universal heart of the Church, but moving entirely within the monastic grooves, a product, not of the faith that overcometh the world, but of the love which seeks God in self-renunciation and meditation.[1] THOMAS À KEMPIS.

Out of that same atmosphere by which the Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life prepared for the Reformation came another famous hand-book of mystical devotion, A German

[1] Stalker has excellently criticised this one-sidedness (pp. 15–39), and has sought to provide a larger De Imitatione Christi in his fine work, Imago Christi, Lond. and N. Y., 1889. For further discussion of defects of Kempis's book, see Milman, Latin Christianity, viii, 209–301. It is hardly fair to say that the book is absolutely selfish in its aims and acts. The love of man, the service of man, is rather taken for granted than inculcated. The very idea of the Brothers of the Common Life was sacrifice for others; theirs was a piety that communicated itself. A facsimile of the Brussels MSS. (1441) of the De Imitatione Christi was published in Lond., 1879, with Introd. by Ruelens. About 1873 Hirsche, of Hamburg, discovered the fact that in its original form the book was written in rhythmical cadences, rhyme, and balanced sentences, and he published an edition restoring the text to its first form, Berlin, 1874, and an English translation according to this restoration was published in Lond., 1889, with preface by Liddon. See Hirsche, Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi, 2 vols., Berl., 1873–83. The age-long debate on the authorship of the Imitation—whether by Kempis or Gerson, has settled down on the former, scholars generally agreeing to this. It has been demonstrated with almost absolute certainty by Amort and Malon, Recherche historique et critique sur le veritable auteur, etc., Tourney, 3d ed., 1858; by Spitzen, Thom. à K. als Schriver der Nachfolging, Utrecht, 1880; and Kettlewell, The Authorship of the De Imit. C., Lond. and N. Y., 1877, and his Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life, 2 vols., 1882. These books of Kettlewell are loving tributes by a patient and enthusiastic investigator, who searched the monasteries of Belgium for materials for his book on Thomas as earnestly as Sabatier did those of Italy for his book on Francis. On the Imitation, see Faulkner in Chr. Adv., N. Y., May 5, 1887.

Theology, written by an inmate of the house of the Teutonic Order at Frankfort-on-the-Main some time in the fifteenth century. The oldest manuscript of this work dates from 1497. Like many mystical writings, it is anonymous. It was first published by Luther in an incomplete form in 1516, and in full in 1518, and the great Reformer praises it highly as a "spiritually noble little book on the right difference and understanding of what are the old and the new man, and how Adam must die away and Christ arise in us." Though the best product of mediæval Catholicism, it was placed in the Index in 1621, perhaps on account of its vast vogue among Protestants, who found much to admire in its simple heartfelt piety and evangelical conceptions, yet pervaded by the noblest principles of Mysticism. The fact that the book was put into Luther's hand by Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustinian Order, shows that Luther's high estimate of it was shared by the best spirits in the Old Church. In its searching and profound apprehension of the nature of sin it is differentiated from Catholicism, but stands in close relation to Protestantism.[1]

A GERMAN THEOLOGY.

Were the German Mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the precursors of Protestantism? Yes and No. They were not Protestants. They did not consciously deviate from the beaten path of the Church's dogmatic system, which was held as a necessary framework under their airy superstructures. They did not preach against any of the ordinary practices or teachings of the Church, as did the Waldenses and Reformers, nor did they appeal, as these did, to the Bible as the final and perennial source of truth. The old method of speaking of these men as "Reformers before the Reformation" is no longer tenable. In fact, the Mystic could worship the Bible as little as he could worship the Church. The Interior Revelation was his altar.

On the other hand, the Mystics worked powerfully, though unconsciously, for the better day. The traditional system was not attacked. It was simply dissolved. As Seth strikingly says: "Mysticism instinctively recedes from formulas that have become stereotyped and mechanical into the perennially fresh experience of the individual. In the first place, therefore, it brings into prominence only these broad and universal

SETH ON MYSTICISM.

[1] Best ed. by Pfeiffer, Stuttg., 1851, 3d ed., Güteraloh, 1855. Trans. by Miss Winkworth, with pref. by C. Kingsley, Introd. by C. E. Stowe, Andover, 1856, new ed., Phila., 1887. See Lisco, Die Heilslehre der Theologia Deutsche, Stuttg., 1859; Ashwell, Theologia Germanica, in Companions to Devout Life, Lond. and N. Y., new ed., 1877, pp. 167–180.

doctrines which it finds to be of vital and present moment for the inward life, while others, though they may have an important place in the churchly system, are (unconsciously) allowed to slip into temporary forgetfulness. It is thus we must explain that almost total absence of distinctively Roman doctrine in Thomas à Kempis which makes the Imitation as acceptable to a Protestant as to a devout Catholic. In the second place, Mysticism accustoms men to deal with their experience for themselves at first hand, and to test the doctrines presented to them by that standard. Thus the growth of spiritual freedom is especially to be marked in the German Mystics. It is to be noted, however, that Mysticism affords in itself no foundation for a religious community. Its principle is pure inwardness, but it possesses no norm by which the extravagances of the individual may be controlled. Thus, when the Reformers appeared to do their work, the Mystics were found opposing the new authority of Scripture to the full as bitterly as they had opposed the old authority of the Church. To the thoroughgoing Mystic individualist the one standard is as external as the other. When Cellarius was called upon by Luther to substantiate his positions by reference to Scripture he struck the table with his fist and declared it an insult to speak so to a man of God. A germ of reason may be discerned in this indignation, but none the less we must recognize that, while Mysticism showed itself capable at the Reformation of dissolving society into anarchy and atomism, it showed itself perfectly destitute of a reconstructive power. The same people who would claim the pre-Reformation Mystics as Protestants in disguise are indignant at the way in which the later Mystics oppose, or hold aloof from, the Reformation movement. But the truth seems to be that, in both cases, Mysticism was true to its principle. Without some fixed letter to attach itself to, it sinks away into utter formlessness; but its relation to the system is always more or less one of opposition to what it regards as external."[1]

The Mystic looked to God, and not to the Church; he turned his gaze upon himself, and not upon his priest. His whole attitude presaged a revolt. His life was fed not by sacraments, but by communion with God, by study, by meditation. The ecclesiastical organization was not a necessity to him, but God in Christ was. Traditionalism and ecclesiasticism were not his emphasis, but holiness and rapt communion. The necessary intermediaries of a thousand years were thrown aside. All Germany was sowed deep with the seed of truth and piety, which bore fruit in later years,

[1] Mysticism, Encyc. Brit., 9th ed.

and Eckhart, Tauler, Gerhard Groot, and à Kempis were the John the Baptists of the Reformation. The glowing truths for which Mysticism stood have found their true home in Protestantism, where, through reverence for the Scriptures as the supreme authority both in faith and morals, they are guarded from becoming the fuel of fanaticism.

[1] On the relation of Mysticism to Methodism, see Faulkner in South. Meth. Rev., Jan., 1886, 72, ff.

LITERATURE: SCHOLASTICISM AND MEDIÆVAL THEOLOGY.

1. Hampden, R. D. The Scholastic Philosophy Considered in its Relations to Christian Theology. Lond., 1832; 3d ed., 1838. Life of Thomas Aquinas. A dissertation of the Scholastic Philosophy of the Middle Ages. Lond., 1848.
2. Cousin, Victor. Fragmens philosophiques du moyen-âge: Philosophie scholastique. Paris, 1840 and 1850.
3. Rousselot. Études sur la philosophie dans le moyen-âge. Paris, 1840–42.
4. Ritter, Heinrich. Geschichte der Philosophie. 15 vols. Hamburg, 1836–53. (Vols. v–viii, Christliche Philosophie.)
5. Morin, Frederic. Dictionnaire de Philosophie et de Théologie scholastique. 2 vols. Paris, 1856.
6. Maurice, F. D. Mediæval Philosophy from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century. 2d ed., Lond., 1859. Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy. 2 vols., Lond. 1873. (I. First to thirteenth century.)
7. Kaulich, W. Geschichte der scholastischen Philosophie. Part i. Prag, 1863.
8. Renan, E. Averroès et l'Averroisme. Paris, 1866.
9. Stœckl, Alb. Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. 3 vols. Mainz, 1864–66.
10. De Cupely. Esprit de la Philosophie scholastique. Paris, 1868.
11. Prantl, E. Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande. 4 vols. Leipz., 1855–70.
12. Ueberweg, Frederick. History of Philosophy. Translated from the 4th German ed. by George S. Morris, New York, 1872–74 (vol. i, pp. 355–484).
13. Loewe, J. H. Der Kampf zwischen dem Realismus und Nominalismus im Mittelalter. Prag, 1876.
14. Reuter, H. Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter. 2 vols. Berl., 1875–77.
15. Bach, R. C. Die Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters vom christologischen Standpunkte, oder die mittelalterliche Christologie vom 8–16 Jahrhundert. 2 vols. Wien, 1873–75.
16. Harper, Thomas. The Metaphysics of the School. Lond., 1880.
17. Haureau, Barthélemy. Histoire de la Philosophie scolastique. 3 vols. Paris, 1872–80.
18. Owen, John. Evenings with the Sceptics. (Vol. ii.) Lond. and N. Y., 1881.
19. Townsend, W. J. The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Lond., 1881. See an adverse treatment of this by R. L. Poole, in Modern Rev., 1882, 419, ff.
20. Werner, Karl. Der Averroismus in der christlich-peripatetischen Psychologie des späteren Mittelalters. Wien, 1881. Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert:

ein Beitrag zur christlich-theologischen Literaturgeschichte. New ed., Wien, 1881. Die nominalisirende Psychologie der Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters. 3 vols. Wien, 1882. Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters. 3 vols. Wien, 1881–83.

21. Nitzsch, Friedrich. "Scholastische Theologie," in Herzog-Plitt, Encyklop., xiii, 650, ff., 1884. A very valuable account; contains also references to the literature.
22. Poole, Reg. Lane. Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought. Lond., 1884.
23. Denifle, H. Die Sentenzen Abälards und die Bearbeitungen seiner Theologie vor Mitte des 12 Jahrhunderts. (In Denifle and Ehrle's Archiv., i, 402, ff., 1885.)
24. Seth, Andrew. "Scholasticism," in Encyc. Brit., xxi, 417, ff., Edinb., 1886. An excellent summary.
25. Eicken, H. v. Geschichte und System der mittelälterlichen Weltanschauung. Stuttgart, 1887. A philosophical discussion of the principles of mediæval thought.
26. Erdmann, J. E. A History of Philosophy. Translated by Hough. 3 vols. Lond. and N. Y., 1890. (Vol. ii, Mediæval Philosophy.)

See also the accounts given in the general Church Histories, and in the Histories of Dogma, general or special, as by Thomasius, Hagenbach, Schwane (Dogmeng. des Mittelalters, Freib. i. B., 1882), Dorner (Person of Christ, 5 vols., Edinb., 1861–63), Ritschl (Justification, Edinb., 1872), and Harnack.

CHAPTER L.

MEDIÆVAL THEOLOGY.

IT is one of the strangest ironies of history that the favorite Father among the Protestant Reformers, the teacher of Calvin and of Luther, should be the true founder of Catholic theology. And yet that is the undoubted position of Augustine. History, like human life, is full of inconsistencies, not ordered on primary considerations, but leaving a large margin for caprice and free will. The Reformers before the day of Luther—Wyclif, Hus, Wessel, and others—fed on Augustine, and the Reformers saluted him as one of themselves. Schaff[1] well says: "No Church teacher did so much to mold Luther and Calvin; none furnished them so powerful weapons against the dominant Pelagianism and formalism; none is so often quoted by them with esteem and love." Luther calls him the most pious, grave, and sincere of the Fathers, the patron of divines, who taught a pure doctrine, and submitted it in Christian humility to the Holy Scriptures. The Reformer thinks that if Augustine had lived in the sixteenth century he would have been a Protestant.[2] The Protestant elements in Augustine are his emphasis on grace and on the depravity of man and our absolute dependence on God for any good thing; his love of the Holy Scriptures; and his freedom from many of the later corruptions of Rome, such as transubstantiation, papal infallibility, mariolatry, and indulgences. Calvin was fashioned on his predestinarianism, and this gave rise to the famous sentence and most characteristic judgment of Gibbon: "The rigid system of Christianity which he [Augustine] framed and restored has been entertained with public applause and with secret reluctance by the Latin Church. The Church of Rome has canonized Augustine and reprobated Calvin. Yet as the real difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope, the Molinists are oppressed with the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to a heretic. In the meanwhile the Protestant Arminians

AUGUSTINE AND CALVIN.

[1] Augustine's Life and Work, in Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, vol. i, p. 27.

[2] See his judgments on the Fathers in his Colloquia, ed. H. E. Bindseil, 1863, iii, 149.

stand aloof and deride the mutual perplexity of the disputants." [1] A Roman Catholic scholar, Gongauf, concedes that Luther and Calvin built their doctrinal system mainly on Augustine, but with only partial right.[2] Yes, verily with only partial right. For a deeper view shows the wide chasm between Augustinianism and Protestantism, and reveals Augustine as the real father of Catholicism. Luther himself saw this, for in one place he says: "Augustine often erred; he cannot be trusted; though he was good and holy, yet he, as well as other Fathers, was wanting in the true faith."

For what is the essence of Roman Catholic theology? It is this: the Church of Christ, having its center in Rome, dispensing divine grace through the sacraments by a valid ministry constituted in an episcopate having succession from the apostles. And thus we have a vast ecclesiasticism, resting its head at Rome, and ordained by God as the saviour of the nation, without which there can be no salvation. It is to Augustine that we are indebted for this conception, systematized, enriched, and irradiated with his genius and piety, and this he handed on to the Middle Ages, thus making the Roman Catholic Church what it is. Allen says: "For a thousand years those who came after him did little more than reaffirm his teaching, and so deep is the hold which his long supremacy has left upon the Church that his opinions have become identified with divine revelation and are all that the majority of the Christian world yet know of the religion of Christ." [3] The biographer of the great theologian of the Middle Ages says that as the "Angelical professor [Aquinas] professed St. Augustine's Rule, so also he imbibed his spirit. St. Augustine forms the pedestal upon which stands the peaceful figure of the *Summa Theologiæ*;" [4] and Cardinal Norris sums up the debt of Catholicism to Augustine in the pregnant words: Ad Augustinum non itur nisi per Thomam.[5] Cathol-

[1] Gibbon adds: "Perhaps a reasoner still more independent may smile in his turn while he peruses an Arminian commentary on the Ep. to the Romans." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, iii, 508, note (ch. xxxiii). For an Arminian deriding the mutual perplexity of the disputants he refers to Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, xix, 144–398.

[2] Des heil. August. Lehre von Gott dem dreieinigen, Augs., 1866, p. 28.

[3] Continuity of Christian Thought, p. 170.

[4] R. B. Vaughan, St. Thomas Aquinas: His Life and Times, ii, 529. This is the most prodigious monument ever reared in English to the life of an ancient or mediæval saint or father—2 vols. of 1,000 pp. each. It is full of learning and breathes the spirit of piety, and wends its leisurely way along by many a pleasant discursion. An abridged edition was published in one volume in 1875.

[5] You can reach Augustine only by the way of Thomas Aquinas.

icism, whether Roman or Anglican, is summed up in Augustine's oft-quoted dictum: "I would not believe the Gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church had moved me." This one declaration is a microcosm. In it is comprised a whole world of theological development and controversy. It was this sentence which made the Middle Ages.

The Protestant counterpart to Augustine's palladium of Catholicism is this: I would not believe the Gospel unless the authority of truth moved me. The authority that the Roman Church gives to organization is given to conscience by the Protestant Church. The consciousness of the affinity of the Catholic mind with Augustine and other Fathers is forcibly expressed by Cardinal Newman: "I recollect well what an outcast I seemed to myself when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of St. Athanasius or St. Basil, and set myself to study them; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholic communion, I kissed them with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all I had lost, and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious saints who bequeathed them to the Church, I said to the inanimate pages, 'You are now mine, and I am yours, beyond any mistake.'"[1]

On this Schaff makes the following excellent comment: "With the same right might the Jews lay exclusive claim to the writings of Moses and the prophets. The Fathers were living men, representing the onward progress and conflicts of Christianity in their time, unfolding and defending great truths, but not unmixed with many errors and imperfections which subsequent times have corrected. Those are the true children of the Fathers, who, standing on the foundation of Christ and the apostles, and kissing the New Testament rather than any human writings, follow them only as far as they followed Christ, and who carry forward their work in the onward march of evangelical catholic Christianity."[2]

We shall indicate the thought of the Middle Ages concerning a few theological topics. To meet the Mohammedan objections to the Sonship of Christ two Spanish theologians, Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, about 785, adopted the theory that only in his divine nature was Christ the Son of God, but that in his human nature he was adopted, being in this relation a servant of God like all of us. Alcuin and others strongly resisted this tendency to divide the unity of Christ's personality, and, although the explanation of Elipandus prevailed widely, yet by

DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

[1] Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching, ii, 8.

[2] Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, vol. i, p. 19, note.

argument and by Church pressure and persecution the Spanish theories at length disappeared. The Mystics, who were the forerunners of much modern speculation, emphasized the oneness of Christ with humanity and with God—the restored Prototype of humanity. "As truly as God became man," says Tauler, "so truly has man become God by grace, and this human nature is changed into what it has become, the divine image." So also says Ruysbroek, "Christ had his divinity and humanity by nature, but we have it when we are united to him in love by grace." But that marvelous book, The German Theology, went even farther: "When God and man are so united that truth itself must confess that there is One who is verily perfect God and perfect man, and when man is so devoted to God that God is there man himself, and that he acts and suffers without any I, or My, or to-Me, behold there is verily Christ and nowhere else." "Where the life of Christ is, there is Christ himself; and where his life is not, there he is not." There were no Unitarians in the Middle Ages. What would their pale negations have done with the Northern barbarians? The dogma of the divinity of Jesus Christ was a necessity of history; it was the essential preparation for the conversion of Europe.

THE ATONEMENT.

The legal conception of the atonement, which was the only one possible in a Roman world, and which since Anselm has dominated the mind of the Church, was unknown in the early Church. The incarnation itself was atonement, the Lord working out the salvation of man by instruction (Clement of Alexandria), by his solidarity with our race (Irenæus), by the invincible moral power of his death (Origen), and by a victory over Satan (Irenæus and others). There is no hint of the finely wrought out scheme of Anselm. The nearest approach is the idea of Athanasius: as God threatened death as a consequence of sin he must exact it; but it would be unworthy of the divine goodness to allow man to die, to whom he had imparted his own Spirit; therefore the Word, who could not die, assumed a mortal body, and, offering his human nature a sacrifice for all, fulfilled the law by his death.

Anselm satisfied the mediæval mind completely. With the precision and balanced checks of a legal document he applied the principles of justice to unravel the mystery of salvation. In briefest form his theory is: man owes a perfect obedience to the divine law; no one has rendered it; this throws man into the infinite debt of God, and dooms him to eternal misery, since sin against an infinite being calls for infinite penalty. But the divine goodness

cannot allow that all should endlessly perish. How then can both goodness and justice be satisfied? Only an infinite being can pay an infinite debt, and yet man must pay it, for man incurred it. Therefore God himself becomes man and thus renders full satisfaction. The obedience of Christ even unto death possesses an infinite value, and is more than an equivalent for what the race would have suffered if punished forever. Thus the debt is paid, justice is satisfied, goodness is triumphant, and God can pardon sinners. This scheme was a long step in advance of a theory which had wide vogue in the ancient Church, that the atonement was a ransom paid to Satan. But Anselm's theory did not at first find universal acceptance. Hugo of St. Victor emphasized the moral effects of Christ's work in making man worthy to be free. Abelard definitely rejected Anselm's scheme, and so did Peter Lombard, that prince of orthodoxy of the twelfth century. These all worked toward a less mechanical conception. But Anselm's view was too consonant with the ideas of mediæval society not to win the day. It is a theory of feudalism, of monarchical governments—God a mighty sovereign exacting perfect obedience from his subjects, and exacting for his injured honor an awful reparation.[1] ANSELM.

The theory of Anselm contained a great truth, but was conceived in terms of Roman legalism. As to the extent of the atonement, there was never a breath of suspicion that it did not avail for the whole human race until the dark reasonings of Augustine threw a cloud over the divine purposes. In fact, the only question was whether it did not also avail in some sense for the whole intelligent creation. But if Augustine gave the theory of a limited atonement to Calvinism, Leo the Great met him with the magnificent challenge, that, so precious is the shedding of Christ's blood for the unjust, if the "whole universe of captives would believe in their Redeemer, no chain of the devil could hold them."

Augustine, however, was not without representatives in the matter of predestination in the Middle Ages. Gottschalk, a Saxon monk, threw himself passionately into the study of Augustine, and came therefrom with the firm conviction of the truth of his view. He wandered through Italy, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, asserting predestination, and even accusing his opponent at the synod of Mayence, in 847, of semi-Pelagianism. He was a predestinarian in no half-hearted or illogical way, for he taught the predestination of sinners (reprobation) as well as of saints, in a most uncompromising manner. With all its reverence for PREDESTINATION.

[1] See the remarks of Allen, *l. c.*, p. 202.

Augustine the Church could not follow Gottschalk in this, and therefore proceeded to silence him. He was deprived of his priestly rank, his treatise was burned, and he was immured for life in the monastery of Hautvilliers, in the diocese Rheims. Predestinarianism has never fared well in the Catholic Church. Jansen did not meet with better success.

THE CHURCH.

The mediæval conception of the Church was that it is a theocracy whose head was Christ, whose earthly head was the pope, authorized to bring men into its fold by baptism, and out of which there was no salvation. This divine society was commissioned both to teach and rule the world. It was one, holy, and Catholic, and to belong to it was absolutely necessary to salvation. This magnificent conception, like Anselm's theory of the atonement, was perfectly intelligible, and it had the merit of offering to a barbaric and disorganized world a common center and bond of unity, a general rallying point, which stood as an immovable and unchangeable Gibraltar amid the revolutions of history. The theory of the Catholic Church was a perversion and exaggeration of a great truth; but may it not have been permitted, in the order of Providence, for the purpose of receiving the pagan nations of Europe, and handing them over, measurably Christianized and civilized, to the modern and better Church? The mediæval doctrine of the Church served, in a way, as a schoolmaster for guiding to Christ. It was enforced with vast injustice and covered at one time or another a world of iniquity, but it served its day well in leading to the salvation of the nations. By and by it gave way to a more spiritual idea, which found heralds in Hus (d. 1415) and Wessel (d. 1489), who taught that the Church was the brotherhood of the elect, all who are united to Christ, whether united to the pope or not, by one faith, one hope, one love. But the idea of the Church as a close corporation, the guardian of truth, and to which all souls are delivered, is the most characteristic and influential doctrine of the Middle Ages.

BAPTISM.

The mechanical and formal theology of the ancient and mediæval Church is well illustrated by the doctrines of the Lord's Supper and baptism. Baptism is the literal laver of regeneration, the sacrament of salvation. "None can ascend into the kingdom of heaven except by the sacrament of baptism," says Ambrose; "indeed, it excepts none, neither infants nor him that is prevented by any necessity." It washes away the guilt of original sin and opens the gates of heaven to the soul. The mediæval mind could not conceive of man made in the image of God, and through the incarnation and work of Christ divinely constituted as a child

of God, and sure of salvation until this gift is forfeited by actual and willful transgression. And so the Greek, Roman Catholic, and Anglican Churches teach baptismal regeneration, meaning by this, not a symbolical representation of what has been done in or for the soul, but that the water, through the grace of God, actually remits the stain of original sin and renews the soul. The child unbaptized, in case of death, is shut out from the vision of God, and goes to hell, but suffers there not necessarily the ordinary punishments of the damned, but a *levissima damnatio*, a deprivation of positive bliss in the limbo of infants—a neutral state of neither complete blessedness nor complete misery. The mediæval Church practiced baptism by immersion almost universally until the thirteenth century, when pouring or sprinkling came into general use. The Eastern Church has always employed the mode of immersion.

The ancient Church used almost any language it pleased in speaking of the Lord's Supper. But with all the exaggerated extravagance of Eastern imagery it never occurred to the Fathers that there was a literal change in the elements of bread and wine into the very substance of the body and blood of Christ. Such a crass and utterly heathenish conception—worthy of fetichism—was left to the darkest night of the darkest winter of the Dark Ages. The first to formally bring forward this doctrine was Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corby, in his treatise On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, in 831. He was answered by a monk of the same monastery, Ratramnus (Bertram), in a clear and able work, 844, whose spirited protest against the magic materialism of Radbert made his book a great favorite with the Protestants, who first printed it at Cologne, in 1527. In fact, the later Roman Catholics could not persuade themselves that such an heretical book could proceed from so orthodox a source, and the synod of Vercelli, in 1050, condemned and burned it as a work of John Scotus Erigena. The view that it was unauthentically ascribed to Bertram prevailed in Roman Catholic circles until Sainte-Beuve, in 1655, and Jacques Boileau, in 1712, completely vindicated its genuineness. Ratramnus held that the body of Christ is present spiritually and in power, and Erigena, Herigar, Rabanus Maurus, and others defended this view. LORD'S SUPPER.

This fact furnishes one of those pleasant commentaries on the dogma of infallibility which we have met before in the progress of this history—men in the odor of sanctity and orthodoxy holding views which were afterward pronounced false, and the Church pronouncing that to have been always the doctrine of Christians which

multitudes of doctors had rejected and of which many believers had never heard. But, as Cardinal Manning says, "the Church is the judge of history." After two hundred years another noble plea was made for a spiritual view of the Supper by a true successor of Bertram. Berengar of Tours, in his On the Holy Supper, between 1040–50, attacked transubstantiation as contrary to reason, to the Scriptures, and to the Fathers. But the grosser doctrine was now too deeply intrenched, too thoroughly consonant with the tendencies of the times, and too convenient for the Church's purposes[1] to be displaced. The engines of the Church were turned against this great teacher, and although he was acquitted at the synod of Tours, in 1054, he was condemned at Rome in 1078, compelled to retract and to hide himself in obscurity.[2] Lanfranc was the leader of the Church forces in support of the new dogma. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran council, transubstantiation was made an article of faith. The elevation and worship of the host, now so prominent a part in every Roman Catholic service, necessarily followed, being instituted in 1217 by Pope Honorius III.

MARIOLATRY.

The worship of the Virgin, which has practically displaced the worship of God in popular Roman Catholic devotion, began in germ in the fifth century, though it is only in modern times that it has grown to enormous proportions. It did not play a great part in the Middle Ages. The mediæval theologians distinguished between higher and lower worship: *latria*, worship due to God alone; *dulia*, service due the saints; *hyperdulia*, due to the mother of Christ. The worship of the saints, similar to the local cults of the pagan religions, went on step by step with the worship of the Virgin, the childishness of the time assigning to each saint a special work or the protection of a special place, such as sending up prayers to St. Barbara, to avert war; to St. Roch, to avert the plague; to St. German, against the ague; to St. Catherine, as the patron of scholars; to St. Crispin, as the patron of shoemakers; to St. Eloy, as the guardian of horses; to St. Anthony, as the protector of pigs; and to St. Gertrude, to drive away rats.

The Church of the Middle Ages had a vivid idea of hell and pur-

[1] How it exalted the awful prerogative of the Church that to her was committed the tremendous power by a word of the priest to change bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ!

[2] There are recent studies of Berengar—by Brocking in Zeitsch. f. Kirchengeschichte, 1892, 2, 3, and by Schwitzer in a monograph on his life and doctrine, Stuttg., 1892. The De Sacra Cœna (On the Holy Supper) was edited by Vischer, Berl., 1834.

gatory. Augustine started the fruitful idea of purgatory on its way, and Gregory the Great established it, while the great theologians, Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Bellarmine, materialized it, *ignem purgatorii esse corporeum.* Only those who die reconciled to the Church and not in mortal sin, or whom a priest "has special reason for believing to have died in a state of grace," are assigned to purgatory, all others being consigned to hell, whose punishments are everlasting. The hopeful view of eternal punishment held by many of the most eminent Fathers of the ancient Church was destroyed by Augustine, although the daring thinker Erigena returned to the view of Origen, which looked to the ultimate restoration of all things in God. Dante's Inferno is a witness of the grotesqueness and horror of the popular views as to future punishment. The Mystics who stood in close relation to the Church did not vary from the orthodox conception, and it is to Henry Suso we owe the illustration of eternity repeated in so many pulpits since—the bird that carries away the earth by removing one grain of sand in a thousand years. HELL AND PURGATORY.

The doctrine of purgatory was useful to the penal and financial system of the Roman Church. The penalties attached to absolution in the sacrament of penance were often commuted by the payment of money or other gifts into the treasury of the Church, and these indulgences were available in purgatory for the imperfect dead. An indulgence is simply a commutation of these temporal penalties due to sins which remain within the purview of the Church after the sin has been absolved in the ordinary manner. The Church stands as the custodian and trustee of that vast accumulation of merits which has been heaped up by the infinite value of Christ's sufferings and by the sufferings and often martyrdoms of eminent saints; and upon this storehouse it is authorized by God to draw through the pope, and to place to the credit of those penitents who seek release from such temporal disabilities for sin as justly remain even after pardon. And as purgatory is in time, and not in eternity, the alms and other benevolent offerings made to procure an indulgence may be placed to the credit of souls suffering there, although the Church has never dogmatically decided that such benefit will absolutely accrue to those waiting in the underworld, nor, if the benefit does so accrue, how or when it takes effect. It will be readily seen that this doctrine of indulgence, especially as attached to the fears and hopes of souls looking into the awful uncertainties of the other life, was a mighty engine for corruption, and that the Church must have been preternaturally saved from temptation to have avoided the chance of using this doctrine for her own purposes. That she did not avoid the temptation. but that indulgences became a

universal source of the most shameless trafficking is a matter of history. The protest against the trade was the first note of the Reformation.[1]

[1] Henry Charles Lea, of Philadelphia, is the first historian to thoroughly elucidate the history of Indulgences, which he does in a work of remarkable research and chastened judgments—the third volume of his History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church, Phila., 1896. For scholarly reviews, see The Nation, July 9 and Sept. 17, 1896 (lxiii, 35, 216).

LITERATURE: THOMAS AQUINAS.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL.

1. Carle, P. S. Histoire de la Vie et des Écrits de Thomas d'Aquin. 1846.
2. Hœrtel, H. Thomas von Aquino und seine Zeit. Augsb., 1846.
3. Hampden, R. D. Life of Thomas Aquinas. Lond., 1848.
4. Werner, Karl. Der heilige Thomas von Aquino. 3 vols. Regensb., 1858–59.
5. Didiot, J. S. Thomas d'Aquin et les actes du Pape Léon XIII. Arras, 1880. Thomas d'Aquin, le Docteur angélique, sa Vie, ses Œuvres. Bruges, 1895.
6. Liechty, Reinhard le. Albert le Grand et S. Thomas d'Aquin. Paris, 1880.
7. Cicognani. Life of Thomas Aquinas. Lond., 1882. A translation of his Sulla Vita di S. Tommaso, 1874.
8. Vaughan, R. B. Life and Labors of St. Thomas of Aquin. 2 vols. Lond., 1871–72. Abridged ed., 1 vol., 1875; 2d ed., 1890.

II. WORKS OF THOMAS AQUINAS.

Thomæ Aquinatis Opera omnia jussu impensaque Leonis XIII. Fol., 7 vols. Freib. Not completed.

III. PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS AQUINAS.

1. Tholuck, A. Disputatio de Thoma Aquinate atque Abselardo Interpretibus Novi Testamenti. Halle, 1842.
2. Oischinger, J. N. P. Die speculative Theologie des Thomas von Aquino. Munich, 1858.
3. Jourdain, C. B. La Philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin. 2 vols. Paris, 1858–61.
4. Delitzsch, J. Die Gotteslehre des Thomas von Aquino kritisch dargestellt. Leips., 1870.
5. Morgott, F. Die Mariologie des heiligen Thomas von Aquino. Freib. i. B., 1878.
6. Schneemann, G. Die Entstehung der thomistisch-molinistischen Controverse. Dogmengeschichtliche Studie. Freib. i. B., 1879. Also, Weitere Entwickelung der . . . Controverse. *Ibid.*, 1880.
7. Harper, Thomas. The Metaphysics of the Schools. Lond., 1880.
8. Knoodt, P. Die Thomas-Encyclica Leo's XIII vom 4 Aug., 1879. Bonn, 1880.
9. Feldner, F. G. Die Lehre des heiligen Thomas über den Einfluss Gottes auf die Handlungen der vernünftigen Geschöpfe. Dargelegt von Jos. Pecci. Kritisch beleuchtet. Graz, 1889. Die Lehre des heiligen Thomas von Aquino über die Willensfreiheit der vernünftigen Wesen. Eine philosophische Studie. Graz, 1890.

10. Frohschammer, J. Die Philosophie des Thomas von Aquin. Leipz., 1889.
11. Lipperheide, V. Thomas von Aquino und die platonische Ideenlehre. Eine kritische Abhandlung. München, 1890.
12. Gayraud, H. St. Thomas et le Prédéterminisme. Paris, 1895.
13. Crolet, C. Doctrine philosophique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Besançon, 1890.
14. Schuetz, L. Thomas-Lexicon ... Paderborn, 1881; 2d ed., 1895. Contains explanations of technical terms used by Thomas.

See also Literature under Scholasticism and Mediæval Theology.

CHAPTER LI.

THOMAS AQUINAS.

ABELARD'S historical position is that of the premature hero for independence. In the acute thinker and impulsive Briton the twelfth century brought forward a divine who in the breadth of his vision and the freshness of his method anticipated the seventeenth century. In fact, in almost no writings of the Middle Ages do we breathe the modern spirit as we do in those of Peter Abelard. He was half a millennium in advance of his time. With a magnificent independence he challenged reason on the one hand and the dogmas of the Church on the other, and sought to find a secure basis for truth. With a truly Protestant spirit he went bravely about his work.

This was his thought: All science must be brought in defense of the faith. All the arts are God's gifts, and they must be used to advance his glory, even if they are at times perverted by bad men. The towering influence of Paul and of Augustine in the Church as compared, for instance, with Peter and Martin of Tours, was due to their larger intellectual equipment. Nor must we despise the ancient philosophers, who sought the truth according to their light, nor say that the Spirit could not speak to them. They also had a measure of God, and prophesied of the coming of the Messiah. The pure life of those heathen seers contrasts favorably with the vile life of the prelates of the present day. Plato even banished poets from his republic, while bishops now, on high festivals, instead of spending the time in praising God, invite jesters, dancers, and singers of libidinous songs to their tables, entertaining themselves for a whole day and night with such company, and then rewarding them with money intended for the poor. The critical reason must be used upon the Church and her doctrines. How otherwise can error be refuted? If we cannot reason upon matters of faith, what right have we "to attack others upon a matter with regard to which we think that we ought to be ourselves unassailed?" But, while vindicating and using reason and knowledge to the utmost, we must not think that faith reveals the beauty of the Lord only to those intellectually equipped for the vision. There is no aristocracy of knowledge or

ABELARD'S SYSTEM.

of anything else in Christianity. The Spirit reveals himself to the childlike, and God is seen by the pure in heart. The heart is the center of theology. A holy life is more important than intellectual talents, and the feelings are an organ of God as well as the intellect. "The more we feel of God the more we love him; and with progress in the knowledge of him the flame of love grows brighter." Many ignorant people have fervid piety, and want only the ability to express the knowledge which inspiration bestows upon them. But out upon those teachers of theology who do not reform their lives!

Nothing shows more the modernness of Abelard's mind than his doctrine of the Scriptures. At a time when the views of the Church were utterly mechanical this great teacher had a truly living doctrine of inspiration. All Scripture is inspired. But there are degrees. All parts are not equally important for the same purpose. Errors and mistakes on unimportant matters are entirely consistent with absolute truth in matters of faith and morals. The sum of the Gospel is faith, hope, and charity. These suffice for salvation. We must always distinguish between things essential and things comparatively trivial.[1] Nor must the Church elevate the Fathers practically above the Scriptures or the conscience. The Fathers have no more authority than the truth gives them, and they frequently erred and contradicted one another.[2] If the Fathers were so frequently out of harmony with one another, why try to bring all men under the yoke of an artificial sameness of opinion? Why not leave room for search and inquiry, and what right has one man to judge another? God is the only judge of the conscience.

With such a new note as this is it any wonder that this brilliant lecturer should draw thousands to the school of Notre Dame in Paris, and, when sins and misfortunes and cruelties and persecutions had driven him into the wilderness, that innumerable students flocked to him in the desert and covered the ground with their tents and huts? No man in the twelfth century exercised a more quickening influence than Abelard, and if he had not in an evil moment thrown away his personal integrity in his sin with

[1] This is his golden word: Sufficere saluti fortasse poterant ea, quæ evangelium de fide et spe et caritate tradiderat.

[2] One of his most incisive works was his *Sic et Non*, in which he set forth the contradictions of the Fathers upon important matters of doctrine under rubrics. It was an epoch-making book, the prelude to the Reformation, of the time when men dared to appeal from tradition to reason, from names to facts.

Heloise it would have been hard to counteract his influence. Though he repented in sackcloth and ashes, and did all in his power to make reparation, yet that tragedy shadowed his life with an awful cloud and broke at once its unity, peace, and power. His opinions were condemned at the council of Soissons in 1121, and at the council of Sens in 1140. At this latter council the great prosecutor was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who could neither understand nor appreciate the position of Abelard. The pope indorsed the condemnation, though he afterward in a measure retracted the censure, and allowed the sad, disappointed scholar to end his days as the honored guest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of the monastery at Clugny. There his life, now holy and beautiful, made a remarkable impression on Peter, who gave a striking account of his last days in a letter to Heloise, and who, for the benefit of his health, sent him to the priory of St. Marcel, near Chalons on the Saone, one of the most delightful situations in Burgundy. Here he died on April 21, 1142, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Twenty years later the body of Heloise was laid beside his own, and in November, 1817, the coffin which contained their mingled dust was laid in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise in Paris.

Abelard is often represented as a rationalist, in the modern sense, and Bernard is looked upon as a defender of precious truth against a reckless innovator. Cousin is in part responsible for this,[1] and Rémusat in his great monograph is always inclined to exaggerate the new elements of his subject's teaching, and even compares him to Voltaire.[2] But nothing can be farther from the

[1] Cousin calls Abelard the "father of modern rationalism."—Hist. Gen. de la Philos., Paris, 1837, p. 227. In his ed. of Abelard's writings Cousin places him side by side with Descartes and characterizes both thus: "With their native originality one finds a disposition to admire but moderately what had been done before them or was being done by others in their time, an independence pushed often into a quarrelsome spirit, confidence of their own powers and contempt of their adversaries, more of consistency than of solidity in their opinions, more of acuteness than breadth, more of energy in the spirit and character than of elevation or profoundness of thought, more of ingenious contrivance than of common sense; they abound in individual opinions, instead of rising to the level of universal reason; are obstinate, venturesome, innovating, revolutionary."—Ouvrages inedits d'Abélard, pp. cxcix, cc.

[2] Vie d'Abelard, 2 vols., Paris, 1845, i, 270–278. Storrs, in his admirable Bernard of Clairvaux, N. Y., 1895, in the interest of an idealizing treatment of the monk—for his work is more a eulogy than a history—is disposed to disparage Abelard. Michelet's summary of Abelard's doctrines is an atrocious parody, and its effect is entirely false. See Michelet, Hist. de France, ii, 283–286 (Paris, 1835). Neander, iv, 373, ff., gives a reliable and objective summary.

truth than these gross representations. Although Abelard was in a true and noble sense an advocate of reason, that is, he held a place for reason and conscience in the investigation of truth, he stood solidly on the Christian faith, and vindicated it as revealed in the Scriptures, approved by the mind, and as verifying itself in the heart. He was never conscious of the slightest variation from the main doctrines of the Christian faith, though his principles did indeed contain the seeds of Protestantism. He never retracted nor explained away a line of his writings, and yet he was absolved by the pope, received as a saint and hero of the Church by one of the most orthodox of his contemporaries, Peter the Venerable, and all his writings show that the thought of taking any antagonistic attitude to the Church in its true and historic teaching, and in its moments of exaltation, never entered his mind. It was rather as her defender that he loved to be considered. No doubt there were at times crudeness and extravagance of thought, and no doubt also the holy and humble Bernard, who could understand nothing except the stereotyped dogmas defended in a stereotyped way, was right in believing that Abelard's ideas, if carried out farther than Abelard was willing to carry them, were the earnest of a revolution. The two men occupied different points of view, though both were equally zealous for truth. One represented tradition, the other reality; the one found authority in the organization, the other found it in the reason.

ABELARD'S PLACE OF REASON.

The greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, and, after Augustine, the father of Roman Catholic theology, was Thomas of Aquino, who was born of a noble family at Aquino, near Naples, in 1225 or 1227, and died in the Cistercian convent of Fossa Nuova, near Terracina, on March 6, 1274. He entered the Dominican order much against the wishes of his parents.[1] His life was spent entirely in teaching and study. At the universities of Cologne and Paris and at Naples, where he spent his last years, he was constantly engaged in lecturing on theology and related themes. He refused all ecclesiastical preferment, not wishing to be turned aside from his precious studies. "As rector of the university," says Neander, "during a very active life, and often traveling, he wrote in twenty years the greater part of his works, which treat a vast variety of subjects. It is said that he could dictate compositions on different subjects at the same

THOMAS AQUINAS.

[1] We hear much nowadays from Roman Catholic writers about the sacred rights of parents, but the great Roman Catholic saints had supreme unconcern for their wishes even on matters affecting salvation.

time. It characterizes his theological speculations that he read daily some edifying books, for, as he expressed it, we should take care that nothing one-sided arise in our speculations. He used to begin his lectures and writings with prayer, and when in any inquiry he could find no solution he would fall on his knees and pray for illumination. While the originality and deep philosophy of his lectures brought a great multitude of hearers to him at Paris and Naples his sermons were so simple that the most uneducated could understand them. King Louis IX of France used to ask his advice in affairs of state. On one occasion he invited him against his will to dinner, when he was occupied with a very difficult inquiry. During the meal he became quite abstracted, and all at once cried out, 'Now at last I have found it!' His prior reminded him that he was seated at the king's table; but the king immediately allowed his secretary to come and write down his thoughts."[1]

In 1323 Thomas was canonized by John XXII, and no man ever more deserved the honor. In 1567 he was made doctor of the Church by Pius V, a dignity often misunderstood. It does not mean that the Church vouches for all the sentiments of the man so honored, but that simply there is nothing specifically heretical in his writings, and that he stands forth as an eminent defender and expounder of the faith. In an encyclical dated August 4, 1879, Leo XIII recommended his works to the study of all Roman Catholic academies and theologians as the best antidote for false theories, and he mentions as his "chiefest and special honor, and one he shares not in common with any of the Catholic doctors, that the Tridentine Fathers in the midst of their conclave, for order's sake, desired to place the sermons of the Aquinate on the altar beside the books of sacred Scripture and the decrees of the sovereign pontiff, that they might seek therein counsel, guidance, and light."[2] Leo requires that in all Catholic schools the study of philosophy and theology should be based on St. Thomas.

LEO XIII ON ST. THOMAS.

It is the glory of Thomas, Doctor Angelicus, that by prayer, by the study of Holy Scripture, by a deference by no means slavish to previous theologians—for he frequently criticises them, and refers to Scripture texts more frequently than to them—he sought to establish the doctrine of the Roman Church on a rational and philosophical basis. The doctrinal creed of the

[1] History of Dogma, ii, 543.

[2] See this Encyclical in full in Talbot, Leo XIII: His Life and Letters, Bost., 1886, pp. 135–157.

Church, so far as then established, Aquinas considers of absolute truth, though the arguments of Church teachers are of only probable authority.[1] His exegetical methods are good, and he emphasizes the fact that it is the literal sense of Scripture which must guide us in the first instance. Everything must be built upon that.[2] But this devotion to the Scriptures does not help him, because they must be used in deference to the teaching of the Church. We must distinguish between those doctrines which may be worked out by the reason and those which are only known by revelation. Reason can prove that God exists, but it cannot find out his attributes. Anselm's ontological argument is rejected, but various teleological and cosmological arguments are offered instead. As to the Trinity, it is absolutely impossible to arrive at it by the road of the reason, and he who attempts it derogates from faith.[3] He differs from his great teacher Albertus Magnus in holding that the world is not an emanation from God, but that it had its origin in God's will, although that will may have worked from eternity. He is not much better off, therefore, than Albertus. In fact, he inclines to believe that the world is eternal, and his final word is: "It is credible that the world had a beginning, but it is neither demonstrable nor knowable."[4]

OPINIONS OF AQUINAS.

As to the work of Christ, Aquinas holds that it was relatively, not absolutely, necessary. God might have found out another way. But since God chose this method it must be considered by far the most suitable, and we might say, from man's standpoint, necessary as well. In the doctrine of atonement he did not differ from Anselm. As to predestination, he held with Augustine, and thus we find the connecting link between the Catholic bishop of the fifth century and the Genevan Protestant of the sixteenth. In this he could have satisfied even the third chapter of the Westminster Confession, for he held that not only are the elect and reprobate unchangeably designated from eternity, but that their number is also fixed, so that they can be neither increased nor diminished. But there is a merciful method in God's predetermining millions of souls to hell before they are born. He does not actually induce or influence them to sin, but simply withholds his grace, and man falls by his own will. Grace is absolutely necessary to salvation. As to justification, he held with Augustine and

[1] Summa Theol., i, quest. i, art. 8.

[2] Omnes sensus Scripturæ fundantur super unum sensum literalem ex quo solo potest trahi argumentum.—*Ibid.*, art. 10.

[3] Qui probare nititur Trinitatem personarum naturali ratione, fidei derogat.—*Ibid.*, i, q. 32, art. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, 46, 2.

Catholic theology, that it is the infusion of divine grace inducing sanctification, and that man is justified by faith in the sense that in the act of faith is contained the admission that man is made righteous by the redemption of Christ. As to the merits of good works, he puts the matter with his usual clearness and discrimination, the mental processes of Aquinas working with all the precision of geometry: "A meritorious work of man may be considered in two aspects: first, as proceeding from the free will of man, and, secondly, as proceeding from the grace of the Holy Spirit. If it be considered from the first point of view there can be in it no merit of dignity or absolute desert, because of the inequality between man and God, whereby it is impossible for the creature to bring the Creator under absolute obligation. But if it be considered from the second point of view, as proceeding from the Holy Ghost, the work of man may have the merit of congruity or fitness, because it is fitting that God should reward his own grace as a thing excellent in itself."[1]

Aquinas proved the necessity of the seven sacraments, and the immanence in them of the supernatural elements, and on all these doctrines, as well as on indulgences, intercession of saints, purgatory, and other tenets, he held the ordinary Roman Catholic teaching. He had a very materialistic conception of the resurrection, the body in glory being the same as now, even to the hair and nails, all the senses in perfect activity, the whole somewhat etherealized, yet altogether tangible. It was a fundamental position of Aquinas that the truths of reason are essentially one with divine truth, because reason is itself from God. Both science and faith, therefore, have their inalienable rights. There is nothing in Christianity contradictory to reason, although it was necessary to the salvation of men that God should reveal certain things transcending the grasp of reason.[2]

Aquina's great opponent was Johannes Duns Scotus, born probably at Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland,[3] in 1260 or 1274, and died at Cologne in the splendor of his popularity in 1308. He entered the Franciscan Order, lectured on philosophy

DUNS SCOTUS.

[1] See Shedd, Hist. of Doctrine, ii, 330.

[2] Tennemann, Hist. of Philosophy, p. 266. The last complete ed. of the works of Aquinas was pub. at Parma, 1852–71, 25 vols., 4to. In 1882 a fine edition began in Rome under the patronage of Leo XIII, edited by Zigliara. The elaborate Life by Vaughan, 2 vols., 1871, 1872, was abridged in 1 vol., Lond., 1875.

[3] Some say at Dunstane, Northumberland, others at Dun (Down), in the north of Ireland.

and theology at Merton College, Oxford, to thirty thousand students, so say the exaggerated reports of the times, and went to Paris in 1304. In 1308 he was sent to Cologne to preach against the Beghards, where his brilliant career was soon cut off by apoplexy. In Scotus, Aquinas had an opponent worthy of his steel. Equally devoted to the orthodoxy of the Church, he differed radically from many of the fundamental conceptions of the Italian. He said that Aquinas sought in speculation, instead of in practice, the foundation of theology. Theology rests on faith, and faith is not speculative, but practical, an act of the will. "Will," he says, "is the mover in the whole kingdom of mind, and all things are subject to it." All truth rests on the absolute will of God, that is, true or good because he commands it, and for no other reason. Duns really disparaged reason, referring men to the absolute will of God, and thus he threw men back on the Church even more than did Aquinas, for only in the authority of the Church can we know the will of God.[1] As God freely wills, so God intended that man should freely will. The will is entirely self-determined, and man can will against both reason and motive.

Aquinas held that the Virgin inherited with all mankind the stain of original sin, but Duns contended against this so ably in Paris that in the enthusiastic imagination of his pupils her statue bowed to him as he passed through the hall to the cathedra. So consummate was his criticism that he has been called the Subtle Doctor. The Jesuits took up the theories of Scotus and became the determined advocates of his doctrines on freedom and on the immaculate conception. In a superficial view Scotus may seem the more hopeful thinker, but the fine emphasis of Thomas on the sweet reasonableness of truth contains the larger promise. "The aim of the present occupant of the papal see to reinstate Aquinas in his former prestige," says Allen, "if it has any significance at all, indicates a purpose to overcome Jesuit influence, and to put the Church, as far as is allowable, in harmony with reason. For this purpose it may be that no better instrument could have been chosen than the revival of the study of Aquinas."[2]

[1] The influence of the two contrary conceptions on history is well shown by Allen, in Continuity of Christian Thought, pp. 233, ff.

[2] Continuity of Christian Thought, pp. 236, 237. Davidson rightly argues in Fort. Rev., N. Y., 1882, that Aquinas is hopelessly out of sympathy with modern thought. But this is due to his system, his adherence to the Roman traditions, whereas in various implications he is inconsistent with this, and these noble inconsistencies, as Allen remarks, are what may render his renewed study a means of advance for Rome.

LITERATURE: DANTE.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

British Museum Catalogue. An entire section is devoted to Dante.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL.

1. Balbo. Vita di Dante. 2 vols. Turin, 1839.
2. Aroux, Eugene. Dante hérétique, révolutionnarie et socialiste. Paris, 1854. Clef de la comédie anti-catholique de Dante Alighieri. Paris, 1856.
3. Wegele, F. X. Dantes Leben und Werke, kulturgeschichtlich dargestellt. Jena, 1852.
4. Fraticelli, P. Storia della Vita di Dante. Florence, 1861.
5. Paur, T. Ueber die Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte Dantes. Görlitz, 1862.
6. Scartazzini, G. A. Dante e il suo seculo. Florence, 1865. Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben, und seine Werke. Biel, 1869.
7. Ward, May Alden. Dante: a Sketch of his Life and Works. Bost., 1887.
8. Moore, Edward. Dante and his Early Biographers. Lond., 1890.

III. EDITIONS OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

Lombardi, Baldassarre. 5 vols. Padua, 1822; Witte, Carl. Berlin, 1862; Bianchi, Brunone. Florence, 1863; Fiorente, Antonio. Bologna, 1866; Fraticelli, P. Florence, 1873; Camerini, Eugenio. Fol., Milan, 1880.

IV. TRANSLATIONS OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

Boyd, Henry, 1785–1802; Wright, Ichabod, Lond., 1843; Carlyle, J. A. (Inferno, in prose), Lond. and N. Y., 1848; Cayley, C. B., Lond., 1851–55; Carey, Henry Francis, Lond., 1814, new ed., 1844; again, N. Y., 1865; new ed., rev. and enl. by Kuhns, N. Y., 1897; Parsons, T. W. (Inferno and Purgatorio), Bost., 1843, 1867; Longfellow, H. W., 3 vols., Bost., 1867; Norton, C. E. (Vita Nuova), Bost., 1867; (Divina Commedia), Bost., 1892–96, 3 vols.

V. INTRODUCTIONS AND OTHER WORKS.

1. Witte, Carl. Ueber Dante. Breslau, 1831. Quando e da chi sia composto l'ottimo commento a Dante. Leipz., 1847. Dante und die italienische Frage. (Vortrag.) Halle, 1861. Dante Forschungen. Altes und Neues. Halle, 1869.
2. Ozanam, F. Dante et la philosophie catholique au trizième siècle. Paris, 1845; Louvain, 1847.
3. Ruth, Emil. Studien über Dante Alighieri. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss der göttlichen Komödie. Tübingen, 1853.
4. Schlosser, F. C. Dante. Studien. Leipz., 1855.
5. Barlow, H. C. Critical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia. Lond., 1864.
6. Rossetti, Maria. A Shadow of Dante. Bost., 1872.
7. Lowell, James Russell. Essay on Dante, in his Among My Books, 2d series. Bost., 1876.

8. Botta, Vincenzio. Dante as Philosopher, Patriot, and Poet, with an Analysis of the Divina Commedia. New York, 1865. 2d ed., Lond., 1887, under the title, Introduction to the Study of Dante.
9. Hettinger, F. Dante's Divina Commedia, its Scope and Value. Trans. by H. S. Bowden, Lond., 1887. A useful compendium of Dante's opinions, illustrated with ample quotations. Roman Catholic standpoint.
10. Scartazzini, G. A. Abhandlungen über Dante Alighieri. Frankfurt-a-M., 1880. Handbook to Dante. Bost., 1887. Transl., with notes, by Thomas Davidson. Dante-Handbuch. Einführung in das Studium des Lebens und der Schriften Dante Alighieris. Leips., 1892. Trans.: A Companion Dante. Lond., 1893.
11. Church, R. W. Dante: an Essay. Lond., 1888. First pub. 1850; later eds., 1854, 1878; 3d ed., 1898.
12. Blow, Susan E. A Study of Dante, with Introduction by W. T. Harris. 2d ed., N. Y., 1889.
13. Moore, Edward. Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia. Cambridge, 1889. Contains results of collation of seventeen manuscripts of the Inferno, together with discussions of disputed readings.
14. Oliphant, Margaret. The Makers of Florence. Lond., 1876; new ed., 1889.
15. Symonds, J. A. An Introduction to the Study of Dante. Lond., 1872; new ed., 1890.
16. Vernon, W. W. Readings in the Purgatorio of Dante, with Introduction by Dean R. W. Church. 2 vols. Lond., 1890.
17. Liddon, Henry P. Essays and Addresses. Lond., 1892.
18. Harris, W. T. Spiritual Sense of the Divine Comedy. New ed., Bost., 1896.

The Italian Dante Society will issue, 1897, ff., in about twenty parts, Il Codice Diplimatico Dantesco,—photographic facsimiles of all documents bearing on the life and writings of Dante, with notes by Biagiand Passerini. The edition is limited to 300 copies, and is published by Hoepli, Milan. One of the largest collection of Dante books in the world is in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. It was founded by the beneficence of Professor Willard Fiske. In 1897 a large addition was made to this magnificent collection, so that now the Fiske Dante Library numbers 6,000 volumes. It contains the Nido-Beatino edition of Dante, Milan, 1477–78, of which there is only one other copy in the United States. A catalogue of this library (vol. i, editions of Dante's Works) was published in 1898. The Haward Dante Library contains over 2,000 vols. Information as to the progress of Dante study in America is found in the Proceedings of the American Dante Society (Ginn, Boston).

CHAPTER LII.

DANTE.

Hail poet, who for mortal men dost pour
Strong wine of words that burn and sense that sears,
Drawn from thy bleeding bosom's fiery core,
And tempered with the bitter fount of tears.—*Ennius.*

THE Middle Ages are summed in Dante's Divine Comedy. Its life, its passion, its sin, its virtue, its ethics, the various phases of its history, its theology, and its learning, are all mirrored in Dante's immortal poem. The Commedia is a microcosm—a world within a world. To understand it is to understand the thirteenth century.

Dante Alighieri, "that singular splendor of the Italian race," as Boccaccio, his first biographer, calls him, was born in May, 1265, in a house which is still shown in the Piazza di San Martino, Florence. The name Alighieri was from his father's great-grandmother. His father was a lawyer, and the poet's idealism and vivid imagination and his intense interest in affairs of state, came by nature. He became a pupil of Brunetto Latini, studied diligently the ancient authors, and Boccaccio tells us that, "taken by the sweetness of knowing the truth of the things concealed in heaven, and finding no other pleasure dearer to him in life, he left all other worldly care and gave himself to this alone; and that no part of philosophy might remain unseen by him he plunged with acute intellect into the deepest recesses of theology, and so far succeeded in his design that, caring nothing for heat or cold, or watchings, or fastings, or any other bodily discomforts, by assiduous study he came to know of the divine essence and of the other separate intelligences all that the human intellect can comprehend." Another early biographer speaks of his "study of philosophy, of theology, astrology, arithmetic, his reading of history, the turning over many curious books, watching and sweating in his studies;" and says that in this way he "acquired the science which he was to adorn and explain in his verses." The old historian of Florence, Giovanni Villani, has left a picture of Dante's teacher in these words: "He was a great philosopher and consummate master of rhetoric, not only knowing how to speak well but how to write well. He it was who explained the rhetoric of Tully and made the good and useful book called The Treasury, and The Little Treasury, and The Key of the Treasury, and other works

in philosophy and of vices and virtues, and he was secretary of our commune. He was a worldly man;[1] but we have made mention of him because he both began and directed the growth of the Florentines, both in making them ready in speaking well and in knowing how to guide and direct our republic according to the rule of politics."

Dante became thoroughly saturated with all the learning of the day, besides attaining some proficiency in music and painting. The eminent Dante scholar, Scartazzini, appeals to the best document we have as evidence of the thoroughness of his training, "the man himself, as he appears in his works. There we see a man of information no less vast than profound; a man possessing all the science of his time, accurate, and scrupulously exact in small things as well as in great. There we find a proud-spirited man, nourishing in his soul the most overweening contempt for all that degrades or disgraces a man, not only in the eyes of his fellow-men, but also before his own internal judge. Here is a man of noble haughtiness, who renounces his dearest and sweetest hopes rather than humble himself before overbearing injustice. Here is a man who, being no 'timid friend of the truth,' openly manifests what 'to many is a savor of strong bitterness,' in order not to lose life among posterity."[2] "Here is a man," says Scartazzini, "who loves his own fame, indeed, but still more the good of his fellow-men, and who writes his immortal works in order to help them by withdrawing them from the state of misery and directing them toward the state of bliss. This man, we say, could not have been what he was if in his tender years anything had been neglected in his education. A field in which such fruits ripen must needs have been cultivated early with the greatest care and with the most tender and anxious solicitude."[3] Like all the great poets, Dante was a man of wide information and culture, in this respect most resembling Milton.[4]

DANTE'S WIDE LEARNING.

[1] With fine justice Dante, in spite of his affection for him, banishes him to hell. See Inf., xv, 22, ff., where there are some touching lines concerning his old teacher. Butler, in his edition of the Inferno, p. 174, note 30, says that the idea that Brunetto was Dante's teacher is a myth, "for which there is no evidence." But in Inf., xv, 85, Dante expressly refers to him as his teacher of ethics, and Scartazzini is more reliable when, in his notes on the text and in his Dante Handbook, p. 26, he upholds the "myth."

[2] Parad., xvi, 116–120.

[3] Dante Handbook, pp. 28, 29. In the beginning of his Quæstio de Aqua et Terra Dante tells us that "from childhood up he was continually nurtured in the love of the truth."

[4] Even Burns is no exception. The popular idea that he was an untutored

When Dante was nine years of age he first set eyes on the "glorious lady of his heart, Beatrice," for whom he conceived an unquenchable Platonic affection, which he describes with exquisite beauty and pathos in his Vita Nuova, and which he carried with him through life. It is Boccaccio, and not Dante, who tells us that Beatrice was the daughter of Folco Portinari, that she married de Bardi, and died in 1290, in her twenty-fourth year. Dante idealized her and made her the personification of divine wisdom, and as such she leads him through the glades of paradise. He himself married Gemma Donati, a member of one of the most powerful Guelph families of Florence, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. He took active part in the disturbed political world of Florence, though we cannot go into the details of the keen life and those bitter strifes which were characteristic of Florence for many years. After many honors and reverses he was banished, in January, 1302, and never after saw his native city. His final refuge was Ravenna, where, under the protection of Guido Novello da Polenta, he died, September 14, 1321. So late as May 27, 1865, his bones were accidentally discovered in the wall of the Church of St. Francis, Ravenna, were identified beyond all doubt, and reburied there. Various efforts were made by Florence to recover the bones of the poet whom living she had cast out. In 1864 the municipality of Florence made a final but noble and sad request "to obtain as a fraternal gift the restitution of the remains of Dante, and to be allowed to place on the spot where they had been preserved an inscription recording the generosity of Ravenna and the gratitude of Florence." Ravenna again declined, and there the matter rests.[1] It was not until 1830 that Florence raised a monument to her most illustrious son, completing the honor by a statue on the six hundredth anniversary of his birth. Dante's family became extinct in the sixteenth century.

BEATRICE.

To the Church historian perhaps the two works of Dante most

plowman is no longer held. He was an enthusiastic student of the poets and of all the books he could get. As to Dante's wide reading, it is said that the Vulgate is quoted or referred to more than three hundred times, Vergil about two hundred, Ovid about one hundred, Cicero and Lucian about fifty each, Statius and Boethius between thirty and forty each, Horace, Livy, and Orosius between ten and twenty each, with a few scattered references, probably not exceeding ten in the case of any one author, to Plato, Homer, Juvenal, Seneca, Ptolemy, Æsop, and St. Augustine. See Classical Studies of Dante, in Edinburgh Rev., April, 1895.

[1] For the documents see the excellent book by Del Lungo, Dell' Esilio dio Dante, Florence, 1881.

interesting are the De Monarchia[1] and the Commedia.[2] The De Monarchia is an elaborate exposition of the true theory of Church and State. It is divided into three books: Whether a temporal monarchy is essential for the well-being of the world? Whether the Roman people assumed to itself by right the dignity of empire? and Whether the authority of the monarch comes directly from God (or from the vicar of God)? Dante answers all these questions in the affirmative. The empire is the work of God as well as the Church, supreme in its own sphere, and Christ sanctioned it by being born in it and in suffering its sentence through Pontius Pilate. The assertion of the Decretalists, that the Church is above the empire, is not to be received. These traditions came after the Church, and could not confer on the Church any rights not previously possessed. "If the Church had power to bestow authority on the Roman prince she would have it either from God, or from herself, or from some emperor, or from the universal consent of mankind, or at least of the majority of mankind. There is no other crevice by which this power could flow down to the Church. But she has it not from any of these sources." Dante proceeds to prove this declaration at length, and adds, "therefore she has it not at all."[3] After fully vindicating the independence of the empire from the Church in the largest sense the author concedes that the emperor is still under spiritual obedience to the pope as a son to a father. The truth of the fact that the authority of the monarch springs immediately from God, says Dante, "must not be received so narrowly as to deny that in certain matters the Roman prince is subject to the Roman pontiff. For that happiness which is subject to mortality in a sense is ordered with a view to the happiness which shall not taste of death. Let, therefore, Cæsar be reverent to Peter, as the firstborn son should be reverent to his father, that he may be illuminated with the light of his Father's grace, and so may be stronger to lighten the world over which he has been placed by him alone who is the Ruler of all things spiritual as well as temporal."[4] This noble treatise is a landmark in history, for it founds a political theory on the basis of reason and historical fact. Some of its arguments are

THE DE MONARCHIA.

[1] Best ed. by Witte, 1863, 1867.

[2] Best ed. by Scartazzini, 4 vols., Leipz., 1874, 1882, 1890. The best one-vol. ed., perhaps, is also by Scartazzini, Milan, 1894, rev. and enl., 1896. See The Nation, April 16, 1896, pp. 310, 311, and (for 4th vol. of larger ed.—Prolegomena), Church Quar. Rev., Lond., July, 1891, 358, ff.

[3] De Mon., iii, 14 (transl. F. J. Church, Lond., 1879, pp. 118, 119).

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, 16 (p. 128).

scholastic and obscure; its form is mediæval, but, as Creighton says, a modern spirit of political dignity breathes through its pages.[1] Dante's reward was to have his book condemned to the flames as containing heresies, and his bones came very near sharing the same fate.[2]

"The Divine Comedy lies before us," says Symonds, "let us uncover our heads, therefore, and cry in the great words of Ennius:

> 'Dantes poeta salve qui mortalibus
> Versus propinas flammeos medullitus.'

This is the proper salutation for the man who fed his poem with the lifeblood and the marrow of his soul through years which made him gray and gaunt."[3] In some respects this is the greatest work of human genius. In the Middle Ages it stands in its grim and sad loneliness, gathering into itself all the burning significance of an epoch. Its force, its originality, its obscurity, its fullness of contemporary reference, its boldness in transfixing men still living, its terrible ethical judgments anticipating the day of doom and giving men their awards with all possible impartiality, the magnificent sweep of its imagination, its strange mixture of history and allegory, its sometime quiet beauty and its awful descriptions, like an Alpine rhododendron blooming on a glacier—this great and mighty work stands out by itself among all the creations of time. It created the Italian language, and still abides in its unchallenged supremacy over all other products of that poetic tongue. Church says: "It is the first Christian poem, and it opens European literature, as the Iliad did that of Greece and Rome. Like the Iliad, it has never become out of date; it accompanies in undiminished freshness the literature which it began."[4] Like Paradise Lost, it is a work which could not have been produced except on Christian ground, and out of a

THE DIVINE COMEDY.

[1] Hist. of Papacy During the Reformation, i, 31.

[2] The Monarchia was written during the descent of Henry VII into Italy, 1310–13. It was first printed at Basel by John Oporinus in 1559. See Scartazzini, Dante Handbook, pp. 247–255.

[3] Introduction to the Study of Dante, Lond., 1872, 3d ed., rev., 1898, p. 95. A work admirably done. The lines of Ennius are paraphrased by Symonds, and stand at the head of this chapter.

[4] Dante, and Other Essays, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, p. 2. See also p. 189. This is one of the noblest and finest essays in the English language. It was first pub. in The Christian Remembrancer, in Jan., 1850, was pub. separately in 1878, and in 1888 repub. with essays on Wordsworth and Sordello. Among all the so-called Introductions to Dante none is better than this classic essay by Dean Church, though Lowell's essay is equal to it.

heart essentially pure, which loved righteousness and hated iniquity.' It is born also out of sorrows, and, like a great nation, emerges from battles and cataclysms into the light.[2]

There have been three interpretations of the theological leanings of the Commedia. Some think that Dante was the forerunner of rationalism, out of sympathy with the Church, in league with widespread anti-Catholic societies, a socialist and revolutionist.

Gabrielle Rossetti, an Italian social reformer, broached this view in 1826,[3] and it has been ventilated in France, as we have seen,[4] by Aroux, a Roman Catholic and a translator of the Commedia. So far as this view brings out the immense political importance of Dante's conceptions and his profound interest in political affairs there is much truth in it; but as an explanation of Dante's real relation to the Church it is a wild perversion of the facts. A second view has more apparent truth, but also does great injustice to the Florentine poet. This represents him as a Protestant of the thirteenth century who boldly grappled with the errors of the papacy and was the herald of the reform movements of the sixteenth century. Matthias Flacius, the first

DANTE'S THEOLOGY.

[1] On account of the thoughtless slanders of some of the fierce enemies of Dante in that stormy age some modern scholars have constructed a theory of Dante's life entirely false and psychologically impossible. Davidson is a recent one of these in his notes to Scartazzini's Dante Handbook, pp. 225, ff., notes, although Scartazzini himself repudiates these gratuitous misinterpretations, pp. 222, ff. But Davidson destroys his own reasoning in saying of Carlyle that "he was of all modern men the most like to Dante," than which there could not be, in some qualities of mind and genius, a juster comparison.

[2] Not of personal participation in sins and vices, but in sorrows, disappointments, exiles, political and social conflicts. And so Carlyle says in words which Davidson has strangely misapplied: "The Divine Comedy is at bottom the sincerest of all poems; sincerity we here, too, find to be the measure of worth. It came out of the author's heart of hearts; and it goes deep, and through long generations, into ours. The people of Verona, when they saw him on the streets, used to say, 'Eccovi l'uom ch' e stato all' Infero'—See, there is the man that was in hell! Ah, yes, he had been in hell—in hell enough, in long, severe sorrow and struggle, as the like of him is pretty sure to have been. Commedias that come out divine are not accomplished otherwise. Thought, true labor of any kind, highest virtue itself, is it not the daughter of Pain? Born as out of a black whirlwind; true effort, in fact, as of a captive struggling to free himself; that is Thought. In all ways we are 'to become perfect through suffering.'" Heroes and Hero-Worship, Lecture iii (Works, E. & L. ed., Bost., 1885, vol. i, pp. 319, 320).

[3] Commento Analitico to the Comedy. He defended his theory in Sullo Spirito antipapale che produsse la Reforma e sulla Influenza che esercitò nella Letteratura di tutta l'Europa, e principalmente d'Italia, 1830. On Rossetti's Dante studies, see Karl Witte, Rossetti's Dante-Erklärung, in Dante Forschungen, i, 96–133.

[4] Above, p. 827.

Lutheran Church historian, places him among the noble Four Hundred and Twenty Witnesses of Evangelical Truth in the Dark Ages, and quotes some passages from the Commedia and the Monarchia which he thinks bear out his view.

This use of the Commedia as a controversial weapon for Protestantism is one of the striking features of Church history. It was by this means that a French nobleman, François Perot de Mezieres, endeavored to win the Italians to the Reformation, and the great Huguenot diplomat and theologian, Philippe de Mornay du Plessy Marly, brought Dante to the front as a witness against popery.[1] In our own century Goeschel and Karl Graul have defended the same thesis. Some have interpreted the Greyhound (Veltro), whom Dante prophesied as a future reformer, as an anagram for the name of Luther (Lutero), although it is likely that by this he meant his friend and patron, Can Grande della Scala of Verona, the head of the Ghibelline party in Lombardy, and vicar of the German emperor, Henry VII.[2] It is true that no bolder voice was ever raised against papal corruptions than Dante's, and as an ethical reformer and protester against the abuse of authority on the part of the pope his words have a true Protestant ring. He meets the popes in hell, and lets them accuse themselves out of their own mouths. Nicholas III testifies of the guilt of simony, and says there were around him numerous "predecessors" in the same corruption. The great Pope Boniface VIII is overwhelmed with Dante's heavy indignation, because he used the papacy as a means of political tyranny, and thus brought himself under the poet's especial wrath. He calls him "wolf," "chief of the New Pharisees," "he who sits and swerves," and in a noble passage he strikes his and all baseness in high places. Let us read this in the fine prose-poem translation of Carlyle:

"Ah! Now tell me how much treasure our Lord required of St. Peter before he put the keys into his keeping? Surely he demanded naught but 'Follow Me!' Nor did Peter, nor the others, ask of Matthias gold or silver when he was chosen for the office which the guilty soul had lost. Therefore stay thou here, for thou art justly punished; and keep well the ill-got money, which against Charles made thee be bold. And were it not that reverence for the great keys thou heldest in the glad life yet hinders me, I should use still heavier words; for your avarice grieves the world, trampling on the good and raising up the wicked. Shepherds such as ye the evangelist perceived when she that sitteth

[1] See his Mystery of Iniquity, pub. in 1611.

[2] Schaff, Dante's Theology, in Papers of Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., ii, 54.

on the waters was seen by him committing fornication with the kings; she that was born with seven heads, and in her ten horns had a witness so long as virtue pleased her spouse. Ye made a god of gold and silver; and wherein did ye differ from the idolater, save that he worships one, and ye a hundred?"[1]

This magnificent denunciation is paralleled by another shaft of glorious anger in which Peter himself flames out against the guilty pope and the whole heavens redden with shame at the memory of his crimes. Standing in the ninth sphere of paradise, above the fixed stars, St. Peter, flaming with a sudden redness, cries:

"He who usurps on earth below my place—
My place, my place, the which is void and empty
Before the presence of the Son of God—
Hath made my sepulcher a sink
Of blood and stench; whence comes it that the rebel
Who fell from hence is glad in hell and triumphs?
Even such color as the smiting sun
Doth paint on clouds of evening or of noon,
I then beheld the whole of heaven o'erspread;
And as a pure-souled lady who remains
Whole in her virtue, for another's fault,
Only to hear of it, is ta'en with fear;
So Beatrice changed semblance where she stood.
Eclipse like this, methinks, was once in heaven
When the supreme Power suffered."[2]

It must be confessed that Dante handles ecclesiastics and monks without gloves. On the door of a sepulchral monument in hell he notices the inscription:

"I have in charge
Pope Anastasius, whom Photinus drew
From the right path."[3]

And near him lay the Lord Cardinal Ubaldini, who said, "If there is such a thing as a human soul, I have lost mine." The special favorites of the pope, the friars, are in dolorous grief in hell:

"There in the depths we saw a painted tribe,
Who paced with tardy steps around, and wept,
Faint in appearance, and o'ercome with toil.
Caps they had on, with hood that fell low down
Before their eyes, in fashion like to those

[1] Inf., xix, 90–114; transl. by J. A. Carlyle, M.D., Lond., 1849. This is one of the best translations of Dante, and it is matter of regret that the author did not receive encouragement enough to proceed with the other parts of the poem.

[2] Paradiso, xxvii, 23–36; trans. by J. A. Symonds, in Introd. to Study of Dante, pp. 146–148.

[3] Inf., xi, 8, 9.

Worn by the monks in Cologne. Their outside
Was overlaid with gold, dazzling to view,
But leaden all within, and of such weight
That Frederick's, compared to these, were straw.
O everlasting wearisome attire!" [1]

When he asked his guide concerning a large group of shaven heads he answered:

"To the Church
Were separate those, that with no hairy cowls
Are crownèd popes and cardinals, o'er whom
Avarice dominion absolute maintains."

He bewails the temporal power in the hands of the papacy, as in his oft-quoted line on "Constantine's Donation," [2] and in these plain terms:

"The Church of Rome,
Mixing two governments that ill assort,
Hath missed her footing, fallen into the mire,
And there herself and burden much defiled."

And he bursts out in bitter grief over Italy's fate under such leadership:

"Ah, slavish Italy! Thou inn of grief!
Vessel without pilot in a loud storm!
Lady no longer of fair provinces,
But brothel house impure.
Ah, people! Thou obedient still shouldst live,
If well thou markedst that which God commands!" [3]

But it was only in the matter of the worldly dominion of the pope that Dante departed from mediæval Catholicism. In most other respects he was a loving child of the Church. There are no

[1] Inf., xxiii, 58–67.

[2] "Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage-dower
Which the first rich Father took from thee!"—Inf., xix, 115–117.
Longfellow quotes from Gower, Confessio Amantis, Prologus:

"The patrimonie and the richesse
Which to Silvester, in pure almesse,
The firste Constantinus lefte."

In the De Monarchia, iii, x, Dante argues, assuming, of course, the genuineness of the supposed "Donation," that if the cession of land to the Church impaired in any way the unity and strength of the empire, such gift was null and void. Besides, it is impossible for the Church to receive temporal power. But things that did not impair "his supreme lordship" the emperor could bestow and the Church could receive, but she could receive them only as a steward to dispense the fruits of them to the poor of Christ. Milton quotes the lines of Dante above in Of Reformation in England, and also has no doubt about the genuineness of the Donation. Laurentius Valla had already exploded the fiction in 1440.

[3] Purg., vi, 76–78, 93.

distinctive Protestant principles in his writings, such as the Bible as the only rule of faith, justification by faith, private judgment, and the priesthood of the laity. Against these and other essential Protestant principles he stands on the Roman Catholic side.

That view, therefore, of Dante's theology which looks upon him as the devout Roman Catholic poet of the Middle Ages, standing fast within the pale of the current dogma, but within those lines representing rare freedom of judgment and breadth of view and in some points anticipating the latter day, is the correct one. This is the opinion of most Dante scholars, both Roman Catholic and Protestant—Giuliani, Ozanam, Artaud de Montor, Boissard, Philalethes, Wegele, Gietmann, Hettinger, Scartazzini. As Schaff well says: "Dante is the poet of mediæval Catholicism. His poetry reflects the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bernard—that is, orthodox scholasticism and orthodox mysticism combined. The Commedia is a poetic transfiguration of mediæval theology and piety. He worked into it all the subtilties of scholastic speculation and all the warmth of mystic devotion to the very height of the beatific vision. He is a strong believer in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation, and in all the articles of the ecumenical faith from creation to life everlasting. He clothes these truths in the shining garb of poetic beauty, and impresses them all the more deeply on the mind. To a devout student the Divina Commedia is a powerful sermon accompanied by solemn organ music. Neither Milton, nor Klopstock, nor any other poet, Roman Catholic or Protestant, can equal him in the poetic vindication and glorification of our common Christian faith."[1] Dante holds strongly to the doctrines of purgatory, worship of saints, the divinity of the papacy,[2] and other special Roman tenets. The unbaptized are excluded from heaven, Peter is exalted as the founder of the Roman Church, and heretics are sent to the sixth circle of hell.

[1] Dante's Theology, in Proc. Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist., ii, 55–56. See some excellent remarks by Church, pp. 127–180.

[2] With all his scorn of Boniface he cannot bear to see him maltreated, as when he was captured by Nogaret and the Colonnas. It is an indignity to Christ himself.

> "I see the flower-de-luce Alagna enter,
> And Christ in his own vicar captive made.
> I see him yet another time derided;
> I see renewed the vinegar and gall,
> And between living thieves I see him slain."
>
> —Purg., xx, 86–90 (Longfellow's transl.).

A supreme religious intent pervades the Commedia. It was indeed a glorious offering to the Church for the salvation of men. It is an overwhelming sermon. The author sought to draw men's minds from the engrossing occupations of earth, from its sins and crimes, to make them see for themselves the retributions of eternity, to show them the beauty of Christian love and the rewards which God gives to faithful merit, and to foreshadow a regenerated commonwealth and a transfigured Church. In the admirable words of Scartazzini, the Commedia is the "great epopœa of the civil and political regeneration of the nations and of the redemption of sinful man."[1] It is the grandest legacy of the Middle Ages. Although he was an exile from his own state, Dante has redeemed his epoch for later generations, and treasured up all its best in ethics and theology and learning and civil polity for the use of mankind in all the following ages. Reader, open the book for thyself, and follow the intrepid poet on his matchless way through all the spheres.

[1] Dante Handbook, p. 280. On the practical intent of the Comedy, see Church, Dante, pp. 126, 127.

LITERATURE: THE JEWS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

I. GENERAL WORKS.

1. Jost, J. M. Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Maccabäer bis auf unsere Tage. 10 vols. Berl., 1820–47. Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten. 3 parts. Leipz., 1857–59.
2. Kalkar, C. H. Israel und die Kirche. Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Bekehrungen der Juden zum Christenthum in allen Jahrhunderten. (German trans.) Hamb., 1869.
3. Milman, H. H. History of the Jews. 3 vols. Lond., 1829; 4th ed., rev., 1866. N. Y., 1875.
4. Grätz, Hirsch. Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. 12 vols. Berl., 1854–75. New ed. now appearing, to be completed in 100 parts. English transl. now appearing, 6 vols., Phila.
5. Magnus, Lady. Outline of Jewish History B.C. 586 to C.E. 1885. Lond., 1886.
6. Zunz, L. Die Synagogal-Poesie des Mittelalters. 2 parts. Berl., 1855–59.

II. THE JEWS IN EUROPEAN LANDS.

1. Beugnot, A. A. Des Juifs d'Occident. Paris, 1824.
2. Lindo, H. History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal from the Earliest Times to their Expulsion. Lond., 1848.
3. Bedarride, Jasuda. Les Juifs en France, en Italie, et en Espagne. Paris, 1859; 3d ed., 1867.
4. Kayserling, M. Geschichte der Juden in Portugal. Leipz., 1867.
5. Mocatta, F. D. Jews in Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition. Lond., 1877.
6. Lowe, W. H. The Memorbuch of Nürnberg. Camb., 1881. Relates to the persecution of the Jews in 1349.
7. Abrahams, B. L. Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290. Oxf., 1895.
8. Berliner, A. Aus den letzten Tagen des römischen Ghetto. Berl., 1886.
9. Goldschmidt, S. Geschichte der Juden in England von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu ihrer Verbannung. (Part i, 11–12 Century.) Berl., 1886.
10. Maulde-la-Claviere, R. de. Les Juifs dans les états français du Saint-Siège au moyen-âge: documents pour servir a l'histoire des Israelites et de la Papauté. Paris, 1886.
11. Simon, Joseph. Histoire des Juifs de Nîmes au moyen-âge. Nimes, 1886.
12. Mediæval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes. Ed. by Ad. Neubauer. (Anecdota Oxoniensia.) Oxf., 1887.
13. Rodocanachi, E. Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs: le Ghetto de Rome. Paris, 1891.
14. Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge . . . herausgegeben von A. Neubauer und M. Stern, ins Deutsche übersetzt von S. Baer. Berl., 1892.
15. Jacobs, Jos. The Jews of Angevin England. Documents and records from Latin and Hebrew sources.... Lond., 1893. An interesting and valuable work, taking the history down to 1206 A. D.
16. Stern, M. Urkundl. Beiträge ü. d. Stellung d. Päpste zu d. Juden. Kiel, 1893.
17. Philipson, D. Old European Jewries. Phila., 1894.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE JEWS.

THE Fathers of the ancient Church breathe a tolerant spirit toward the Jews. They taught that the crime of the crucifixion of Christ, for which the elders and a part of the population of Jerusalem were guilty, was not one which should burden the Jewish race forever, but that Christ's prayer for forgiveness restored them in a sense to the favor of God; that Peter, like his Master, excused their sin by their ignorance; that Israel remains the chosen people, because God does not recall his election; and that when the fullness of the Gentiles shall arrive, the then believing Israel shall also come in to form one united community. Origen, whom Döllinger calls the "best informed and most intellectual of the earlier Fathers," has this hopeful word for the Jews: "They are, and ever will remain, our brethren, and will in due time be united to us, whenever we, through our faith and life, shall have roused them to emulation to us." Even Augustine spoke in a similar strain. But that early promise was not kept by the riper Church; for, after the nominal conversion of Europe, the Jews began to feel the iron of Christian persecution, and entered upon the long and bitter era which forms one of the darkest stains upon the escutcheon of Christian history.

Ambrose pronounced the burning of a Jewish synagogue in Rome a deed well pleasing to God, and charged the emperor Maximus with being a Jew because he commanded the synagogue to be rebuilt. Theodosius II, in 439, excluded the Jews from all offices, even municipal, and this code was adopted by Justinian, and thus became a law for the Eastern as well as the Western empire. However, the governing power protected them more or less, and it was not until the close of the eleventh century that the darkest page in the history begins. This era of religious wars naturally brought the Jews within the scope of the crusading fanaticism, which the first crusaders well illustrated by their wholesale murders and robberies, and which the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem exemplified by celebrating its inauguration by burning the Jewish inhabitants, together with their synagogues. Stephen VI (885–891) departed from the spirit of his supposed predecessor, St. Peter, in his letter to the Archbishop of Narbonne. He was scandalized by the report that the Jews, those enemies of God, were possessed, by the grant of the king, of

freehold estates (*allodium*), and that Christians had social and commercial intercourse with those dogs from whom God himself, in punishment for the death of Christ, had withdrawn all his favors and promises.

POPES FAVORING PERSECUTION.

The direct contradiction of this to the teachings of Christ and the apostles did not seem to trouble his holiness. In spite of occasional prohibitions on the part of popes against baptizing the Jews by force, robbing and murdering them, these crimes went forward, very often with the papal consent. Kings and nobles oppressed and spoiled them to their hearts' content, without any objection from the popes. In fact, when Philip Augustus carried out his cruel measures against the Jews, Celestine III praised him as acting out of godly zeal.[1] As Döllinger well says: "The declaration of Innocent III that the entire nation was destined by God on account of its sins to perpetual slavery was the Magna Charta continually appealed to by those who coveted the possessions of the Jews and the earnings of their industry; both princes and people acted upon it. The impression which it made was not mitigated by the circumstances that the popes grounded their occasional letters of protection solely on the prophecy that a remnant would remain who would be converted in the latter days. Such a fragment of Judaism would certainly, it was supposed, never fail to be found, if not in Europe, yet at any rate in Asia. The succeeding popes took their stand upon the maxims and behests of Innocent III. If the Jews built themselves a synagogue it was to be pulled down; they might only repair the old ones. No Jew might appear as a witness against a Christian. The bishops were charged to enforce the wearing of the distinctive badge—the hat or the yellow garment—by all the means in their power. The wearing of the badge was particularly cruel and oppressive, for in the frequent tumults and risings in the towns the Jews, being thus recognizable at a glance, fell all the more easily into the hands of the excited mob; and if a Jew undertook a journey he inevitably became a prey to the numerous bandits and adventurers, who naturally considered him as an outlaw. In Spain the Jews had consequently gained permission to dress as they pleased upon a journey, but the permission was very soon withdrawn."[2]

Both popes and councils, to say nothing of kings, made it almost impossible for the Jews to carry on their wretched existence. A Christian was forbidden to let or sell a house to a Jew or to buy wine

[1] Revue des études Juives, i, 118 (Paris, 1880).

[2] The Jews in Europe, in Studies in European Hist., Lond., 1890, p. 219. Amedor de los Rios, Hist. de los Judios de España, iii, 412 (Döllinger).

from him. All copies of the Talmud and commentaries upon it, the greatest part of Jewish literature, were ordered to be burned, and in 1244 twenty-four cartsful of the Talmud were publicly burned in Paris. The Jews were treated as serfs, and in 1223 Louis VII of France remitted to his subjects all their debts to the Jews. Thomas Aquinas laid down the doctrine that, inasmuch as the Jews were condemned by God to perpetual bondage, princes could dispose of their property as though it were their own.[1] Is it any wonder that unscrupulous princes in a rapacious age should eagerly avail themselves of such an abominable teaching by claiming both the property and persons of the Jews? Conrad IV called them "bond servants of our treasury," and said that the emperor Titus had made a present of them to the imperial treasury, and certain poor Jews themselves once addressed a letter to the council of Ratisbon, urging their relation to the emperor as slaves in order that he might prevent total extermination by the Christians and preserve them in remembrance of the passion of Christ. "You yourselves," said the emperor, Charles IV, to the Jews, "your bodies and your possessions, belong to us and to the empire. We may act, make, and do with you what we will and please."[2] In return for this the emperor guaranteed them certain privileges, and at the expiration of the time for which these privileges were granted a renewal of the right to live could only be bought at an exorbitant price.

PERSECUTION BY RULERS.

The council of Vienna in 1267 decreed that no Jew could be tolerated in a bath house, tavern, or inn, and that no Christian could buy meat of a Jew, since the Jew might poison him. The synod of Salamanca (1335) warned the people against Jewish physicians, who offered their services with the crafty design of exterminating the Christians. It was a widespread mediæval fable that the Jews needed Christian blood either for their paschal feast or for other reasons, and that to secure it they murdered a boy every year. Many believed that a Christian was yearly crucified in mockery of the Redeemer. Under this awful load of prejudice, bigotry, selfishness, misrepresentation, and dark imaginings, is it any wonder that the mediæval period was the age of the Reign of Terror to the Jews?

The whole history of the persecution of the Jews is a terrible indictment of the Roman Catholic Church and of mediæval civilization, those "Ages of Faith" to which the longing of many devout souls, perplexed by the doubts of modern times, goes back. "For nearly a thousand years," says Döllinger,

DÖLLINGER'S TESTIMONY.

[1] De regimine Judæorum ad Ducissam Brabantiæ, in Opp., xvi, 192.

[2] Hegel, Chroniken der deutschen Städte, i, 26.

"the outward history of the Jews is a concatenation of refined oppression, of degrading and demoralizing tortures, of coercion and persecution, of wholesale massacre, and of alternate banishment and recall. European nations seem to have emulated one another in seeking to verify the delusion that to the end of time the Jews were destined by the counsels of Heaven to endure the fate of Helots, and that the sons of the Gentiles were called upon to act the part of jailers and executioners toward God's chosen people. They were felt to be indispensable, they were found useful in many ways, and yet none would tolerate them. The very sight of them was an irritation to the sight of an assured believer, to whom the persistence of a Jew in the creed of his fathers against the light of the Gospel seemed to proceed from malicious obstinacy."[1]

It is pleasant to notice some bright aspects to this dark history. It seems that in the papal province of Avignon the Jews had not only no annoyance from their Christian neighbors, but that the papal legislature was most liberal toward them, allowing them absolute liberty of worship and the management of schools, while the Jews returned this respect for their rights by a loyal devotion to the papal government.[2] Even here, however, they had to wear a distinctive dress. Under the Moorish government in Spain, also, the condition of the Jews was tolerable. Their synagogues elected their own judges to represent them before the authorities, their schools flourished, and in the practice of medicine they obtained renown. Under the Christian kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they rose to influence as financial advisers, treasurers, astronomers, and physicians.

But in the fourteenth century this hardly bought toleration was swept away, and darkness came again. The Jews were attacked, murdered, their synagogues burned, the alternative, "baptism or exile," was placed before them, thousands accepting one and thousands the other, and finally an edict was issued banishing all the Jews from Spain. Of the exiles, variously reckoned from one hundred and seventy thousand to four hundred thousand, the greater part perished from pestilence, starvation, or shipwreck. In this glorious Spain, where, Ranke says, the doctrine of justice was so assiduously studied, the right to strip the outcast Jews of their possessions was proved out of the teaching of Innocent III, who echoed the divine voice to the effect that the Jews were in a state of slavery; out of the decretals of Alexander

PERSECUTION IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

[1] The Jews in Europe, p. 238.

[2] This is shown by M. de Maulde in Revue des Études Juives, No. 14, Jan., 1884.

III forbidding converted Jews to be despoiled, whence it followed that the unconverted might be plundered; and by the decretals of Clement III forbidding the confiscation of their property except by the permission of the governing powers, which permission, gladly given, rendered the act legal.[1]

A charge by which it was sought to justify the hatred of the Christians toward the Jews was that they were usurers, loaning money on interest. The charge was true, and yet the inference drawn from it was false. On a misinterpretation of Luke vi, 35,[2] popes and cardinals had, since the eighth century, with increasing vehemence condemned anyone who should lend capital at interest, though in the early Church only ecclesiastics were forbidden by ecclesiastical penalties to receive interest. The Fathers, however, united in bitterly denouncing anyone, layman or clergyman, guilty of a practice strictly forbidden, as they said, by both Moses and Christ, and against the Christian law of love.[3] Alexander III, 1179, declared that the prohibition of interest could never be suspended by dispensation, and at the council of Vienna, in 1311, Clement V said that to assert that the taking of interest was not sinful was heresy. "In this way," says Döllinger, "the Church had placed herself in opposition to natural laws, to the exigencies of civil life, and to the general intercourse of mankind. But it was one thing to prohibit, it was quite another to insist that her subjects should advance their money without interest. With the general deficiency of ready money at a time when no remedy existed for the steady decrease in the supply of gold and silver, everyone, from the highest to the lowest, was frequently in the predicament of being required to borrow money, and since money-dealing was strictly forbidden to Christians, and could only be carried on by them under cover of many formalities and in roundabout ways, the Jews, who were debarred from all other lines of industry and situations in life, here stepped in."[4]

This greatly enraged the Church, and Innocent III decreed that the Jews should return the interest they had received, and that, if they refused, they should be boycotted by the Christians, that is,

[1] Paramo, de Origin. off. s. Inquisitionis, 164; Döllinger, *l. c.*, p. 232, note.

[2] Notice the Revised Version, "Lend, never despairing," with the margin, "some ancient authorities read, despairing of no man."

[3] See Mullinger, Usury, in Smith and Cheetham. Ruskin stands with the early Church as to this.

[4] Jews in Europe, p. 225. The Jews were not allowed to own land, the guilds and labor societies kept them out of trade, and thus they were shut in to mercantile life, in which the law of necessity working through many centuries has made them the experts of the world.

be given over to starvation. But how could the Christians themselves be saved from guilt? If it was wrong to receive interest it was equally wrong to give it; and yet popes, cardinals, and bishops were compelled to borrow money, and the whole organization of the curia was so constituted that it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to the Jews. Here the casuists came in to give relief to the conscience; they said that the Jews were lost anyway, and therefore it makes no difference what additions are made to their sins; and the Christians who borrow are excused on the plea of necessity. But these prohibitions availed nothing. The Christians themselves loaned money on interest and often on worse terms than the Jews. The Cahorsines, the Lombards, and the Italian bankers carried on financial operations throughout Europe; nor did they shine in their unselfishness by the side of the oppressed Jews. In 1352 Ludwig, the Brandenburger, son of the emperor Ludwig, publicly invited the Jews to settle in the country, free of taxation, because, "since the time of the destruction of the Jews," that is, since the massacre of 1348, "there prevails a scarcity of money amongst the rich and poor throughout the land." [1]

On matters of general morality, excepting, of course, the convenient charges of avarice and usury, the Jews of the Middle Ages were patterns to the Christian. Among all the fierce denunciations of mediæval Christian literature no impeachment of their morals appears. They were temperate, pure in their domestic and social relations, and kept their faith in contracts. They never tried to proselyte. In fact, the Talmud discouraged this when it said that proselytes were as injurious to Judaism as ulcers to a healthy body. The history of the Jew in the Middle Ages entirely justifies the assertion of Döllinger, that "thirteen centuries cry to us with a thousand tongues, 'The Christian has made the Jew what he is.'" It also justifies the sad remark of a rabbi to a Christian when the Jews of Spain were to be uprooted and expelled: "We are a blessed and an accursed race at the same time. You Christians now seek to exterminate us, but you will not succeed, for we are blessed; the time will come when you will endeavor to raise us up, but neither in that will you succeed, for we are accursed." [2]

[1] Döllinger, Jews in Europe, pp. 228, 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239; H. Thiersch, Ueber den christlichen Staat, Berl., 1875, p. 69. In his article on the "Judenhass in History," in Studies in Eccl. History, Lond., 1884, pp. 228, ff., Oxenham (R. C.) tells of the atrocities of his Church with the coldness of a medical lecturer, and has no word of compassion for the victims. How different from the Old Catholic scholar of Munich!

LITERATURE: HYMNOLOGY.

I. GENERAL WORKS: DICTIONARIES, AND OTHER WORKS OF REFERENCE.

1. Fischer, A. F. W. Kirchenlieder-Lexicon. Gotha, 1878.
2. Kuemmerle, S. Encyklopädie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik. 4 vols. Gütersloh, 1888–95.
3. Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology, setting forth the origin and history of Christian Hymns of all ages and nations. Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

II. GENERAL WORKS: HISTORIES OF HYMNOLOGY.

1. Cunz, F. A. Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenlieds. 2 vols. Leipz., 1855.
2. Wackernagel, Philipp. Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenlieds im xvi Jahrhundert. Frankf., 1855. Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Anfang des xvii Jahrhundert. 5 vols. Leipz., 1864–77.
3. Kuebler, Theo. Historical Notes to the Lyra Germanica. Lond., 1865.
4. Neale, J. M. Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry, in Thompson's History of Roman Literature.
5. Winkworth, Cath. Christian Singers of Germany. Lond., 1869.
6. Bovet, Felix. Histoire du Psautier des Eglises réformées. Neuchâtel, 1872.
7. Koch, E. E. Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs. 3d ed., 8 vols. Stuttg., 1866–76.
8. Douen, O. Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot. 2 vols. Paris, 1878, 1879.
9. Duffield, S. W. Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns. Edited by R. E. Thomson. N. Y., 1890.
10. Wolfram, Ph. Die Entstehung und erste Entwicklung des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieds in musikalischer Beziehung. Leipz., 1890.
11. Selborne, Earl of. Hymns: their History and Development in the Greek and Latin Churches, Germany, and Great Britain. Lond., 1892. Enlarged from art. Hymns, in Encyc. Brit., 9th ed. Edinb., 1881.
12. Gourmont, Remy de. Le Latin mystique. Les poëtes de l'Antiphonaire et la Symbolique au moyen-âge. Paris, 1893.
13. Nutter, Charles S. Historic Hymnists. Bost., 1893.

III. COLLECTIONS OF HYMNS.

1. Williams, Isaac. Hymns from the Parisian Breviary. Lond., 1839.
2. Caswall, Edward. Lyra Catholica. Lond., 1849.
3. Stevenson, J. Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. (Surtees Soc.) Lond., 1851.
4. Mone, F. J. Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters. 3 vols. Freib. i. B., 1853.

5. Daniel, H. A. Thesaurus Hymnologicus. 5 vols. Leipz., 1841–56.
6. Massie, Richard. Lyra Domestica. Lond., 1860. Again, with additional selections, by F. D. Huntington. Bost., 1866.
7. Cox, Frances E. Sacred Hymns from the German. Lond., 1841; 2d ed., 1864.
8. Trench, R. C. Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical, with notes and introduction. Lond., 1849; 2d ed., 1864; new ed., 1874.
9. Neale, J. M. Hymni Ecclesiæ. Oxf., 1851; new ed., 1865. Mediæval Hymns and Sequences. Lond., 1851; 3d ed., 1867.
10. Chambers, John David. Lauda Syon. Ancient Latin Hymns of the English and other Churches, translated. Lond., 1866.
11. Coles, Abraham. Old Gems in New Settings; comprising the choicest of mediæval hymns, with original translations. N. Y., 1867. Latin Hymns, with original translations. 3 vols. N. Y., 1882.
12. Todd, J. H. Books of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland, with translations. (Irish Archæological Society.) 2 parts. Dubl., 1855–69.
13. Seven Great Hymns of the Mediæval Church. 5th ed., N. Y., 1868.
14. Schaff, Philip. Christ in Song. N. Y., 1870. (And A. Gilman,) Library of Religious Poetry. N. Y., 1885.
15. Mant, Richard. Ancient Hymns from the Roman Breviary. New ed., Lond., 1871.
16. March, F. A. Latin Hymns (in Harper's Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers). N. Y., 1874.
17. Winkworth, Cath. Lyra Germanica. 2 vols. Lond., 1855–58; new ed., 1879.
18. Morgan, D. T. Hymns and Other Poetry of the Latin Church. Oxf., 1880.
19. (Borthwick and Findlater.) Hymns from the Land of Luther. 4th series. Edinb., 1862; Lond., 1884.
20. Roth, F. W. E. Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters. Augsb., 1888.
21. Manitius, M. Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8 Jahrhunderts. Stuttg., 1891.
22. Dreves, Guido Maria. Analecta hymnica medii ævi. 13 vols. Leipz., 1886–92.

IV. WORKS OF INDIVIDUAL HYMN WRITERS.

1. Benedict, E. C. The Hymn of Hildebert, and other Mediæval Hymns, with translations by ——. N. Y., 1867.
2. Prime, Wm. C. O Mother Dear, Jerusalem. The old hymn, its origin and genealogy. N. Y., 1867.
3. Wrangham, D. S. The Liturgical Poetry of Adam St. Victor. 3 vols. Lond., 1881.
4. Johnson, Franklin. Dies Iræ. An English version in double rhymes. Cambr., 1888.
5. Stryker, M. W. Dies Iræ. The great dirge of Thomas de Celano. The Latin text, with prose translation and three new versions in rhyme. Chic., 1892.

CHAPTER LIV.

HYMNOLOGY.

ST. HILARY OF POITIERS, who died in 366, the champion of Nicæa, and one of the noblest of the Fathers, was the father of Latin hymnology. In 356 the Arians banished him to Phrygia, where he entered enthusiastically into the study of the Greek language and literature, became acquainted with both the theology and sacred poetry of the Greek Church, and thus was fitted for his later splendid service to the Latins. Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, speaks of him as the first Latin hymn writer, and yet unfortunately we have little that can with safety be ascribed to him. Much ancient tradition attributed to him the

> Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet
> (Band of brethren, raise the hymn, let your song the hymn resound),

which is a brief narrative of the whole Gospel history, and perhaps the earliest example of a strictly didactic hymn. Some think the only hymn indisputably his is that beautiful Morning Hymn,

Lucis largitor splendide	Thou splendid Giver of the light,
Cujus sereno lumine	By whose serene and lovely ray
Post lapsa noctis tempora	Beyond the gloomy shades of night
Dies refusus panditur.	Is opened wide another day.[1]

Seven other hymns are attributed to him, and very likely with justice.

St. Ambrose of Milan, who died in 397, was another founder. We have some interesting contemporary accounts from St. Augustine concerning his relation to Church music. When the Arians were determined to remove Ambrose from his church many devout people, including women, of whom Augustine's mother was one, came together in the church, to protect him and keep him from being taken into exile. "Then," says Augustine, "it was first appointed that, after the manner of the Eastern Churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should grow weary and faint through sorrow; which custom has ever since been retained, and has been followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world." He describes the remarkable effect of these hymns

[1] Given in full in Duffield, Latin Hymns, p. 32.

upon his own mind: "I was moved to tears by the sweetness of these hymns and canticles." "The voices flowed into my ears; the truth distilled into my heart; I overflowed with devout affections and was happy." When his mother died nothing could comfort him except one of the Ambrosian hymns. "Then I slept, and woke up again and found my grief not a little softened; and as I was alone in my bed I remembered those true verses of thy Ambrose, 'For thou art the

> Maker of all, the Lord
> And Ruler of the height,
> Who, robing day in light, hast poured
> Soft slumbers o'er the night,
> That to our limbs the power
> Of toil may be renewed,
> And hearts be raised that sink and cower,
> And sorrows be subdued.'"

There are probably a hundred hymns which Ambrose wrote for congregational use, and Lord Selborne calls attention to the fact that they are admirably adapted for this purpose, being, as he says, short and complete in themselves, easy and at the same time elevated in their expression and rhythm, terse and masculine in thought and language; and, though sometimes criticised as deficient in theological precision, simple, pure, and not technical of their rendering of the great facts and doctrines of Christianity, which they present in an objective manner.[1] Neale and Trench, who made profound studies in Latin hymnology, think that the Ambrosian hymns are not sufficiently warm and ecstatic, "there is a certain coldness in them, an aloofness of the author from his subject." Simcox, on the other hand, with more justice says that "they all have the character of deep spontaneous feeling flowing in a clear rhythmical current, and show a more genuine feeling than the prose works."[2]

Prudentius, who died about 415, was a Spanish layman and governor, who after a gay life was converted to Christianity, and became one of the most original and fertile of the elder Christian poets of the West. He was a voluminous poet, and the Mozarabic, or ancient Spanish, ritual embodies several of his long pieces to be sung or recited. He was one of the most popular singers of the Middle Ages, and it is a remarkable fact concerning his poems that no work but the Bible appears with so many glosses in High German.[3] He has been called the "Latin Dr. Watts." It is interesting to note how

[1] Art. Hymns, in Enc. Brit., 9th ed., xii, 616.
[2] Latin Literature, ii, 405; Duffield, 54, 55.
[3] Milman, Lat. Christianity, viii, 309, note.

the famous printers loved to spend their skill on Prudentius, an Elzevir with introductions by Heinsius appearing in Amsterdam in 1667, an Aldine at Venice in 1501, and later costly editions, as by Teoli at Parma in 1788, and by Arevalus, who has the bad reputation, which many moderns share with him, of being a hymn-tinker.[1]

Perhaps the most celebrated hymn of the early Middle Ages is the Veni, Creator Spiritus, which was constantly sung throughout Western Christendom as part of the appointed office for the coronation of kings, the consecration of bishops, the assembling of synods, and other great ecclesiastical solemnities, and has been retained in the ordination services of the Anglican and Methodist Churches.[2] Unfortunately the author is not known. The most ancient testimony, and one which has every internal evidence of probability, is that of Ekkehard, in his life of Notker, written in the beginning of the twelfth century. He lived in the monastery of St. Gall, and had access to all its records, and his work therefore is likely to be reliable. He says that Notker, monk of St. Gall, who died 912, wrote his sequence on the Holy Spirit,

> Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia
> (Present with us ever be the Holy Spirit's grace),

and sent it as a present to Charles,[3] who sent him back by the same messenger the hymn, Veni, Creator Spiritus, which the "same Spirit had inspired him to write." Others attribute the hymn to Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz from 847 to 856, on the strength of the fact that it is found among his writings, and that it is a paraphrase of his chapter on the Holy Spirit.[4] We give

[1] Wesley adjured compilers to leave his hymns as they found them, and yet he often altered the verses of others to great advantage. See some caustic remarks by Robinson, in Cent. Mag., Apr., 1886, p. 858. Later eds. of Prudentius are by Migne, vols. lix and lx, and Dressel, Leipz., 1860. See the monograph by Brockhaus, Leipz., 1872. A transl. of selection of his works by T. D. appeared in Blackwood's Mag., ix (1821), and in a vol. by Thackeray, with introduction and notes, Lond., 1891.

[2] But in a form much abbreviated, the poor version of Bishop Cosin, 1677.

[3] Charles the Bald. Some ignorant copyist later interpolated the title "Great" after "Charles" in this history, and therefore many have assigned the Veni, Creator Spiritus, to Charles the Great. But his authorship is out of the question.

[4] So the Jesuit antiquarian, Brower, in the appendix to his edition of Fortunatus, Cologne, 1617, where he prints the poems of Rabanus; Duffield, Latin Hymns, pp. 118, ff.; Clement, Carmina e poetis Christianis excerpta, Paris, 1854, p. 379.

here the original of this grand poem, with one of the best and most literal translations, that of the late Samuel W. Duffield:[1]

Veni, Creator Spiritus,	O Holy Ghost, Creator, come!
Mentes tuorum visita,	Thy people's mind pervade;
Imple superna gratia	And fill with thy supernal grace
Quæ tu creasti pectora.	The souls which thou hast made.
Qui Paraclitus diceris,	Thou who art called the Paraclete,
Deique donum altissimi,	The gift of God most high;
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,	Thou living fount, and fire, and love,
Et spiritalis unctio.	Our spirits' pure ally.
Tu septiformis munere,	Thou sevenfold Giver of all good;
Dextræ Dei tu digitus,	Finger of God's right hand;
Tu rite promisso Patris	Thou promise of the Father, rich
Sermone ditans guttura.	In words for every land;
Accende lumen sensibus,	Kindle our senses to a flame,
Infunde amorem cordibus,	And fill our hearts with love,
Infirma nostri corporis	And thro' our bodies' weakness still
Virtute firmans perpeti.	Pour valor from above!
Hostem repellas longius,	Drive farther off our enemy,
Pacemque dones protinus,	And straightway give us peace;
Ductore sic te prævio	That with thyself as such a guide
Vitemus omne noxium.	We may from evil cease.
Per te sciamus, da, Patrem,	Thro' thee may we the Father know,
Noscamus atque Filium,	And thus confess the Son;
Te utriusque Spiritum,	For thee (from both the Holy Ghost)
Credamus omni tempore.	We praise while time shall run.

Notker's Sequences have played a large part in Christian hymnology, and are still a portion of the service of the Church. They are rhythmical proses, and are so called because they were sung *after* (*sequor*, I follow) the epistle and before the gospel in the Church service. Notker was a monk of St. Gall, in Switzerland, and died about 912. His famous sequence, Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia,[2] was much used in the Middle Ages. The rhythm was suggested to him by the turning of the mill-wheel. "I well remember a mill," says Duffield, "by which I used often to pause in the stillness of the night, listening to the wailing protracted cadences of the huge wheel which slowly turned in its bed as the buckets successively filled from the shut, but leaky, gates. Hearing this, and comparing it with 'sequence' of the Catholic service, or with the long-drawn tones of a German choral, it is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance."[3] More

[1] This hymn has been often translated. Schaff, Ch. Hist., iv, 422, note 5, mentions fourteen English versions, and Odenheimer and Bird, Songs of the Spirit, N. Y., 1871, pp. 167–180, print nine of these translations.

[2] See Neale, Mediæval Hymns and Sequences, Lond., 1862, 3d ed., 1867, p. 32.

[3] Latin Hymns, p. 137.

familiar to us are the solemn sentences which in modern times have been prefixed to the burial service of the Anglican and Methodist Churches, but which were originally suggested to Notker as he saw some workmen swinging down over a precipice in making a bridge over the chasm in the Martinstobe.

Media vita in morte sumus:	In the midst of life in death we be:
Quem quærimus adiutorum nisi te, Domine,	Of whom can we seek for succor but of thee, O Lord,
Qui pro peccatis nostris juste irasceris?	Who for our sins art justly moved?
Sancte Deus, sancte fortis,	O holy God, O holy and mighty,
Sancte et misericors Salvator;	O holy and merciful Saviour,
Amaræ morti ne tradas nos.	Deliver us not into the bitter death.

Luther translated this for a funeral hymn, and it is said to have been sung by troops on going into battle.[1]

In the "Golden Sequence" the Veni, sancte Spiritus, is a kind of hymn which has gone into the metrical form. This exquisite hymn, called by Trench the "loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry," is ascribed by tradition to the pious king Robert II (d. 1031), son of Hugh Capet; but what weight attaches to the tradition cannot be known. Robert was deeply religious, and he loved music and poetry, but Duffield, who, as he says, "investigated every bypath and blind alley" of history in reference to this hymn and its possible authors, ascribes it to Hermann Contractus of St. Gall, the learned cripple, who in the middle of the eleventh century was writing hymns and histories in his Swiss retreat and experimenting with mathematical instruments.[2]

The greatest hymn of the Middle Ages, if not the greatest in all time, is the Dies Iræ, commonly ascribed to Thomas of Celano

[1] Notice the rhythm of our translation above. The version in the Methodist Ritual is taken from the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1549 (see ed. of Morgan Dix, N. Y., 1881, p. 268), except that in that book the third line reads: 'O Lord, which for our sins justly art moved.' In subsequent revisions the line as we are familiar with it was substituted.

[2] For a list of translators, see Schaff, Church Hist., iv, 428, 429, note, who quotes there the versions of MacGill and Washburn. The Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, N. Y., 1878, gives the version of Ray Palmer, 1858. All versions are dilutions; they miss the quivering, concise, bell-toned words of the original, which has 93 words, while MacGill's version—one of the most literal and one of the best—has 170. On Hermann, Duffield, pp. 147, ff., has a specially rich chapter. He also gives an exact and literal translation of the hymn, p. 168. The first to attribute the Veni, sancte Spiritus, to Robert is Durandus (d. 1296), in the fourth book of his Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Mayence, 1453, the third book ever printed. There is a fine copy of Durandus's book on vellum in the Astor Library.

(fl. 1230),[1] companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi. It rests on the "Apparebit repentina," of the seventh century, first mentioned by Bede, which, though it lacks the intense force and poetic perfection of the Dies Iræ, is echoed and re-echoed in the greater hymn. We give the first lines of the Apparebit repentina, according to the version of Neale, that the student may compare it with the Dies Iræ.

That great Day of wrath and terror,
That last Day of woe and doom,
Like a thief that comes at midnight,
On the sons of men shall come;
When the pride and pomp of ages
All shall utterly have passed,
And they stand in anguish, owning
That the end is here at last;
And the trumpet's pealing clangor,
Thro' the earth's four quarters spread,
Waxing loud and ever louder,
Shall convoke the quick and dead,
And the King of heavenly glory
Shall assume his throne on high,
And the cohorts of his angels
Shall be near him in the sky;
And the sun shall turn to sackcloth,
And the moon be red as blood,
And the stars shall fall from heaven,
Whelm'd beneath destruction's flood.
Flame and fire and desolation
At the Judge's feet shall go:
Earth and sea and all abysses
Shall his mighty sentence know.[2]

This hymn is a paraphrase of Matt. xxv, 31–36. The Dies Iræ is based on this Scripture, and also Zeph. i, 15 (Vulgate), Psalm xcvi, 13, xcvii, 3, cii, 26, and other passages. Of this terrible lyric, every line of which strikes the soul as might the bells of eternity summoning men to the last judgment, Schaff well says: "The secret of the irresistible power of the Dies Iræ lies in the awful grandeur of the theme, the intense earnestness and pathos of the poet, the simple majesty and solemn music of its language, the stately meter, the triple rhyme, and the vowel assonances chosen in striking adaptation to the sense, all combining to produce an

[1] Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa is the first who mentions Thomas as the author, in Liber Conformitatum, 1385.

[2] Besides this trans. by Neale in his Mediæval Hymns and Sequences, this hymn has also been trans. by Mrs. Charles and E. C. Benedict. The original is in Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus, 5 vol., Leipz., 1841–56, vol. i, p. 194.

overwhelming effect, as if we heard the final crash of the universe, the commotion of the opening graves, the trumpet of the archangel that summons the quick and the dead, and as if we saw the 'King of tremendous majesty' seated on the throne of justice and mercy, and ready to dispense everlasting life and everlasting woe."[1] This regal hymn has impressed itself on the world as has no other utterance of the same kind by uninspired man. Sir Walter Scott introduces it into the Lay of the Last Minstrel,

Dies iræ, dies illa	And far the echoing aisles prolong
Solvet sæclum in favilla,	The awful burthen of the song,

and gives in the last canto[2] a free paraphrase. On his deathbed, in the wanderings of his unconscious utterances, he would repeat verses from the Bible or from the old litanies, and "we very often heard distinctly," says Lockhart, "the cadences of the Dies Iræ." The Earl of Roscommon, in the century previous, who himself translated the poem (1717), died repeating his own version of the seventeenth stanza:

Prostrate, my contrite heart I rend;
My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.

It is said that Samuel Johnson could never repeat the tenth stanza without being moved to tears.[3]

Quærens me sedisti lassus,	Seeking me thy love outwore thee,
Redemisti cruce passus:	And the cross, my ransom, bore thee;
Tantus labor non sit cassus.	Let not this seem light before thee.[4]

In "Faust" Margaret hears with horror and dismay this great funeral hymn of the Roman Catholic Church sung, and "from that moment of salutary pain she becomes another woman."[5] Meinhold in his "Amber-Witch"—Die Bernsteinhexe—makes a similar use of it, and Carlyle shows us Werner, the tragedian, quoting the eighth stanza in his strange "last testament" as his reason for having written neither a defense nor an accusation of his life: "With trembling I reflect that I myself shall first learn in its whole terrific compass what I properly was, when these lines shall be read by men; that is to say, in a point of time which

[1] Christ in Song, Lond. ed., 1870, p. 290; and Library of Religious Poetry, N. Y., 1885, p. 899.

[2] Cantos xxx, xxxi.

[3] See Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, new ed., N. Y., 1883, p. 308.

[4] Duffield, transl. Latin Hymns, p. 254.

[5] Goethe, Faust, lines 3458, ff., 4324–30.

shall be for me no time, in a condition in which all experience shall be for me too late:

"Rex tremendæ majestatis,	King of majesty tremendous,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,	Who dost free salvation send us,
Salva me, fons pietatis ! !"	Fount of pity, then befriend us.[1]

Its power in awakening hardened sinners is depicted by Justus Kerner in his Wahnsinnige Brüder, and the great hymnologist, Daniel, compares it to the picture of the day of judgment, which was the means of converting the king of the Bulgarians to Christianity.[2] It has been translated more often than any other hymn, there being more than a hundred versions in German and at least one hundred and fifty-four in English, of which ninety-six are by Americans.[3]

Next in power and majesty to the Dies Iræ, and superior to all other mediæval hymns in its pathos and passionate tenderness, is the Stabat Mater Dolorosa. It is the production of Jacopone, or Jacobus de Benedictis, an intense ascetic of the Franciscan Order, who died at Todi, in Umbria, in 1306. While it is marred by many expressions of the mariolatry of its time, its beauty and force made it a leading lyric of the Church, and it still commands the universal admiration of Protestants as well as of Roman Catholics. As a work of art it rivals, if it does not surpass, all paintings in its exquisite voicing of human sympathy, both with the Divine Sufferer of Calvary and with the pierced mother-heart of her who stood near the cross. Of its ten stanzas, the following is the first, from the translation of Coles, and well illustrates the rhythmic flow of this whole imperishable hymn:

Stood the afflicted mother weeping,
Near the cross her station keeping,
Whereon hung her Son and Lord;
Through whose spirit sympathizing,
Sorrowing and agonizing,
Also passed the cruel sword.[4]

[1] Trans. W. T. Irons, Lond., 1848. See Carlyle, Crit. and Misc. Essays, i, 136 (Works, Bost. ed., xiii, 136). [2] Duffield, Latin Hymns, 249, 250.

[3] For a partial list, see Duffield, 250–252. On the Dies Iræ, see Duffield, ch. xxiii; Lisco, Dies Iræ, Berl., 1840; Daniel, ii, 103–131, v, 110–116; Coles, Dies Iræ in 13 Original Versions, N.Y., 1859, 5th ed., 1868; [C. C. Nott,] The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediæval Church, N. Y., 1886, 7th ed., enl., 1888; Anketell in Am. Church Rev., 1873; Shipley in Dubl. Rev., 1883.

[4] Stabat Mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius;
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam ac dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius.

No one can listen to the sweet notes of Adam of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and many other hymnists of the time without being borne aloft into the holier spheres. Sacred music knows no limitations, and the harp notes of the great singers of the Middle Ages were no small compensation for the superstition and ecclesiastical misdoings of that period. But while the notes of sacred song were heard throughout the Middle Ages, we must remember that it was a priestly period, and the people had no part except to say Amen at the close, or to respond "Kyrie eleison" at the appropriate places. It was left to Protestantism to take the immortal hymns of that time and to give them into the hands of the worshiping congregation, in order that in their sublime strains praise may be rendered to God. Even to-day some Roman Catholics have sought in vain to promote congregational singing. All sacerdotal dogmas kill the voice of praise.

LITERATURE: SACRED DRAMA.

1. Hone, William. Ancient Mysteries Described. Lond., 1823.
2. Le Roy, Onésime. Études sur les Mystères. Paris, 1837.
3. Marriott, W. A Collection of English Miracle-Plays or Mysteries. Basel, 1838.
4. Wright, Thomas. Early Mysteries and Latin Poems of the 12th and 13th Centuries. (In Latin.) Lond., 1838.
5. Alt, Heinrich. Theater und Kirche in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss historisch dargestellt. Berl., 1846.
6. Mone, F. J. Schauspiele des Mittelalters. Aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt. 2 vols. Mannheim, 1852.
7. Migne, J. P. Dictionnaire des Mystères. Paris, 1854. A collection of mysteries, moral, etc.
8. Hase, K. A. Das geistliche Schauspiel. Leipz., 1858. English transl., Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas: an historical survey. Lond., 1880.
9. Wilken, E. Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland. Göttingen, 1872.
10. Sepet, Marius. Le Drame chrétien au Moyen Âge. Paris, 1878. Les prophetes du Christ, étude sur les origines du théatre au moyen âge. Paris, 1878.
11. Strœhlin, E. "Drame Religieux," in Lichtenberger's Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses, (9 62–81). Paris, 1878. Contains much bibliographical material.
12. Julleville, L. Petit de. Les Mystères. Paris, 1880.
13. Wirth, L. Die Oster- und Passionsspiele bis zum 16 Jahrhundert. Halle, 1889.
14. Pollard, A. W. English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes. Oxf., 1890.
15. Jeanroy, A., et Teulie, H. Mystères provencaux du XV siècle. Toulouse, 1893.

CHAPTER LV.

THE SACRED DRAMA.

THE instinct of the Christian Church has always condemned the theater. This arose, first, because it is against the dignity of the Christian character and inconsistent with the high calling of men made in the image of God, who is a God of truth, that human beings should devote their lives to acting a part, and, second, the whole history of the theater proves it to be of irreligious, not to say of immoral, tendency. Many noble minds, Lessing among the chief, have endeavored to give to the theater a moral environment, and to prove that it does not essentially tend toward the weakening of the moral forces. But the trend of the public acting of the drama is against all the beautiful theories and kindly advice. It is not a matter of surprise that the entire early Church put the profession of the actor and all theatrical performances under the ban. The theater then, as it has in a less degree ever since, reveled in a world of immoral suggestion, and it could not be countenanced except at the cost of the noblest principles for which Christianity stood.[1]

EARLY PROTESTS.

But the darker side of human nature was too strong for the Church, and long after the empire was nominally converted the theater was doing its work of insidious immorality, to the great disgust of the Church Fathers. John Chrysostom attacks the exhibitions with untiring indignation, and warns the Christians against these seductions. He says that at Antioch his audience brought into the Church the habits acquired in theater-going, and, instead of laying exhortations of the preacher silently to heart, watched for opportunities of indulging in theatrical applause.[2] In his first homily on John he says that many Christians, after listening to the words of Scripture and the Holy Spirit speaking therein, go away to witness lewd women, "saying obscene things and representing still more obscene actions, and effeminate men indulging in buffoonery one with another." Salvian, who died in 495, when describing the recklessness of the population of Carthage during the invasion of the Vandals, says that

[1] See Plumptre, Actors and Actresses, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, i, 15, and Mullinger, Theater, in the same, ii, 1952, with references there given.

[2] Op. (Migne), ix, 227; Neander, Der heil. Chrysos., i, 118.

the Church of Carthage indulged in the wild excitement of the circus and the softer delights of the theater, and while the victims of the one were butchered without the city the victims of the other were debauched within.[1] In the seventh century Isidorus testifies to the still triumphant strife of the stage, and he warns Christians against sharing the "mad excitement of the circus, the impurity of the theater, the cruelty of the amphitheater, the barbarity of the arena, and the luxury of the play."[2] Augustine associates theatrical performances with paganism,[3] and as most of the plays represented the escapades of the gods Christians could not, in fact, participate in them without becoming accomplices in idolatry.

The popularity of the theater, however, and the need of diversion forced upon the Church the endeavor to minister to the craving of man for the spectacular. The service of the mass itself became a dramatic performance, where the priest changed the elements of the sacrament into the body of Christ, and acted over again the passion of Calvary.[4] But as the mass was celebrated in Latin, a language of which the most of the people were ignorant, it became necessary to provide pictures which they could understand. Tableaux vivants, representing in dumb show the story of the lesson of the day, were first introduced. In the fifth century the clergy represented living pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, the Marriage at Cana, the Death of the Saviour, and other subjects. Dramatic possibilities here were infinite, and the priests gradually availed themselves of them to the full. In the tenth century it was customary, as a part of the regular Church service and at the appropriate season of the year, to perform the office of the Shepherds, varied with the Star, the Massacre of the Innocents, or the Sepulcher. In these offices the priests spoke the texts and the congregation gave the responses. "The music steadily grew more dramatic," says Binns, "and sometimes the Roman Church, in its zeal for producing edification by any lawful means, and by means of sweet sounds in particular, has gone very far. At present in the chapel of the Vatican on Good Friday, after the Old Testament Psalms and Prophecies, the Passion of Christ, from John's gospel, is sung, arranged as oratorio. Christ is tenor, Pilate bass, and there are choruses for the priests, soldiers, and people, interspersed with evangelical narrative in recitative."[5] A solemn dance is still performed at Easter before the high altar of the cathedral of Seville, which recalls the movements of the Greek chorus.[6]

[1] De Gub. Dei, vi, 12 (A. D. 451).
[2] Etym., xix, 59; Migne, lxxxii, 409.
[3] De Civit. Dei, i, 32.
[4] Ward, Dramatic Literature, i, 18.
[5] The Religious Drama, in Modern Rev., i, 801 (Oct., 1880).
[6] Oxenham, Miracle Plays, in Essays in Eccl. Hist., p. 202.

The next step was to take the drama under the wings of the Church as an ordinary means of religious instruction, and comparatively early in the Middle Ages, at least in the East, this was done. The intercourse of nations occasioned by the Crusades introduced the sacred drama into the West. The plays were of three kinds: 1. Mysteries, representation of the great doctrines of the Christian redemption; 2. Miracle Plays, representation of the Scripture narrative; and, 3. Moralities, representation by allegorical personification of virtues, vices, and abstract qualities. The oldest extant Mysteries are French, and belong to the eleventh century; the oldest German play, the Rise and Fall of Antichrist, found in the convent of Tegern See, belongs to the twelfth century, and by the middle of the thirteenth century the popularity of the Mysteries and Miracle Plays was at its zenith. They were first held in the Church, but partly on account of the incongruities and abuses which crept in, and partly on account of the lack of space to accommodate the crowds, Innocent III in 1210 forbade the representation of plays in the Church and taking any part in them by the clergy. When the drama was celebrated in the open air scope was given for more elaborate presentation, a huge stage being erected in three tiers, the highest representing heaven; the lowest, hell; and the middle, the earth. The daring imagination of the mediæval mind stopped at nothing in its desire to show forth the sacred history of man from the creation to the judgment day. One of the favorite plays was the Harrowing of Hell, in which Christ goes into the underworld and delivers the patriarchs who have been awaiting his coming. The awful history as outlined in the Apocalypse is represented on the stage—the terrors of the judgment being strongly pictured, so as to make a vivid impression on the spectators. Popes, emperors, kings, queens, magistrates, and merchants in turn confess their guilt and the justness of the eternal agony which is their doom. A condemned pope thus exclaims:

> "Now bootless it is to ask mercie,
> For, living, highest in earth was I;
> Also silver and simony
> Made me a pope unworthy."

A wicked queen piteously cries out:

> "Where is my beauty that was so bright?
> Where is the baron, where is the knight,
> Where in the world is any wight,
> That for my fairness now will fight?"

Christ is represented sitting on a cloud with the instruments of his passion—the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, the spear, but exhibiting his body more marred and wounded by the sins of man than by the tortures of his Jewish murderers, and pronounces sentence of final doom. To the saved he says:

"Come hither to me, my darlings deare;
While I was on the earth here
Ye gave me meet in good manere, . . .
Yes, forsooth, my friendes dear,
Such as poor and naked were,
Ye clad and fed them both in fear,
And harbored them alsoe."

Turning to the wicked, he says:

"Nay, when ye saw the least of mine
That on earth suffered pine,
To help them ye did naught incline;
Therefore go to the fire.
And tho' my sweet mother deare,
And all the saints that ever were,
Prayed for you right now here,
Alas, it were too late!"[1]

There is no doubt that the influence of these plays on the rough, semicivilized inhabitants of Europe was salutary, especially when enacted with gravity and in a religious spirit.

But the religious drama was no exception to the common fate of all spectacular artificial representations in their inevitable descent to buffoonery and license. In the Miracle play of the Deluge Noah's wife refuses to go into the ark unless she takes her gossips with her. She has drunk many a quart of ale with them, and will not abandon them now:

"Yea, Syr, set up ye sayle
And rowe forth with evil hele (health),
For, without any fayle,
I will not out of this towne,
——But I have my gossips every one;
One foote further I will not gone:
They shall not drowne, by St. John!
An [if] I may save their lyfe,
——They loved me full well, by Christ!
But thou wilt let them in thy chist,
Else rowe forth, Noe, whither thou list,
And get thee a new wife."

[1] See Withrow, The Early English Drama, in Methodist Rev., July, 1894, pp. 545, ff.

Noah complains that women are crabbed always, and tells Shem to bring her in by main force. When this is done she gives her husband a slap in the face. "There, take that!" she says. Noah answers, "Ah, marry, this is hot! It is good to be still."

An interesting illustration of the irreverence and fantastic extravagance of these plays under the auspices of the Church is given by Vitet. To commemorate the capture of the English fortress of Dieppe, on August 14, 1443, there was celebrated in that city for two centuries at every anniversary of the battle a series of Mystery plays. A special confraternity was formed, "which arranged the program and marshaled the huge procession, and toward its close eleven of their number, dressed as apostles and headed by a priest who represented St. Peter, carried in a bower of foliage a beautiful girl intended to personate the blessed Virgin. After a march of several hours through the streets the phalanx reached the portals of St. Jacques, along whose crowded aisles and amidst incredible disorder a way was with difficulty made for the Virgin by the sturdy blows from the sticks and halberds of her attendants. At the end of the choir a lofty stage was erected, and over it a venerable graybeard, in royal robes, crowned with a tiara, and seated upon clouds, amidst which a dazzling sun of gold shone over his head and a host of angels surrounded his throne, personated the eternal Father. By ingenious mechanism the angels were made to ascend and descend, to flap their wings and wave their censers and lift their trumpets, like the modern Italian fantoccini. At the commencement of the mass two angels came down, and taking the sacred Virgin bore her upward as she lay upon her dying bed before the high altar in a kind of garden of Gethsemane made of flowers and fruit of painted wax. Her ascension was so graduated that she reached the throne at the exact moment of the adoration of the host. Then the Father thrice gave her his blessing, an angel crowned her, and the clouds of heaven seemed to close beneath her feet and shut her out from the spectators' eyes. Meanwhile the choir below presented a yet stranger blending of comedy and devotion. On one side St. Peter administered the holy communion to the apostles, who were bound to do his bidding under penalty of a fine; on the other a buffoon, called Grimpesulais, or Gingalet, performed a thousand antics, now pretending to be dead, now coming to life again, and now apostrophizing the Virgin and the Deity, to the unspeakable delight of the mob. On the two following days the mysteries of the nativity and the annunciation were the scene of yet stranger comedies and more grotesque saturnalia. Such was the passion of the Dieppois for

MYSTERY PLAY OF DIEPPE.

their Mystery play that it lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century, despite the earnest desire of the magistrates to banish it from the Church. But in 1647 Louis XIV and the queen dowager, being present at it, were so offended at its profanity that it was forthwith suppressed by royal edict."[1] This fragment of municipal French history, with its mingled piety and brutality, is thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Ages.

The religious drama lingered on until the Reformation and after, and was employed by the contestants in that great strife to satirize one another. John Heywood's "Four P's," 1562, the Morality "Everyman," 1531, Sir David Lindsay's famous "Satyre of Three Estates," and Bishop Bale's "King John," are some of these controversial interludes in which, with rude and extravagant descriptions and denunciations, the fight was carried on between Roman Catholic and Protestant. Lindsay's piece is one of the most powerful satires ever written—an unsparing exposure of the corruption in all classes of the community, and it formed one of the chief means by which the way was paved for the Reformation. An illustration of the realism of these plays is afforded by the Tragedy of the Ten Virgins, which was performed at Eisenach in 1332 to celebrate the restoration of peace. The Landgrave Frederick, the Joyful, was present, and was greatly angered and alarmed at the close of the drama, where the Foolish Virgins appeal in vain to the intercession of the blessed Virgin, and are finally thrust down to hell, notwithstanding her entreaties to her Son to pardon them. "What means this, if God will not pity us even when Mary and the saints intercede?" The fright and indignation of Frederick threw him into a fit of apoplexy, from which he never recovered. He died two years afterward.

In a Passion play at Metz, in 1437, the priest who took the part of Christ nearly died of exhaustion on the cross, and another priest, who represented Judas, narrowly escaped hanging himself, so terribly vivid and real were the emotions of the performers.[2] The crucifixion scene is still very trying to the chief performer at Ober-Ammergau, who has to remain some twenty minutes on the cross.

But the Mysteries and Miracle plays gradually merged into the literary drama of modern times, which has borne such splendid fruitage; although still in the little hamlet of the Tyrolese valley true-hearted peasants show forth in the spirit of the humblest and

[1] Dieppe, in Church Quar. Rev., viii, 887, 888 (July, 1879); M. L. Vitet, Hist. des Anciennes Villes de France. Première série. Haute-Normandie, Dieppe, 2 vols, Paris, 1835.

[2] Oxenham, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

sincerest piety and with marvelous dramatic intensity and truth the immortal story of God's love in Jesus Christ—the solitary representative in modern times of one of the most interesting developments in mediæval Church history.[1]

[1] On the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, see Binns, The Religious Drama, in Mod. Rev., Oct., 1880, i 801; and John P. Jackson's magnificent work, published in quarto in London and Munich, 1873, which contains very rich illustrations and strong descriptions.

LITERATURE: ART IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

I. CHRISTIAN ART.

1. Walcott, M. E. C. Sacred Archæology. A popular dictionary of ecclesiastical art and institutions from primitive to modern times. Lond., 1868.
2. Thode, H. Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien. Berl., 1885.
3. Pater, Walter. The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry. New ed., Oxf., 1888.
4. Weber, Paul. Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältniss erläutert an einer Iconographie der Kirche und Synagoge. Eine kunsthistorische Studie. Stuttg., 1894.
5. Hemans, Charles I. A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy. Florence, 1866. A History of Mediæval Christianity and Art in Italy. 2 vols. Lond., 1872.
6. Luebke, Wilhelm. Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages. Transl. from the 5th German ed. Ed. by L. A. Wheatley. Lond., 1870.
7. Jameson, Mrs. Anna. The History of our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art: with that of his types: St. John and other persons of the O. and N. Test. 2 vols. Lond., 1872. Legends of the Madonna. New ed., Lond., 1879. Sacred and Legendary Art. New ed., 2 vols. Lond., 1886.
8. Didron, A. N. Christian Iconography; or, Hist. of Christian Art in Middle Ages. Trans. from the French. Ed. by M. Stokes. New ed., Lond., 1886.
9. Reber, F. v. History of Mediæval Art. Trans. by J. T. Clarke. N. Y., 1887.
10. Lacroix, Paul. The Arts in the Middle Ages (trans.). New ed., Lond., 1888.
11. Clement, Clara E. Handbook of Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints as Illustrated in Art. New ed., Bost., 1891.
12. Hulme, F. Edward. The History, Principles, and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art. Lond., 1891.
13. Muentz, Eugène. Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance.

II. ARCHITECTURE.

1. King, T. H. Study-book of Mediæval Architecture and Art. 4 vols. Lond., 1858–60.
2. Turner, T. Hudson. Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages. 4 vols. Lond., 1859.
3. Eastlake, C. L., Sir. History of Revival Architecture. Lond., 1871.
4. Palustre, Léon. L'architecture de la Renaissance.
5. Norton, C. E. Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages: Venice, Siena, Florence. N. Y., 1880.
6. Scott, G. G. Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture. 2 vols. Lond., 1879.
7. Bloxam, M. H. The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture, with an explanation of technical terms and a centenary of ancient terms. 11th ed., Lond., 1882.
8. Smith, T. R. Architecture, Gothic and Renaissance. Lond., 1884.

CHAPTER LVI.

CHRISTIAN ART.

THE beginnings of Christian art were humble, in keeping with the character of the first professors of Christianity. Not many rich, not many mighty, were called. No fine artistic development, therefore, could be expected. Even when beginnings were made they followed the ordinary pagan modes. "Christian art followed the technical rules of the period, and adopted whatever processes were in use among the artists of the day, and were most suited to the particular work in hand, whether fresco, tempora, or encaustic." The subjects followed the same order. The Christians conformed to the practice of the age in which they lived. "Christian art," says Venables, "was no more than the continuation of the art Christianity found already existing as the exponent of the ideas of the age, with such modifications as its purer faith and higher morality rendered necessary. The artists employed were not necessarily Christians; indeed, in most cases, especially in the earliest times, they would probably be pagans, working in the style and depicting the subjects to which they were accustomed, only restricted by the watchful care of their employers that no devices were introduced that could offend the moral tone of the Christians. In the earliest examples there is absolutely nothing distinctive of the religion professed. 'At first,' says Burgon,[1] 'they even used many of the same devices for mural decorations as the pagans had used, always excepting anything that was immoral or idolatrous; introducing, however, every here and there, as the ideas occurred to them, something more significant of their own creed, until by and by the whole was exclusively Christian.'"[2]

VENABLES ON ART IN ROME.

The deep-rooted aversion of the Jews to all representations of the Deity made its impress on the early Church, and at first the Christian artist contented himself with the simple naturalism of the decoration already common. The earliest Christian frescoes are simply the ordinary subjects of the times, vines, grapes, birds, butterflies, winged genii, gracefully draped female figures, and other objects still to be seen in museums from Pompeii.

But gradually these familiar objects became invested in the devout

[1] Letters from Rome, p. 250.

[2] Fresco, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, i, 691.

imagination of the Christians with suggestions of their Master, and nature became a sacrament full of intimations of its Creator.

THE VINE AND OTHER EMBLEMS.

The vine is one of the earliest subjects chosen, the words of the Lord, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," dwelling in the minds of the disciples and producing an artistic representation of rare beauty. In the very earliest catacomb, that of Domitilla, dating from the end of the first or beginning of the second century, we have the vine trailing over the vaulted roof with all the freedom of nature, in which birds are pecking and winged boys are gathering the grapes. Mommsen says that no decorative artist of the Augustan period need be ashamed of the effect.[1] The vine did not exist longer than the sixth century as an emblem, after that being idly decorative.[2] In connection with the vine, as well as apart from it, the symbol of the Good Shepherd was frequent in the early centuries, that also being discarded after the fourth or fifth century. The fish symbol is prominent in the catacombs, representing at once the Saviour himself—the anagrammatic 'ΙΧΘΥΣ[3] and the human object of his salvation—the Christian deriving his life from the waters of baptism,[4] while the fisherman spoke of him who by the Gospel hook had taken men for life, not for death.[5] This image is developed in the Orphic hymn attributed to Clement of Alexandria, thus graphically rendered by W. L. Alexander:

> "Fisher of men whom thou to life dost bring;
> From evil sea of sin,
> And from the billowy strife,
> Gathering pure fishes in
> Caught with sweet bait of life."[6]

Clement recommends the use of this symbol as one well known, and he also commends those of the dove, ship, lyre, and anchor. In times of persecution the symbol of the cross was disguised, but no danger could attach to the use of the fish. In the Callixtine catacomb the agapæ are universally set forth under the symbols of bread and fish. The billets given to the newly baptized were frequently in the form of the symbolical fish, as pledges or tokens of the rights given in baptism. After the conversion of Constantine the symbol of the fish gave way to that of the cross. Even pagan subjects were

[1] In Contemp. Rev., May, 1871, p. 170.

[2] For full information see art. Vine (in Art), by Tyrwhitt, in Smith and Cheetham.

[3] As is well known, this symbol is derived from the initials of the words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

[4] Tertullian, de Bap., c. i.

[5] Venables, *l. c.*

[6] Ante-Nicene Fathers (Edinb. ed.), i, 344.

pressed into the service of the Church. Orpheus, captivating the wild beasts with the sound of his lyre, was adopted as the symbol of Christ subduing the savage passions of men by the music of the Gospel, and Ulysses, deaf to the alluring voices of the sirens, represented the believer triumphing over the seductions of worldly and sensual pleasure.[1] It is strange how the pagan symbols were so freely retained without any thought of their incongruity. Jordan is represented as a river god, a mountain by a mountain god, a city by a goddess with a mural crown, and night by a female figure with a torch and star-bespangled robe.[2] It must be said, however, that some of the stern moralists, like Tertullian,[3] condemned all representations of religious subjects, and even Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, two of the men of widest outlook in the pre-Nicene age, looked askance at artistic development in the Church.[4]

But as soon as Christian art became free enough to range through historical scenes, instead of confining itself to allegorical representations, a brighter future began. It is most fortunate that no authentic portrait of Christ exists. That such is the fact is plainly implied in the words of Irenæus and Augustine,[5] and Martigny well observes that the controversy, from the second century onward, over the question as to the comeliness of our Lord's personal appearance makes it perfectly certain that no authentic picture of him ever existed. Therefore the portraits that prevail are all the more interesting as evidences of how different minds represented to themselves the face of the historic Jesus. Perhaps the earliest of these likenesses, now lost, is that of the chapel of the Callixtine catacomb, of the second century, and which admirably forms the model of that traditional face of Christ which, through Leonardo da Vinci, has passed into all Christian painting, although Lord Lindsay thinks that the traditional head was not known until the fourth century, when it was sent to Constantia, sister of Constantine, by Eusebius of Cæsarea.[6]

Unfortunately, the growth of the ascetic spirit gave a false conception to that beautiful and engaging form in which dwelt the divine Son, and around which little children loved to gather; and it may be true, also, as Tyrwhitt remarks, that manly beauty came to be associated in the eyes of the monastic Church only with the

[1] Venables, *l. c.*; Martigny, Dict. des Ant. Chrét., pp. 447, 643; De Rossi, Bulletino, 1863, p. 35.

[2] Kugler, Handbook of Painting, pt. i, p. 9.

[3] Adv. Hermog., i; De Idolatr., v. [4] Protrep., iv.; Cont. Cels., iv, 31.

[5] Iren., Contra Hæres., i, 25; Aug., De Trinitate, viii, 4, 5.

[6] Tyrwhitt, Jesus Christ, Representations of, in Smith and Cheetham, i, 875.

eagerness and fierceness of barbarian soldiers. The pictures of Christ, if not hideous, were ill-favored. Under the influence of the barbaric invasions he was regarded as a divine deliverer. "The Christian assembly on earth, under the hands of Alaric and Genseric, Attila and Alboin, was utterly hopeless of any good on earth. The eastern end of the Byzantine or Romanesque church from the sixth century begins accordingly to be adorned as a mystical representation of heaven, beyond the wilderness of earth, with the portrait of Christ at its center. The Lord whom all seek so piteously shall suddenly come to his temple ; and the eyes of distressed congregations are allowed a vision in symbol of his presence breaking in on the distresses of later days. One of the earliest examples of churches thus ornamented is that of SS. Cosma and Damians at Rome. Here the figure of our Lord, coming with clouds and standing on the firmament, is grand and sublime in the highest degree, and is perhaps the earliest and greatest instance of very early date in which passionate conception, supported by powerful color, forces itself, without any other advantage, into the foremost ranks of creation in art. The towering and all-commanding form of the Lord must have seemed to fill the whole temple, with the symbolic hand of the First Person of the Trinity above his head and the dove on his right hand. The mystic Jordan, or river of death, is at his feet, and on its other side, with small rocks and trees to indicate the wilderness of this world, are the twelve sheep of his flock, with the houses of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he himself appearing again in the center on earth as the Lamb of the elder dispensation."[1] It is instructive to notice the breadth and boldness of these magnificent artistic creations in the ancient and mediæval Church. A part of the pictures is frequently inlaid in white and gold mosaic. But we must not assume from the thin, tall, ascetic Christ of mediæval art that the first painters had a like gloomy conception. On the contrary, they shared the cheerfulness, buoyancy, and hopefulness which even Lecky has remarked in the early Church, and they represented Jesus after the classic manner as comely and beautiful.

TYRWHITT ON REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRIST.

Lord Lindsay has depreciated the earliest artistic expression of the Church as shown in the innumerable frescoes of the catacombs. He calls them "poor productions," "where the meagerness of invention is only equaled by the feebleness of execution, inferior, generally speaking, to the worst specimens of contemporary heathen art."[2] But this is a hasty and superficial judgment. On the contrary, many of these remains are fully equal to the best pagan work

[1] Tyrwhitt, p. 876. [2] Hist. of Chr. Art, i, 89.

of the time. With juster appreciation Kugler speaks of the "grandeur of arrangement of the earliest paintings, their peculiar solemnity and dignity of style," though there were, of course, technical defects which are accounted for in part by the haste with which the work was done in a time of danger and uncertainty.[1] It is interesting to notice how these frescoes were made. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the artists boldly stained the rough-coated walls with light water-colors of a lively tint, and rapidly defined the outlines of their figures with strong dark lines. The eyes, nose, and mouth were similarly defined with black lines. A dash of warm yellow-red tone was thrown over the flesh portions of the figure, the shadows being worked in in broad masses with a deeper tint of the same warm hue. The details were almost entirely left to the imagination of the beholder. The draperies were colored primary rays, indicating a tolerable acquaintance with the laws of harmony. These critics also claim that the "attitudes are not without grandeur, nor the masses of light and shade without breadth, nor the drapery without simplicity."[2]

The free use of painting by the mediæval Church found an example in the fearless application by Paulinus of Nola (354–431) of the principle afterward enunciated by John of Damascus, that pictures are the books of the unlearned. The festival of St. Felix gathered together an immense concourse of country folk, whose feasting usually ended in a debauch. To beguile them from their baser pleasures, to fix their minds on higher things, and to instruct them in sacred history, Paulinus resolved to try the ministry of art, with a lavishness which would have pleased the heart of the lamented William Morris. He embellished the ceiling and walls of both the old and new basilica with a series of scriptural paintings. He tells all about these pictures, and gives a catalogue of them in his own poems. The whole Scripture history was also painted on the walls of Charlemagne's palace at Ingelheim.

The same hesitation with regard to painting which we have noted in the early Church applied also to sculpture and the plastic arts. The first centuries were exceedingly sterile in any distinctly Christian works of sculpture. D'Agincourt searched through Italy for fifty years, and could discover only three or four well-authenticated cases of Christian statues. For seven or eight centuries the art of sculpture was extinct, except on works in relief on sarcophagi and ivories.[3] The chief piece of sculpture from the ancient Church is

[1] See Kugler, Handbook of Painting, p. 14.

[2] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Hist. of Painting, i, 8.

[3] Venables, Sculpture, Christian, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 1863.

the famous bronze figure of St. Peter in the Vatican basilica, placed by Appell, Perkins, Lübke, and Venables in the fifth century, although J. H. Parker regards it as a work of the thirteenth. It is in every respect a close imitation of the ancient Roman statues, and displays great care and technical skill.[1] The statue of Hippolytus, in the Lateran Museum, belongs, perhaps, to the sixth century,[2] and is pronounced by Winckelmann and others to be the best known example of early Christian sculpture.

[1] Lübke, Hist. of Sculpture, i, 337.

[2] Reber, Hist. of Mediæval Art, p. 106, places the Hippolytus statue at 235.

LITERATURE: MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITIES AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

I. GENERAL WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITIES.

1. Maitre, Léon. Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe Auguste (768–1180). Paris, 1868.
2. Denifle, Heinr. Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400. (Vol. i of his work: Die Universitäten des Mittelalters.) Berl., 1885. Characterized by profound and extensive learning and presenting generally sound conclusions. A colossal undertaking, to be completed in five vols.
3. Laurie S. S. Lectures on the Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, with a survey of mediæval education. Lond., 1886, new ed., 1891. Brilliant, but not free from inaccuracies and misconceptions.
4. Comparyé, Gabriel. Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities. (Great Educator series.) Lond. and N. Y., 1893.
5. Rashdall, Hastings. The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. 2 vols. in 8. Oxf., 1895. Fully equal to Denifle in learning; a work of great value and interest.

II. UNIVERSITIES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

1. Wood, Anthony. Athenæ Oxonienses. 2 vols. Oxon., 1674; and Lond., 1721. Survey of Antiquities of Oxford. Ed., A. Clark, vols. i–iii, Oxf., 1886–89.
2. Mullinger, J. B. The University of Cambridge. Cambr., 1873. A Short Hist. of the same, in Epochs of Church History series. N. Y., 1888. The Schools of Charles the Great, and the restoration of education in the ninth century. Lond., 1877. Art. Universities in Encyc. Brit., Edinb., 1888. The first tolerably correct account in English.
3. Werner, Karl. Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur christlich-theologischen Literaturgeschichte. New ed., Wien, 1881.
4. Grant, Alexander, Sir. Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years. 2 vols. Lond., 1884.
5. Parker, James. The Early History of Oxford. (Oxford Hist. Soc.) Oxf., 1884.
6. Conrad, J. German Universities. Glasgow, 1885.
7. Lyte, H. C. Maxwell. A History of the University of Oxford down to 1530. Lond., 1886. The first critical history of the University and generally accurate.
8. Brodrick, G. C. A History of the University of Oxford. Epochs of Church History series. Lond. and N. Y., 1887.
9. Kaufmann, George. Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten. Stuttg., 1888. Contains references to the literature bearing upon the education of the period. Treats mediæval universities in general; is well written and interesting. Directed against Denifle (see above).

10. The Colleges of Oxford: their history and traditions. Twenty-one chapters contributed by members of the colleges. Edited by Andrew Clark. (Oxford Hist. Soc.) Oxf., 1891.
11. Cardon, G. La Fondation de l'Université de Douai. Paris, 1892.
12. West, A. F. Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools. N. Y., 1892.
13. Edgar, John. History of Early Scotch Education. Edinb., 1893. A valuable and highly interesting account.
14. Fowler, Thomas. The History of Corpus Christi College. Oxf., 1893.
15. Paulsen, F. Die Gründung der deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter. (Historische Zeitschrift, xlv, München, 1881.) Also Die deutschen Universitäten. Berl., 1893. Engl. transl. by E. D. Perry. Character and Historical Development of the Universities of Germany. Lond. and N. Y., 1894.
16. Cartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. Edited by H. Denifle. Paris, 1893–94.

III. GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. Heppe, H. Das Schulwesen des Mittelalters und dessen Reform im xvi Jahrhundert. Marburg, 1860.
2. Döllinger, I. J. v. Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt. München, 1867. Engl. transl. by Appleton. Oxf., 1867.
3. Michaud, E. Guillaume de Champeaux et les Écoles de Paris au 12e siècle. Paris, 1867.
4. Kaufmann, G. Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen, oder heidnische und christliche Kultur in Gallien während des 5 und 6 Jahrhunderts. (Histor. Taschenbuch, 1869.)
5. Just, K. S. Zur Pädagogik des Mittelalters. Eisenach, 1876.
6. Drane, Augusta T. Christian Schools and Scholars. 2d ed., Lond., 1881. Popular.
7. Kämmel, H. J. Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens im Uebergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Leipz., 1882.
8. Poole, R. L. Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought. Lond., 1884.
9. Specht, F. A. Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13 Jahrhunderts. Stuttg., 1885. Crowned by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.
10. Lacroix, Paul. In his Science and Literature of the Middle Ages. 2d ed., Lond., 1887.
11. Lorenz, S. Volkserziehung im späten Mittelalter. Paderborn, 1887.

CHAPTER LVII.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES.

In the beginning of the Christian Church religious education was very simple. It was confined to the main facts of the Gospel history and the more important principles of Christian truth. Later it became more elaborate, and the interpolation of question and answer in Acts viii, 37, shows an uneasy consciousness of the difference between the simplicity of the apostolic practice and the more careful training given in the second and third centuries. That training in the hands, not of special teachers, but of the ordinary Church officers—bishops, deacons, presbyters, and readers—included systematic instruction in a wide range of doctrinal instruction. From the great works of Saint Augustine—De Catechizandis Rudibus—and Cyril of Jerusalem—Catecheses—on religious education we learn that the range of subjects includes the sacred history of the world from the creation downward, the allegorical meaning of the Old Testament and the types of the law, the Gospel narratives and the law of Christ, and the whole scope of theology: God, Christ, the birth from the Virgin, the cross, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension, the Holy Spirit, the soul, the body, the Holy Scriptures, meats, the general resurrection, and judgment to come. Augustine also drew around him in his episcopal house the more promising of the younger clergy, and instructed them in the Scriptures, and from those who had been thus privileged it was customary to select candidates for the offices of the Church in Africa.[1] Special schools were established, as those at Alexandria, Cæsarea in Palestine founded by Origen, and Jerusalem founded by Clement of Alexandria, while that at Alexandria became the most famous in the ancient Church.

SCOPE OF EARLY EDUCATION.

But what about instruction in secular knowledge and the relation of the Church to pagan culture? It is an evidence of the breadth of view of the Church that, in spite of the attempts of some recent writers to represent ancient Christianity as intolerably narrow and anticivic, the Christians sent their children constantly to the pagan schools,

CHRISTIANS USING PAGAN SCHOOLS.

[1] Possidius, Vita Aug., xi.

where they were instructed in the whole course of the ordinary Roman curriculum. The wonderful familiarity of the Fathers with pagan literature attests the wisdom of the Church in this respect, and her noble faith that those who possessed the wisdom of Christ would be enlarged in mind, but not corrupted in heart, by contact with the great masters of Greece and Rome. On the benches of that university, if it might be so called, which Marcus Aurelius founded in Athens, Diodorus of Tarsus, Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil sat side by side with Julian, the later emperor, and with the most ambitious youths of paganism.

Of the school life there Gregory Nazianzen has given us an excellent picture,[1] not omitting the hazing and rough horseplay of the initiation exercises into the college fraternities, from which it appears that in this respect the American school is far more barbaric than the Greek.[2] He says that there were two roads which they were very familiar with in Athens—one leading to the Christian "buildings and the teachers there," the other to "secular instructors." "Feasts, theaters, meetings, banquets" they left to those who desired them, but as for themselves they "had but one great business and name—to be, and to be called, Christians." "Hurtful as Athens was," he says, "to others in spiritual things—and this is of no slight consequence to the pious, for the city is richer in those evil riches, idols, than the rest of Greece, and it is hard to avoid being carried along with their devotees and adherents—yet we, our minds being closed up and fortified against this, suffered no injury. On the contrary, strange as it may seem, we were thus the more confirmed in the faith by our perception of their trickery and unreality, which led us to despise these divinities in the very home of their worship. And if there is, or is believed to be, a river flowing with fresh water through the sea,[3] or an animal which can dance in fire,[4] the consumer of all things, such were we among our comrades."[5] He speaks of the intense devotion of the pagan students to rhetoric, of which noble art, says the author of the Greek Life of Gregory, he and Basil culled the flower, while avoiding the falsity. The same authority states that their studies included

GREGORY ON THE PAGAN SCHOOLS.

[1] See his Oration xliii (Panegyric on St. Basil), 15, ff.

[2] From these rough exercises Basil was excused through the influence of Gregory, as Stanley was at Rugby.

[3] The Alpheus, a river of Arcadia.

[4] The salamander, a lizard said to be impervious to the action of fire. See Pliny, Hist. Nat., x, 67.

[5] Greg. Naz., Orat. xliii, 21 (Post-Nicene Fathers, vii, 402). See Jackson, St. Basil, in same series, p. xv.

grammar, philosophy, music, geometry, and astronomy.[1] Tertullian, indeed, expressly interdicts Christians from teaching in these schools, because of their necessity of commending the pagan cults; but even he allows the lawfulness of learning from heathen teachers, and indorses the plea that if we repudiate secular studies divine studies are impossible.[2] "Hence it was," says Newman, "that in the early ages the Church allowed her children to attend the heathen schools for the acquisition of secular accomplishments, where, as no one can doubt, evils existed, at least as great evils as can attend a mixed education now. The gravest Fathers recommended for Christian youth the use of pagan masters; the most saintly bishops and most authoritative doctors had been sent in their adolescence by Christian parents to pagan lecture halls."[3] In spite of the debates in the ancient Church concerning the desirability of studying the productions of pagan genius, all the more eminent of the Christian Fathers for five hundred years received their intellectual training in pagan schools, or in schools which followed the traditions of pagan culture.[4] This practice was warmly defended, especially in Alexandria, "not with the notion," as Newman says, "that the cultivation which literature gives was any substantial improvement of our moral nature, but as thereby opening the mind and rendering it susceptible to an appeal. Nor as if the heathen literature itself had any direct connection with the matter of Christianity, but because it contained in it the scattered fragments of those original traditions which might be made the means of introducing a student to the Christian system, being the ore in which the true metal was found."[5]

NEWMAN'S TESTIMONY.

The great Fathers were formed by many teachers, pagan and Christian, and they might refer to Chrysostom as an example, for he was educated in religious knowledge by his Christian mother, in rhetoric by Libanius, and in philosophy by Andragathias, two

[1] Migne, Pat. Græc., xxxv, 256. See Mullinger, Schools, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, ii, 1847.

[2] De Idol., x.

[3] Idea of a University, 8th ed., p. 9. Newman says this in partial excuse of the Irish (Catholic) bishops in "suffering the introduction" into Ireland of a "system of Mixed Education in the schools called National." But this sufferance, he claims, is only temporary for expedience' sake. Even at the date of his writing both the bishops and the pope had decreed that for university culture the mixed principle was no longer tenable for Irish Catholics. But, alas! the ill-fated Catholic University at Dublin did not long afford them a chance for the enforcement of this decree.

[4] For a partial list see Mullinger, *l. c.*, p. 1848.

[5] The Church of Alexandria, in Arians of the Fourth Century, 5th ed., p. 86.

heathen teachers, and finally in Christian doctrine by Meletius and Diodorus.[1]

But the incursions of the barbarians and the growth of the monastic spirit led to a new disposition of the whole subject. The monastic schools at first were strongly inclined to prohibit the study of pagan literature, but this was only a temporary narrowness. The founders of the Benedictines neither commanded nor forbade the study of secular authors, although Gregory the Great exerted his powerful influence on the side of obscurantism. He expressly forbade bishops to study pagan literature, and strongly censured Didier, Bishop of Vienne, for instructing some of his clergy in classical literature—an employment of time which he declared to be unbecoming even in a pious layman.[2] At any rate the monasteries became fountains of learning sacred and profane, and they were supplemented by the episcopal schools. Charles the Great organized learning throughout his dominions under the inspiring direction of Alcuin, who, although well read in the Latin classics, and with an earnest intention to improve the schools of the empire, was too deferential toward Gregory's ideal. An interesting document has come down to us—the Capitulary of Charles the Great or of Alcuin concerning studies. The tone is altogether religious. Learning is insisted upon chiefly for its value in elucidating the hidden meanings of Scripture, and one of the Capitularies directs that in connection with every episcopal see and monastery there shall be a school where boys must be taught the psalms, notation (*notas*), singing, the use of the Computus, and the Latin tongue. It was required that the pupils shall be supplied with accurately transcribed text-books.

MONASTERIES AND THE CLASSIC STUDIES.

The East and the Celtic monasteries exemplified a wider culture. The text-book of Martianus Capella, which for its free speculative tendency was reprobated by the Latin clergy, had a wide vogue among the Celtic monasteries. In the time of Gregory of Tours it seemed to be a common manual for those of his countrymen who made any profession of learning. It was rich in its suggestions of heresies; it contained an anticipation of the Copernican astronomy in the statement that Mercury and Venus revolved around the sun; it taught the existence of the antipodes; and it referred to the triune God of Christianity as in

CELTIC AND IRISH MONASTERIES.

[1] Kihn, Aeltere christliche Schulen, p. 60.

[2] John, Vita Greg. III, 88; Greg., Ep. xi, 54. Gregory's great work, Magna Moralia, an Exposition of the Book of Job, although it abounds in the most extravagant allegory, is singularly deficient in either oriental or classical learning.

the same category with the gods of paganism. It was from these pages, says Mullinger, that Virgilius, the Irish bishop of Salzburg, derived his theory of an antipodes, for which horrible heresy he incurred the enmity of Boniface and the anathema of Pope Zacharias.[1] Besides, when John Scotus Erigena came out with his liberal views he was accused of imbibing them at the same fountain.[2] The Irish scholars were superior in classical culture. They constantly affected Greek modes of expression, and were familiar with the Greek Fathers. Clement the Scott, when at the court of Carloman in 743, showed himself familiar with the writings of Origen, and refused to be bound by the opinions of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory.[3] The Scotch (Irish) also indulged in speculative arguments and syllogistic reasoning, much to the disgust of some of the continental theologians, one of whom warned the Church that the faith must be defended, not by sophistic trickeries, but by the plain statements of Scripture.[4] But the Greek and Celtic love for dialectics proved too strong, and in the great schoolmen of the Middle Ages it was revived and used with rare subtility and power, and education itself entered upon a new career.[5]

In speaking of the mediæval universities we must not forget the terms in use. The tenth century makes us familiar with the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics) and the Quadrivium (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy), constituting the so-called Seven Arts. But the student must not be deceived by these high-sounding names. Arithmetic and astronomy were of value chiefly because they taught the means of finding Easter. "Music included little but the half-mystical doctrine of numbers and the rule of the plain song; under geometry Boethius gives little but a selection of propositions without

UNIVERSITY TERMINOLOGY.

[1] *Lib. cit.*, p. 1858, who refers to Jaffi, Mon. Mogunt., p. 191.

[2] As by Prudentius of Troyes, Migne, cxv, 1294. Martianus Capella was a rhetorician of Carthage in the fifth century, and the title of his work was, De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii, et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus, Libri Novem. It was edited by Grotius when a boy, probably with the assistance of Joseph Scaliger, Leyden, 1599, and (best ed.) by Kopp, Francf., 1836. It was copied and recopied by the monks. See Ramsay, in Smith, Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog. and Mythology, i, 598.

[3] Haddon, Remains, pp. 274, 286.

[4] Benedict of Aniane: Apud modernos scholasticos, maxime apud Scotos, iste syllogismus delusioni (Baluze, Misc., v, 54); Prudentius: Nequaquam sophisticis illusionibus, sed Scripturarum sanctarum evidentissimis allegationibus (Migne, cxv, 1013).

[5] See the fine art. by Mullinger, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 1858.

demonstrations."[1] Under grammar we have a more promising field, for it included not only the ordinary rules, but all classical and philological studies—the systematic interpretation of the classical writers of Greece and Rome. But logic was the richest field, and in that the mediæval mind reveled. Meager at the best, however, as these studies were, they contained the germ of the better fruitage of later times. The word university meant a school in which were gathered persons considered in the aggregate as forming one whole. It is a word commonly used of legal corporations, and long after the use of the word educationally it was used absolutely of town corporations and guilds. Even when applied to scholastic guilds it was used interchangeably with such words as "community," or "college," and in its earliest period it is never used absolutely, but always in such places as "university of scholars," "university of masters and scholars," "university of study," and the like. In the mediæval times the word was applied to the scholastic body, whether of teachers or scholars. Our word university had for its equivalent, then, not Universitas, but Studium. Studium Generale means not a place where all subjects are studied, but a place where students from all parts are received. As a matter of fact, very few mediæval studies possessed all the faculties. Even Paris, in the days of her highest renown, possessed no faculty of civil law; while throughout the thirteenth century graduation in theology was in practice the almost exclusive privilege of Paris and the English universities.[2] At the beginning of the thirteenth century the term Studium Generale became common to designate an educational institution, and, although used very vaguely, the words seem to have implied three characteristics: that the school attracted, or at least invited, students from all parts, and not merely those of a particular country or district; that it was a place of higher education, that is to say, that one at least of the higher faculties—theology, law, medicine—was taught there; and that such subjects were taught by a considerable number, at least by a plurality, of masters.[3]

UNIVERSITY.

The universities of the Middle Ages developed, as a rule, out of

[1] Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 2 vols. in 3, Oxf., 1895, i, 85. This is a thoroughly scientific work of immense research and of fine literary interest, one of the best products of the modern school of history. See reviews in The Dial (by B. A. Hinsdale), Feb. 1, 1896, pp. 96, ff.; The Nation, April 16 and 23, 1896, pp. 309, ff., 327, ff.; Amer. Hist. Rev. (by G. B. Adams), i, 520–523 (April, 1896).

[2] *Ibid.*, i, 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, 9.

the cathedral schools, and not directly, at least, out of the monastic schools.[1] They were a response to the general intellectual quickening of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and not to any new zeal of the monks or clergy for education. At first there was nothing to prevent any school from assuming the title, Studium Generale, which belonged preeminently to Bologna and Paris. But gradually the right of constituting Studia Generalia was confined to the pope and the emperor, so far as conferring on the universities thus honored the right of their masters to teach in other studia without examination.[2] Rashdall has dissipated various misconceptions concerning mediæval schools in a passage of unusual interest:

"We have often had occasion to notice that the features of the mediæval university system which have constantly been appealed to as binding precedents were really less universal and less invariable than has been supposed. The University of London, after being empowered by royal charter to do all things that could be done by any university, was legally advised that it could not grant degrees to women without a fresh charter, because no university had ever granted such degrees: we have seen that there were women doctors at Salerno. We have been told that the mediæval university gave a religious education: we have seen that to the majority of students it gave none. We have been told that a university must embrace all faculties: we have seen that many very famous mediæval universities did nothing of the kind. That it eventually came to be considered necessary, or at least usual, that they should do so is due to the eventual predominance of the Parisian type of university organization, minus the very peculiar and exceptional absence of a faculty of civil law. We have been told that the collegiate system is peculiar to England: we have seen that colleges were found in nearly all universities, and that over a great part of Europe university teaching was more or less superseded by college teaching before the close of the mediæval period. We have been told that the great business of a university was considered to be liberal as distinct from professional education: we have seen that many universities were almost exclusively occupied with professional education. We have been assured, on the other hand, that the course in arts was looked upon as a

RASHDALL ON IDEA OF UNIVERSITY.

[1] Both Denifle, Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400, Berl., 1885, i, 656, and Rashdall, i, 278, 279, agree as to this.

[2] On the controversy between Denifle and Kaufmann, Die Gesch. d. Deutschen Universitäten, i, 8–409, as to the independent right of kings to found Studia Generalia without the permission of pope or emperor, see Rashdall, i, 13, 14, notes.

mere preparatory discipline for the higher faculties: we have seen that the majority of students never entered a higher faculty at all."[1]

The history of education destroys other popular ideas concerning the Middle Ages. The common assumption of the lethargy of the mediæval intellect is shown to be altogether baseless when we remember that the universities were the centers of attraction of students from all parts of Europe in number unparalleled in our boasted modern civilization. The fact that the courses were open to the public, that the lectures were given freely to all classes without distinction—men and youth, native and foreigners, favored this. It was only in the sixteenth century that public courses in philosophy ceased at the University of Paris, and Ramus (d. 1572), the reformer of that school, complains of it, and says, "It is not long ago that the last public lecturer in philosophy died." The mediæval statistics of students must certainly be exaggerated, and there is no method of verification, as the great universities kept no official record of students' names. The Italian historians speak of ten thousand students in the thirteenth century and of fifteen thousand in the fifteenth. Abelard, who was in a real sense the founder of the University of Paris, and the most vitalizing thinker of the Middle Ages, was attended by such throngs of students from all parts of Europe that any statement of their number is but a guess. He says himself that the inns were not sufficient to contain them, nor the earth to feed them; and it is safe to conclude with Compayré that there were more than five thousand pupils in his school at Paris.[2] A chronicler of the time says that the number of students in some of the university towns exceeded that of the citizens.[3] Rashdall sifts the figures of the mediæval chroniclers, and reaches the conclusion that the student population in Oxford could at no time have exceeded three thousand, that at Paris ten thousand, and that probably no other university, except perhaps Bologna in the course of the thirteenth century, ever reached an attendance of five thousand.[4] At any rate these figures show that the mediæval period was by no means a Dead Sea of intellectual calm, but a seething tumultuous life, kept at a high pitch by a mental curiosity and alertness not surpassed in later times.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

On the other hand, we must guard ourselves against too sanguine conclusions as to the real equipment of the university men of the

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 712, 713.
[2] Compayré, Abelard and the Origin and Early Hist. of Universities, p. 17.
[3] Cartularium Univer. Paris, i, 20; Compayré, p. 99.
[4] Rashdall, ii, 581–590.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Take religious education as a test. Rashdall shows that this was very meager, that even the priest had most slender attainments in theology, and that his studies at the university, aside from being taught to construe the breviary and to read Latin, had no relation to his work as a clergyman. "A student in arts would have been as little likely to read the Bible," says Rashdall, "as he would be to dip into Justinian or Hippocrates.[1] Much astonishment has sometimes been expressed at Luther's discovery of the Bible at the Convent Library of Erfurt. The real explanation of his previous ignorance of its contents is that Luther entered the order a master of arts who had never studied in a theological faculty. Even the highly educated secular priest, who was not a theologian, or at least a canonist, was not supposed to know anything of the Bible but what was contained in his missal and his breviary. We do occasionally hear of the canonist attending lectures upon the Bible, as it was one of the sources of canon law, though the faculties do not appear to have required such attendance. But he wanted little more than a knowledge of texts to introduce into pious preambles of legal documents. Till he became a friar Luther had some difficulty in even getting access to a copy of the whole Bible, and a doctor of divinity might be grossly ignorant of the New Testament. The 'religious education' of a 'bygone Oxford,' in so far as it had any existence, was an inheritance, not from the Middle Ages, but from the Reformation. In Catholic Europe it was the product of the counter-reformation. Until that time the Church provided as little professional education for the future priest as it did 'religious instruction' for the ordinary layman."[2]

SCANTY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN MIDDLE AGES.

The seminary system for clergymen is a modern development. So far as any learning at all was required for the clergy in the later Middle Ages it was mainly secular learning. From one college charter we learn that its founder desired priests to know physics, metaphysics, and logic, and also the first or philosophical part of Aquinas's Sum of Theology. "A bishop," says Rashdall, "is said to have been degraded for being ignorant of Donatus: it may be doubted whether anyone in mediæval times was ever refused ordination—much less degraded when already ordained—for any degree of religious or theological ignorance which was not incompatible with ability to say mass." There were, however, theological

[1] A good illustration of this occurs in a Franciscan constitution of *circa* 1292: "No brother shall have a Bible or Testament as a favor, unless he be apt in his studies or capable of preaching."—Cartul. Univ. Paris, ii, No. 590.

[2] ii, 701–706.

departments at some of the universities, and the course was certainly long enough—fifteen or sixteen years. For six years the student was a simple *auditor:* for four years he attended lectures on the Bible, for two years on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. At the end of these six years, provided he had attained the age of twenty-five, the student might appear before the faculty with his certificates of due attendance on the prescribed lectures, and supplicate for his first course. If he passed the examination he could be formally admitted to the reading of his "first course," that is, be made a Bachelor.[1]

THE UNIVERSITY IN HISTORY.

The university played an important part in mediæval history. It was the press of the times, an organ of public opinion of the most influential character. On the course of politics and State affairs it often interfered with marked results, sometimes for the democracy, at others for the king or aristocracy. The university is a great leveler, however, and its main influence is on the side of a constitutional democracy. It was the intellectual emporium of the period, the clearing house of ideas. So far as such a thing was possible in the Middle Ages, the university stood for truth and the liberty of teaching it; and although it would necessarily assume an autocracy and censorship of ideas this rule would always be open to the influence of public opinion, and always favorable within certain limits to "free discussion and theological ingenuity and without motive for unnecessary or malignant persecution." Both Lea and Rashdall call attention to the noble work of the University of Paris in saving northern France from the ravages of the Inquisition.[2] Within the walls of the schools it is a fact that classical and biblical learning was preserved, and thus from them came the Renaissance and the Reformation. By the organisation of the students as Nations, according to their country, the universities became a truly international institution—a pledge and prophecy of the brotherhood of man.

[1] For full information as to the theological course, which, after all, left the student almost destitute of any scientific knowledge of the Bible, see the same, i, 462, ff.

[2] Lea, Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, ii, 185–187; Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, i, 526.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GAIN AND LOSS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

In the providence of God the Middle Ages play an important part in the history of the world. They effected for all after ages the following beneficent results:

The Conversion of Europe. When the Middle Ages began all northern Europe was pagan; when they ended it was all Christian. By the labors of some of the most heroic, intrepid, and devoted missionaries whom the world has ever known the continent of Europe emerged from pagan night into Christian light. That light, indeed, was not the pure light of the Gospel, but it possessed many essential elements of the Gospel, and it was infinitely better than the heathen cults which it supplanted.

The Civilization of Europe. Christianity is the greatest civilizing force in history. Even its corrupt forms contain the germs of reconstruction of the State in the interests of humanity. The monks taught Europe agriculture and the first elements of material progress. Barbarian Europe had no cities. Cities and schools and farms and manufactories and bridges and roads came into being after the missionary had led the way and taught the lesson.

The Restoration of Culture. In spite of the darkness of the so-called Dark Ages, to these we owe the classic culture of Greece and Rome. The monks were the copyists and editors of the time, and most faithfully did they fulfill their trust. In the Scriptorium of each monastery literary workers were transcribing or writing books, generally with the greatest care, and often with marvelous artistic beauty. The many variant readings in mediæval and ancient manuscripts must not mislead us as to the care actually bestowed on the work. At the end of some manuscripts we find this adjuration: "I adjure you who shall transcribe this book, by the Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious coming, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe and diligently correct it by the copy from which you transcribe it—this adjuration also—and insert it in your copy."[1] Even

[1] Pref. to Ælfric., Homilis MS. Lansdowne, No. 378, vol. iv, in British Museum. See the rare and interesting little book, by F. Somner Merryweather, Bibliomania in the Middle Ages, Lond., 1849, p. 22.

to-day the long lists of *errata* show us that printers err as frequently as the ancient hand-writers. An old manuscript has this anecdote: "Dr. Usher, Bishop of Armath, being to preach at Paules Crosse, and passing hastily by one of the stationers, called for a Bible, and had a little one of the London edition given him out, but when he came to look for the text that very verse was omitted in the print: which gave the first occasion of complaint to the king of the insufferable negligence and insufficience of the London printers and presse, and bredde that great contest that followed betwixt the university of Cambridge and the London stationers about printing of the Bible."[1] We can hardly afford to cast stones at the mediæval scribes. The book production and book trade of the Middle Ages are most interesting themes, but we must not be tempted into that rich field.[2] Suffice it to say that the students of that time have furnished us with innumerable manuscript editions of the Greek and Latin classics, of the Christian Fathers, and of the Holy Scriptures.

The Consolidation of Nationalities. Protestantism would never have existed, humanly speaking, without the sense of nationality. The German war with the pope under the Hohenstaufen was the death knell of Roman ecclesiastical absolutism. The Roman Church aimed to absorb the State, which was also divine and made by God for independence, and, as a compensation, the divine providence evoked in part out of the sense of nationality which first awoke in the Middle Ages that religious revolt which issued in the national Protestant Churches.

On the other hand, the Middle Age left many problems for the modern Church. It did much of good and much of evil, and left many problems unsolved. Among the achievements which it could not bring to pass, and which it left for the future, were the following:

The Restoration of Liberty. There were, as we have seen, large tracts of speculation in which considerable freedom was allowed. But, after all, the mediæval mind conceived the Church as the guardian of true doctrine, with the right to enforce conformity of opinion for her own sake, for the sake of the souls of men, and for the State's sake. The Protestants inherited that tradition also, and it was not immediately that the Christian Church, loosed from the bonds of Rome, could really address itself to the great problem of realizing for mankind freedom of conscience with stability and loyalty in the State. The modern Church and State have not yet completely solved the problem.

[1] MS. Harleian 6395, Anecdote 348; Merryweather, *ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

[2] See Merryweather, as above, and Putnam, Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., N. Y., 1896–97.

The Restoration of Love. The mediæval Church did not grasp the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and therefore did not preach or practice the magnificent truth of human brotherhood. There were innumerable instances of the ameliorating influence of Christianity, but there was no passion for humanity, no conception of love as the great dominating force in the world, no mighty currents of philanthropic life to reform prisons, uplift the poor, and rescue the perishing. What there was of kindly succor to the unfortunate was in obedience to a noble Christian instinct, but was out of relation to a wise and large plan for permanent relief. The great problem of charity the Middle Ages left to the modern world.

The Restoration of the Bible. One of the chief crimes of the mediæval Church was to thrust itself and its dogmas between the Christian and the Scriptures. It never in any ecumenical council forbade the reading of the Bible, but in various local synods it did forbid it, and, what is more to the purpose, its whole attitude, its entire conception of doctrine and of the Church itself as the teaching Church, thrust the Bible into the background, and substituted for it only innumerable traditions, rules, and doctrines. There is an historic justice in the birth of Protestantism in the new light and peace that came to Luther and the Reformers in the study of the Scriptures. Even to-day in Roman Catholic countries the Bible is a comparatively unknown book. The restoration of the Bible to the world is the work of Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church can have in the nature of things not the slightest interest in popular enthusiasm for Bible study.

The Restoration of Christ. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him," might have been the exclamation of a Christian at every footstep in all the weary paths of the mediæval times. The Church took the place of Christ, Mary and various cults took the place of Christ, and the priests took the place of Christ. Single heralds there were, crying in the wilderness—such as a Kempis and a Tauler. But they produced no powerful impress on the dull mass. How to restore him to the people as a personal Saviour, and Friend, and Guide, as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, was a problem that was left to the modern Church.

END OF VOLUME I.

14 DAY USE

RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.

Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

ICLF (N)

Stanford

REC'D LD

APR 23 1960

30May'60CF

REC'D LD

MAY 26 1960

26Mar'62FE

REC'D LD

MAR 29 1962

FEB 2 1966

SENT ON ILL

MAY 02 1996

U. C. BERKELEY

LD 21A-50m-4,'59
(A1724s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YC 29999

242222
BR145
H8
v.1

